Ad: Duncan

THE LIFE OF EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*,
AND
CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*.

CONTAINING,

I. An Account of the CHANCELLOR'S LIFE from his BIRTH to the RESTORATION in 1660.

II. A Continuation of the ſame, and of his HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION, from the RESTORATION to his BANISHMENT in 1667.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Printed from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, given to the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD* by the Heirs of the late EARL of *CLARENDON*.

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cic.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

OXFORD,
At the CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. MDCCLX.

1609 | H487.



THE PREFACE.

THE Reader can deſire no better Recommendation of the Hiſtory now publiſhed, than to be aſſured that it is the genuine Work of the great Earl of Clarendon. *The Work itſelf bears plain Characteriſticks of its Author. The ſame Dignity of Sentiment, and Style, which diſtinguiſhes* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, *and all other the Works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this Performance.*

THE Reaſon, why this Hiſtory has lain ſo long concealed, will appear from the * *Title of it, which ſhews that his Lordſhip intended it* only for the Information of his Children. *But the late Lord* Hyde, *judging that ſo faithful and authentick an Account of this intereſting Period of our Hiſtory would be an uſeful and acceptable Preſent to the Publick, and bearing a grateful Remembrance of this Place of his Education, left by his Will this, and the other Remains of his Great Grandfather, in the Hands of Truſtees, to be printed at our Preſs, and directed* that the Profits ariſing from the Sale ſhould be employed towards the eſtabliſhing a Riding-School in the Univerſity. *But Lord* Hyde *dying before his Father, the then Earl of* Clarendon, *the Property of theſe Papers never became veſted in him, and conſequently this Bequeſt was void. However, the noble Heireſſes of the Earl of* Clarendon, *out of their Regard to the*

* See Continuation, Page 1.

Publick, and to this Seat of Learning, have been pleaſed to fulfill the kind Intentions of Lord Hyde, *and adopt a Scheme recommended both by him,* * *and his Great Grandfather. To this End They have ſent to the Univerſity this Hiſtory to be printed at our Preſs, on Condition* that the Profits ariſing from the Publication or Sale of this Work be applied, as a Beginning for a Fund for ſupporting a Manage, or Academy for Riding, and other uſeful Exerciſes, in *Oxford.*

THE Work here offered to the Publick conſiſts of two Parts. The Second, which is the moſt important and intereſting Part of the Work, is THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1667, *from the Reſtoration to the Time of his Baniſhment, and includes in it the moſt memorable Tranſactions of thoſe Times. It may be therefore conſidered in two Views. It is a Second Part of* LORD CLARENDON'S LIFE: *And is alſo a Continuation of his former Hiſtory, entitled* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, *from the Year* 1660, *where that ends, to the Year* 1667. *This is carefully printed, without any material Variations, from a Manuſcript all of Lord* Clarendon's *own Hand-writing, excepting ſome few Pages in the Hand of his Amanuenſis, which are only Tranſcripts from two Papers, the one,* a Letter from the Chancellor to the King on the Subject of his Majeſty's declared Diſpleaſure; *the other,* a Paper containing his Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf, *which He left behind him to be preſented to the Houſe of Peers.*

TO this our noble Benefactreſſes have thought fit to prefix, as a Firſt Part, THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE, FROM HIS BIRTH, TO THE YEAR 1660, *extracted from another Manuſcript of Lord* Clarendon's *own Hand-writing.*

* See his Dialogue on Education, Page 325, *&c.*

This

This other Manuſcript is entitled by his Lordſhip, THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN LIFE, *and contains likewiſe the Subſtance of* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. *However, it is not the Manuſcript from whence that Hiſtory was printed, but appears rather to be the rough Draught from whence that Hiſtory, or however great Part of it, was afterwards compiled. For although He tells us towards the Cloſe of this Work, that He wrote the firſt four Books of* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION *in the Iſland of* Jerſey, *(many Years before the Date of this* HISTORY OF HIS LIFE) *yet He likewiſe informs us, that He did not proceed to compleat that Hiſtory till after his Baniſhment. It is therefore ſuppoſed by the Family (and the Suppoſition ſeems to carry with it great Probability) that, ſeeing an unjuſt and cruel Perſecution prevail againſt him, He was induced at that Time to extend the original Plan of his Work, by introducing the particular Hiſtory of his own Life, from his earlieſt Days down to the Time of his Diſgrace, as the moſt effectual Means of vindicating his Character, wickedly traduced by his Enemies, and artfully miſrepreſented to a Maſter, whom He had long and faithfully ſerved, whoſe Countenance and Favour being transferred to the Authors and Abettors of his Ruin, might probably in the Eyes of the World, give too much Colour to their Aſperſions. But afterwards, on more mature Thoughts, his great Benevolence, and publick Spirit, prevailed on him to drop the Defence of his own private Character, and reſume his original Plan of* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. *However his noble Deſcendants, willing to do Juſtice to the Memory of their Great Grandfather, and thinking it might be alſo of Service to the Publick to deliver his Exemplary Life as compleat, as They could authentically collect it, have cauſed ſuch Parts of this Manuſcript, as related to the Earl of* Clarendon's *private Life,*

to be extracted, and according to their Directions it is printed.

The Directions are as follows.

"THE LIFE OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTORATION "OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, is extracted from a "large Manuſcript in his own Hand-writing, in "which is contained what has already been printed "in THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION; and "therefore Care has been taken to tranſcribe only "what has never yet been publiſhed: But as thoſe "Paſſages are often intermixed with the Hiſtory al-"ready printed, it has been found neceſſary to preſerve "Connection, by giving * Abſtracts of ſome Parts of "the printed Hiſtory, with References to the Pages, "where the Reader may be ſatisfied more at large. "And, as great Pains have been taken to put this "Firſt Part in the Order it now ſtands, it is deſired "that in this firſt Edition it may be printed exactly "after the Copy to be ſent.

"THE original Manuſcript of THE CONTINUA-"TION OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON'S "LIFE FROM 1660 TO 1667 INCLUSIVE is very "incorrect, many Words being omitted, that muſt "neceſſarily be ſupplied: But it is deſired that no "other Alterations may be made, except in the Or-"thography, or where literal, or grammatical Er-"rors require it, or where little Inaccuracies may "have eſcaped the Attention of the Author. The "Work muſt be printed entire, as it now ſtands, "no Part of it left out, not an Abſtract, nor a Re-"ference omitted.

* Thoſe Paſſages are indented. Thoſe printed in *Italicks*, Pages 59, 82, 90, 137, the Note Page 100, and ſome others ſtill leſs material, were added with the ſame View.

THESE

THESE Directions have been punctually obſerved. The Second Part is printed from his Lordſhip's Manuſcripts entire, without any Omiſſion, or Variation, except as above. And with Regard to the Firſt Part, the Extract ſent to us has been carefully compared with the Original Manuſcript it ſelf, and found to agree: So that the Whole here offered to the Publick is the genuine Work of the Lord Chancellor CLARENDON. *And both theſe Valuable Original Manuſcripts are given to the Univerſity by our noble Benefactreſſes, to be depoſited in the Publick Library.*

THE LIFE OF *EDWARD* EARL of *CLARENDON* LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*, AND CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*,

From his Birth to the Reſtoration in 1660.

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 NOV 72

The LIFE of

EDWARD EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the FIRST.

Montpelier, 23 *July* 1668.

HE was born in *Dinton* in the County of *Wilts*, ſix Miles from *Saliſbury*, in the Houſe of his Father who was *Henry Hyde*, the third Son of *Laurence Hyde*, of *Weſt-Hatch*, Eſq; which *Laurence* was the younger Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury* in the County of *Cheſter*, Eſq; which Eſtate of *Norbury* had continued in that Family, and deſcended from Father to Son from before the Conqueſt, and continues to this Day in *Edward Hyde*, who is poſſeſſed thereof: The other Eſtate of *Hyde* having ſome Ages ſince fallen into that of *Norbury*, by a Marriage, and continues ſtill in that Houſe.

Place of Mr. E. Hyde's Birth.

His Genealogy.

LAURENCE, being as was ſaid, the younger Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury*, and the Cuſtom of that County of *Cheſter* being, to make ſmall Proviſions for the younger Sons of the beſt Families, was by the Care and Providence of his Mother, well educated, and when his Age was fit for it, was placed as a Clerk in one of the Auditor's Offices of the Exchequer, where He gained great Experience, and was employed in the Affairs and Buſineſs of Sir *John Thynne*, who under the Protection and Service of the Duke of *Somerſet*, had in a ſhort Time raiſed a very great Eſtate, and was the firſt of that Name who was known, and left the Houſe of *Longleat* to his Heir, with

Some Account of his Family & of his Grandfather.

(a)

other Lands to a great Value. *Laurence Hyde* continued not above a Year (or very little more) in that Relation, and never gained any Thing by it; but ſhortly after married *Anne*, the Relict and Widow of *Matthew Calthurſt*, Eſq; of *Claverton* near *Bath* in the County of *Somerſet*, by whom He had a fair Fortune: And by her had four Sons and four Daughters, that is to ſay, *Robert*, *Laurence*, *Henry*, and *Nicholas*, *Joanna*, married to *Edward Younge* of *Durnford* near *Saliſbury*, Eſq; *Alice*, married to *John St. Loe* of *Kingſton* in the County of *Wilts*, Eſq; *Anne*, married to *Thomas Baynard* of *Wanſtrow* in the County of *Somerſet*, Eſq; and *Suſanna*, married to Sir *George Fuy* of *Kyneton* in the County of *Wilts*, Knight: And theſe four Sons and four Daughters lived all above forty Years after the Death of their Father.

LAURENCE, ſhortly after his Marriage with *Anne*, purchaſed the Manor of *Weſt-Hatch*, where He died, and ſeveral other Lands; and having taken Care to breed his Sons at the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Inns of Court, leaving his Wife, the Mother of all his Children, poſſeſſed of the greateſt Part of his Eſtate, preſuming that She would be careful and kind to all their Children, upon that Account left the Bulk of his Eſtate to *Robert* his eldeſt Son, who married *Anne* the Daughter of —— *Caſtilian* of *Benham* in the County of *Berks*, Eſq; who had many Children, and lived to the Age of eighty, and left his Eſtate, a little impaired by the Marriage of many Daughters, to his Son. To *Laurence* his ſecond Son, (who was afterwards Sir *Laurence*, and Attorney General to Queen *Anne*, and a Lawyer of great Name and Practice) He left the impropriate Rectory of *Dinton*, after the Life of *Anne* his Mother, charged with an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum* to his third Son *Henry* for his Life; and He charged ſome other Part of his Eſtate with an Annuity of thirty Pounds *per Annum* to his youngeſt Son *Nicholas*, for his Life, relying upon the Goodneſs of his Wife, who was left very rich, as well by his Donation, as from her Huſband *Calthurſt*, that She would provide for the better Support of the younger Children; two of which raiſed their Fortunes by the Law, *Laurence*, as was ſaid before, being Attorney General to the Queen, and *Nicholas*, the youngeſt Son, living to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and dying in that Office; both of them leaving behind them many Sons and Daughters.

HENRY

HENRY, the third Son, being of the *Middle Temple* at his Father's Death, and being thought to be moſt in the Favour of his Mother, and being ready to be called to the Bar, though He had ſtudied the Law very well, and was a very good Scholar, having proceeded Maſter of Arts in *Oxford*, had yet no Mind to the Practice of the Law, but had long had an Inclination to travel beyond the Seas, which in that ſtrict Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was not uſual, except to Merchants, and ſuch Gentlemen who reſolved to be Soldiers; and at laſt prevailed with his Mother to give him Leave to go to the *Spa* for his Health, from whence He followed his former Inclinations, and paſſing through *Germany*, He went into *Italy*, and from *Florence* He went to *Syena*, and thence to *Rome*: Which was not only ſtrictly inhibited to all the Queen's Subjects, but was very dangerous to all the *Engliſh* Nation who did not profeſs themſelves *Roman Catholicks*, to which Profeſſion He was very averſe, in Regard of the great Animoſity *Sixtus Quintus* (who was then Pope) had to the Perſon of Queen *Elizabeth*: Yet Cardinal *Allen*, who was the laſt *Engliſh* Cardinal, being (3) then in *Rome*, He received ſo much Protection from him, that during the Time He ſtaid there, which was ſome Months, He received no Trouble, though many *Engliſh* Prieſts murmured very much, and ſaid, "that "my Lord Cardinal was much to be blamed for protect-"ing ſuch Men, who came to *Rome*, and ſo ſeeing the "Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of that Nation, diſcovered them "afterwards when They came into *England*, and ſo They "were put to Death." *Of his Father.*

AFTER He was returned into *England* his Mother was very glad, and perſuaded him very earneſtly to marry, offering him in that Caſe, that whereas She had the Rectory of *Dinton* in Jointure for her Life, upon which He had only an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum*, for his Life, the Remainder being to come to *Laurence* the ſecond Brother and his Heirs for ever, She would immediately reſign her Term to him, for his better Support, and would likewiſe purchaſe of *Laurence*, the ſaid Rectory for the Life of *Henry*, and ſuch a Wife as He ſhould marry; upon which Encouragement, and depending ſtill upon his Mother's future Bounty, about the thirtieth Year of his Age, He married *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Edward Langford* of *Trowbridge* in the

County of *Wilts*, Eſq; by whom in preſent, and after her Mother, He had a good Fortune, in the Account of that Age. From that Time, He lived a private Life at *Dinton* aforeſaid, with great Chearfulneſs and Content, and with a general Reputation throughout the whole Country; being a Perſon of great Knowledge and Reputation, and of ſo great Eſteem for Integrity, that moſt Perſons near him referred all Matters of Contention and Difference which did ariſe amongſt them, to his Determination; by which, that Part of the Country lived in more Peace and Quietneſs than many of their Neighbours. During the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* He ſerved as a Burgeſs for ſome neighbour Boroughs in many Parliaments; but from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, He never was in *London*, though He lived above thirty Years after; and his Wife, who was married to him above forty Years, never was in *London* in her Life; the Wiſdom and Frugality of that Time being ſuch, that few Gentlemen made Journies to *London*, or any other expenſive Journies, but upon important Buſineſs, and their Wives never; by which Providence, They enjoyed and improved their Eſtates in the Country, and kept good Hoſpitality in their Houſes, brought up their Children well, and were beloved by their Neighbours; and in this Rank, and with this Reputation this Gentleman lived till He was ſeventy Years of Age; his younger Brother the Chief Juſtice dying ſome Years before him, and his two elder Brothers outliving him: The great Affection between the four Brothers, and towards their Siſters, of whom all enjoyed Plenty and Contentedneſs, was very notorious throughout the Country, and of Credit to them all.

Henry Hyde, the third Son of *Laurence*, by his Intermarriage with *Mary Langford*, had four Sons and five Daughters, and being by the Kindneſs and Bounty of his Mother, who lived long, and till He had ſeven or eight Children, poſſeſſed of ſuch an Eſtate as made his Condition eaſy to him, lived ſtill in the Country, as was ſaid before. *Laurence* his eldeſt Son died young; *Henry* his ſecond Son lived till He was twenty ſix or twenty ſeven Years of Age; *Edward* his third Son was He who came afterwards to be Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*; *Nicholas* died young; *Henry* and *Edward* were both in the Univerſity of *Oxford* together; *Henry* being Maſter of Arts the Act before his younger Brother

Brother *Edward* came to the Univerſity, who was deſigned by his Father to the Clergy.

(4) EDWARD HYDE, being the third Son of his Father, was born at *Dinton* upon the eighteenth Day of *February* in the Year 1608, being the fifth Year of King *James*; and was always bred in his Father's Houſe under the Care of a Schoolmaſter, to whom his Father had given the Vicarage of that Pariſh, who having been always a Schoolmaſter, had bred many good Scholars, and this Perſon of whom we now ſpeak, principally by the Care and Converſation of his Father, (who was an excellent Scholar, and took Pleaſure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his Education than the School did) was thought fit to be ſent to the Univerſity ſoon after He was thirteen Years of Age; and being a younger Son of a younger Brother, was to expect a ſmall Patrimony from his Father, but to make his own Fortune by his own Induſtry; and in Order to that, was ſent by his Father to *Oxford* at that Time, being about *Magdalen* Election Time, in Expectation that He ſhould have been choſen Demy of *Magdalen* College, the Election being to be at that Time, for which He was recommended by a ſpecial Letter from King *James* to Dr. *Langton* then Preſident of that College; but upon Pretence that the Letter came too late, though the Election was not then begun, He was not choſen, and ſo remained in *Magdalen* Hall (where He was before admitted) under the Tuition of Mr. *John Oliver*, a Fellow of that College, who had been Junior of the Act a Month before, and a Scholar of Eminency.

Time of the Author's Birth. *His Education.* *He is ſent to* Oxford.

THE Year following, the Preſident of the College having received Reprehenſion from the Lord *Conway* then Secretary of State, for giving no more Reſpect to the King's Letter, He was choſen the next Election in the firſt Place, but that whole Year paſſed without any Avoidance of a Demy's Place, which was never known before in any Man's Memory; and that Year King *James* died, and ſhortly after, *Henry* his elder Brother, and thereupon his Father having now no other Son, changed his former Inclination, and reſolved to ſend his Son *Edward* to the Inns of Court: He was then entered in the *Middle Temple* by his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde*, who was then Treaſurer of that Society, and afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; but by Reaſon of the great Plague then

Mr. Hyde *entered of the* Middle Temple.

at *London* in the firſt Year of King *Charles*, and the Parliament being then adjourned to *Oxford*, whither the Plague was likewiſe then brought by Sir *James Huſſy*, one of the Maſters of the Chancery, who died in *New-College* the firſt Night after his Arrival at *Oxford*, and ſhortly after Dr. *Chaloner* Principal of *Alban-Hall*, who had ſupped that Night with Sir *James Huſſy*. He did not go to the *Middle Temple* till the *Michaelmaſs* Term after the Term at *Reading*, but remained partly at his Father's Houſe, and partly at the Univerſity, where He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then left it, rather with the Opinion of a young Man of Parts and Pregnancy of Wit, than that He had improved it much by Induſtry, the Diſcipline of that Time being not ſo ſtrict as it hath been ſince, and as it ought to be; and the Cuſtom of Drinking being too much introduced and practiſed, his elder Brother having been too much corrupted in that Kind, and ſo having at his firſt Coming given him ſome Liberty, at leaſt ſome Example towards that Licenſe, inſomuch as He was often heard to ſay, "that it was a "very good Fortune to him, that his Father ſo ſoon re-"moved him from the Univerſity", though He always reſerved a high Eſteem of it.

BEFORE the Beginning of *Michaelmaſs* Term (which was in the Year 1625) the City being then clear from the Plague, He went from *Marlborough* after the Quarter Seſſions with his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde* to *London*, and arrived there the Eve of the Term, being then between ſixteen and ſeventeen Years of Age: In the Evening He (5) went to Prayers to the *Temple* Church, and was there ſeized upon by a Fit of an Ague very violently, which proved a Quartan, and brought him in a ſhort Time ſo weak, that his Friends much feared a Conſumption, ſo that his Uncle thought fit ſhortly after *Allhollandtide* to ſend him into the Country to *Pirton* in *North Wiltſhire*, whither his Father had removed himſelf from *Dinton*; chuſing rather to live upon his own Land, the which He had purchaſed many Years before, and to rent *Dinton*, which was but a Leaſe for Lives, to a Tenant. He came Home to his Father's Houſe very weak, his Ague continuing ſo violently upon him (though it ſometimes changed its Courſe from a quartan to a tertian, and then to a quotidian, and on new Year's Day he had two hot Fits and two cold Fits) until *Whitſunday* following, that

Removed to Pirton.

all

all Men thought him to be in a Conſumption; it then left him, and He grew quickly ſtrong again. In this Time of his Sickneſs his Uncle was made Chief Juſtice: It was *Michaelmas* following before He returned to the *Middle Temple*, having by his Want of Health loſt a full Year of Study, and when He returned, it was without great Application to the Study of the Law for ſome Years, it being then a Time when the Town was full of Soldiers, the King having then a War both with *Spain* and *France*, and the Buſineſs of the Iſle of *Ree* ſhortly followed; and He had gotten into the Acquaintance of many of thoſe Officers, which took up too much of his Time for one Year; but as the War was quickly ended, ſo He had the good Fortune quickly to make a full Retreat from that Company, and from any Converſation with any of them, and without any Hurt or Prejudice; inſomuch as He uſed often to ſay, "that ſince it pleaſed "God to preſerve him whilſt He did keep that Company "(in which He wonderfully eſcaped from being involved "in many Inconveniences) and to withdraw him ſo ſoon "from it, He was not ſorry that He had ſome Expe-"rience in the Converſation of ſuch Men, and of the Li-"cence of thoſe Times," which was very exorbitant: Yet when He did indulge himſelf that Liberty, it was without any ſignal Debauchery, and not without ſome Hours every Day, at leaſt every Night, ſpent amongſt his Books; yet He would not deny that more than to be able to anſwer his Uncle, who almoſt every Night put a Caſe to him in Law, He could not bring himſelf to an induſtrious Purſuit of the Law Study; but rather loved polite Learning and Hiſtory, in which, eſpecially in the *Roman*, He had been always converſant.

Returns to the Middle Temple.

IN the Year 1628 his Father gave him Leave to ride the Circuit in the Summer with his Uncle the Chief Juſtice, who then rode the *Norfolk* Circuit; and indeed deſired it, both that He might ſee thoſe Counties, and eſpecially that He might be out of *London* in that Seaſon, when the Small Pox raged very furiouſly, and many Perſons, ſome whereof were much acquainted with him, died of that Diſeaſe in the *Middle Temple* itſelf: It was about the Middle of *July* when that Circuit began, and *Cambridge* was the firſt Place the Judges begun at; Mr. Juſtice *Harvey*, (one of the Judges of the Common Pleas) was in Commiſſion with the Chief Juſtice: They both

Sets out on the Norfolk Circuit.

came into *Cambridge* on the *Saturday* Night, and the next Day Mr. *Edward Hyde* fell ſick, which was imputed only to his Journey the Day before in very hot Weather; but He continued ſo ill the Day or two following, that it was apprehended that He might have the Small Pox; whereupon He was removed out of *Trinity* College, where the Judges were lodged, to the *Sun* Inn over againſt the College Gate, the Judges being to go out of Town the next Day; but before they went, the Small Pox appeared; (6) whereupon his Uncle put him under the Care of Mr. *Crane* an eminent Apothecary, who had been bred up under Dr. *Butler*, and was in much greater Practice than any Phyſician in the Univerſity; and left with him *Laurence St. Loe* one of his Servants, who was likewiſe his Nephew, to aſſiſt and comfort him: It pleaſed God to preſerve him from that devouring Diſeaſe, which was ſpread all over him very furiouſly, and had ſo far prevailed over him, that for ſome Hours both his Friends and Phyſician conſulted of Nothing but of the Place and Manner of his Burial; but as I ſaid, by God's Goodneſs He eſcaped that Sickneſs, and within few Days more than a Month after his firſt Indiſpoſition, He paſſed in moderate Journeys to his Father's Houſe at *Pirton*, where He arrived a Day or two before *Bartholemew* Day.

Falls ſick of the Small Pox at Cambridge.

Returns again to Pirton *after his Recovery.*

He was often wont to ſay, that He was reading to his Father in *Camden*'s Annals, and that particular Place, in which it is ſaid, "*Johannes Feltonus, qui Bullam Pontifi-*"*ciam valvis Palatii Epiſcopi Londinenſis affixerat jam de-*"*prehenſus, cum fugere nollet, factum confeſſus quod tamen*"*crimen agnoſcere noluit*, &c." when a Perſon of the Neighbourhood knocked at the Door, and being called in, told his Father, that a Poſt was then paſſed through the Village to *Charleton*, the Houſe of the Earl of *Berkſhire*, to inform the Earl of *Berkſhire* that the Duke of *Buckingham* was killed the Day before, (being the 24th of *Auguſt*, *Bartholemew* Day, in the Year 1628) by one *John Felton*, † which diſmal Accident happening in the Court, made a great Change in the State, produced a ſudden Diſbanding of all Armies, and a due Obſervation of, and Obedience to the Laws; ſo that there being no more Mutations in View (which uſually affect the Spi-

† For the Particulars of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, and of the Alterations it produced at Court and in publick Affairs, Vid. Hiſt. of the Reb. Fol. Vol. 1. Page 22, &c.

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rits of young Men, at leaſt hold them ſome Time at Gaze) Mr. *Hyde* returned again to his Studies at the *Middle Temple*, having it ſtill in his Reſolution to dedicate himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Law, without declining the politer Learning, to which his Humour and his Converſation kept him always very indulgent; and to lay ſome Obligation upon himſelf to be fixed to that Courſe of Life, He inclined to a Propoſition of Marriage, which having no other Paſſion in it, than an Appetite to a convenient Eſtate, ſucceeded not, yet produced new Acquaintance, and continued the ſame Inclinations. *And from Pirton to the Middle Temple.*

(6) ABOUT this Time his Uncle Sir *Nicholas Hyde* Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, died of a malignant Fever, gotten from the Infection of ſome Goal in his Summer Circuit: He was a Man of excellent Learning for that Province He was to govern, of unſuſpected and unblemiſhed Integrity, of an exemplar Gravity and Auſterity, which was neceſſary for the Manners of that Time, corrupted by the marching of Armies, and by the Licenſe after the diſbanding them; and though upon his Promotion ſome Years before, from a private Practicer of the Law, to the ſupreme Judicatory in it, by the Power and Recommendation of the great Favourite, of whoſe Council He had been, He was expoſed to much Envy and ſome Prejudice; yet his Behaviour was ſo grateful to all the Judges, who had an entire Confidence in him, his Service ſo uſeful to the King in his Government, his Juſtice and Sincerity ſo conſpicuous throughout the Kingdom, that the Death of no Judge had in any Time been more lamented. *Death and Character of his Uncle Sir Nicholas Hyde.*

THE Loſs of ſo beneficial an Encouragement and Support in that Profeſſion, did not at all diſcourage his Nephew in his Purpoſe; rather added new Reſolution to (7) him; and to call Home all ſtraggling and wandering Appetites, which naturally produce Irreſolution and Inconſtancy in the Mind, with his Father's Conſent and Approbation, He married a young Lady very fair and beautiful, the Daughter of Sir *George Ayliffe*, a Gentleman of a good Name and Fortune in the County of *Wilts*, where his own Expectations lay, and by her Mother (a *St. John*) nearly allied to many noble Families in *England*. He enjoyed this Comfort and Compoſure of Mind a very ſhort Time, for within leſs than ſix Months after He was married, being upon the Way from *London* towards his Father's *Mr.* Hyde's *Marriage.*

ther's Houſe, ſhe fell ſick at *Reading*, and being removed to a Friend's Houſe near that Town, the Small Pox diſcovered themſelves, and (ſhe being with Child) forced her to miſcarry; and She died within two Days. He bore her Loſs with ſo great Paſſion and Confuſion of Spirit, that it ſhook all the Frame of his Reſolutions, and Nothing but his entire Duty and Reverence to his Father, kept him from giving over all Thoughts of Books, and tranſporting himſelf beyond the Seas, to enjoy his own Melancholy; nor could any Perſuaſion or Importunity from his Friends, prevail with him in ſome Years to think of another Marriage. There was an ill Accident in the Court befel a Lady of a Family nearly allied to his Wife, whoſe Memory was very dear to him, and there always continued a firm Friendſhip in him to all her Alliance, which likewiſe ever manifeſted an equal Affection to him; amongſt thoſe was *William* Viſcount *Grandiſon*, a young Man of extraordinary Hope, between whom and the other there was an entire Confidence: The Injury was of that Nature, that the young Lord thought of Nothing but repairing it his own Way; but thoſe Imaginations were quickly at an End, by the King's rigorous and juſt Proceeding againſt the Perſons offending, in committing them both to the Tower, and declaring that "ſince He was ſatisfied that there was a Pro-"miſe of Marriage in the Caſe, the Gentleman ſhould "make good his Promiſe by marrying the Lady; or be "kept in Priſon, and for ever baniſhed from all Pretence "or Relation to the Court," where He had a very great Credit and Intereſt: This Declaration by the King, made the neareſt Friends of the Lady purſue the Deſign of this Reparation more ſolicitouſly, in which They had all Acceſs to the King, who continued ſtill in his declared Judgment in the Matter: In this Purſuit Mr. *Hyde*'s paſſionate Affection to the Family embarked him, and They were all as willing to be guided by his Conduct; the Buſineſs was to be followed by frequent Inſtances at Court, and Conferences with thoſe who had moſt Power and Opportunity to confirm the King in the Senſe He had entertained; and thoſe Conferences were wholly managed by him, who thereby had all Admiſſion to the Perſons of Alliance to the Lady, and ſo concerned in the Diſhonour, which was a great Body of Lords and Ladies of principal Relations in the Court, with whom in a ſhort Time He

Death of his Wife.

was

was of great Credit and Eſteem; of which the Marquis of *Hamilton* was one, who having married an excellent Lady, Couſin-German to the injured Perſon, ſeemed the moſt concerned and moſt zealous for her Vindication, and who had at that Time the moſt Credit of any Man about the Court, and upon that Occaſion entered into a Familiarity with him, and made as great Profeſſions of Kindneſs to him as could paſs to a Perſon at that Diſtance from him, which continued till the End and Concluſion of that Affair, when the Marquis believed that Mr. *Hyde* had diſcovered ſome Want of Sincerity in him in that Proſecution, which He pretended ſo much to aſſert.

The Occaſion of Mr. Hyde's Introduction to the Marquis of Hamilton.

(3) THE Mention of this particular little Story, in itſelf of no ſeeming Conſequence, is not inſerted here only as it made ſome Alterations, and accidentally introduced him into another Way of Converſation than He had formerly been accuſtomed to, and which in Truth by the Acquaintance, by the Friends and Enemies, He then made, had an Influence upon the whole Courſe of his Life afterwards; but as it made ſuch Impreſſions upon the whole Court, by dividing the Lords and Ladies, both in their Wiſhes and Appearances, that much of that Faction grew out of it, which ſurvived the Memory of the Original; and from this Occaſion (to ſhew us from how ſmall Springs great Rivers may ariſe) the Women, who till then had not appeared concerned in publick Affairs, began to have ſome Part in all Buſineſs; and having ſhewn themſelves warm upon this Amour, as their Paſſions or Affections carried them, and thereby entered into new Affections, and formed new Intereſts; the Activity in their Spirits remained ſtill vigorous when the Object which firſt inſpired it was vaniſhed and put in Oblivion. Nor were the very Miniſters of State vacant upon this Occaſion; They who for their own Sakes, or, as They pretended, for the King's Dignity, and Honour of the Court, deſired the Ruin of the Gentleman, preſſed the Magnitude of the Crime, in bringing ſo great a Scandal upon the King's Family, which would hinder Perſons of Honour from ſending their Children to the Court; and that there could be no Reparation without the Marriage, which They therefore only inſiſted upon, becauſe They believed He would prefer Baniſhment before it; others who had Friendſhip for him and believed that He had an Intereſt in the Court, which might accommodate himſelf

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and them if this Breach were cloſed any Way, therefore if the King's Severity could not be prevailed upon, wiſhed it concluded by the Marriage; which neither himſelf nor They upon whom He moſt depended, would ever be brought to conſent to; ſo that all the Jealouſies and Animoſities in the Court or State, came to play their own Prizes in the widening or accommodating this Contention: In the Concluſion, on a ſudden, contrary to the Expectation of any Man of either Party, the Gentleman was immediately ſent out of the Kingdom, under the Formality of a temporary and ſhort Baniſhment, and the Lady commended to her Friends, to be taken Care of till her Delivery; and from that Time never Word more ſpoken of the Buſineſs, nor ſhall their Names ever come upon the Stage by any Record of mine: It was only obſerved, that at this Time there was a great Change in the Friendſhips of the Court, and in thoſe of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who came now into the Queen's Confidence, towards whom He had always been in great Jealouſy; and another Lady more appeared in View, who had for the moſt Part before continued behind the Curtain; and who in few Years after came to a very unhappy and untimely End.

Now after a Widowhood of near three Years, Mr. *Hyde* inclined again to marry, which He knew would be the moſt grateful Thing to his Father (for whom He had always a profound Reverence) He could do; and though He needed no other Motive to it, He would often ſay, that though He was now called to the Bar, and entered into the Profeſſion of the Law, He was not ſo confident of himſelf that He ſhould not ſtart aſide, if his Father ſhould die, who was then near ſeventy Years of Age, having long entertained Thoughts of Travels, but that He thought it neceſſary to lay ſome Obligation upon himſelf, which would ſuppreſs and reſtrain all thoſe Appetites; and thereupon reſolved to marry, and ſo being about the Age of twenty four Years, in the Year of our Lord 1632, He married the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Ayleſbury* Baronet, Maſter of Requeſts to the King, by whom He had many Children of both Sexes, with whom He lived very comfortably in the moſt uncomfortable Times, and very joyfully in thoſe Times when Matter of Joy was adminiſtered, for the Space of five or ſix and thirty Years; what befell him after her Death will be recounted

His ſecond Marriage. (9)

counted in its Place. From the Time of his Marriage He laid aſide all other Thoughts but of his Profeſſion, to the which He betook himſelf very ſeriouſly; but in the very Entrance into it, He met with a great Mortification; ſome Months after He was married, He went with his Wife to wait upon his Father and Mother at his Houſe at *Pirton*, to make them Sharers in that Satisfaction which They had ſo long deſired to ſee, and in which They took great Delight.

HIS Father had long ſuffered under an Indiſpoſition (even before the Time his Son could remember) which gave him rather frequent Pains, than Sickneſs; and gave him Cauſe to be terrified with the Expectation of the Stone, without being exerciſed with the preſent Senſe of it; but from the Time He was ſixty Years of Age, it increaſed very much, and four or five Years before his Death, with Circumſtances ſcarce heard of before, and the Cauſes whereof are not yet underſtood by any Phyſician; He was very often, both in the Day and the Night, forced to make Water, ſeldom in any Quantity, becauſe He could not retain it long enough, and in the Cloſe of that Work, without any ſharp Pain in thoſe Parts, He was ſtill and conſtantly ſeized on by ſo ſharp a Pain in the left Arm, for Half a Quarter of an Hour, or near ſo much, that the Torment made him as pale (whereas He was otherwiſe of a very ſanguine Complexion) as if He were dead; and He uſed to ſay, "that He had paſſed the "Pangs of Death, and He ſhould die in one of thoſe "Fits;" as ſoon as it was over, which was quickly, He was the chearfulleſt Man living; eat well ſuch Things as He could fancy, walked, ſlept, digeſted, converſed with ſuch a Promptneſs and Vivacity upon all Arguments (for He was *omnifariam doctus*,) as hath been ſeldom known in a Man of his Age: But He had the Image of Death ſo conſtantly before him in thoſe continual Torments, that for many Years before his Death, He always parted with his Son, as to ſee him no more; and at Parting ſtill ſhewed him his Will, diſcourſing very particularly and very chearfully of all Things He would have performed after his Death.

His Father's Removal to Saliſbury.

HE had for ſome Time before reſolved to leave the Country, and to ſpend the Remainder of his Time in *Saliſbury*, where He had cauſed a Houſe to be provided for him, both for the Neighbourhood of the Cathedral Church,

Church, where He could perform his Devotions every Day, and for the Converſation of many of his Family who lived there, and not far from it; and eſpecially that He might be buried there, where many of his Family and Friends lay; and He obliged his Son to accompany him thither before his Return to *London*; and He came to *Saliſbury* on the *Friday* before *Michaelmaſs* Day in the Year 1632, and lodged in his own Houſe that Night; the next Day He was ſo wholly taken up in receiving Viſits from his many Friends, being a Perſon wonderfully reverenced in thoſe Parts, that He walked very little out of his Houſe. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, He roſe very early, and went to two or three Churches, and when He returned, which was by eight of the Clock, He told his Wife and his Son, "that He had been to look out a Place to be "buried in, but found none againſt which He had not "ſome Exception, the Cathedral only excepted, where "He had made Choice of a Place near a Kinſman of his (10)
"own Name, and had ſhewed it to the Sexton, whom He "had ſent for to that Purpoſe; and wiſhed them to ſee "him buried there;" and this with as much Compoſedneſs of Mind as if it had made no Impreſſion on him; then went to the Cathedral to Sermon, and ſpent the whole Day in as chearful Converſation with his Friends (ſaving only the frequent Interruptions his Infirmity gave him once in two or three Hours, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs) as the Man in the moſt confirmed Health could do. *Monday* was *Michaelmaſs* Day, when in the Morning He went to viſit his Brother Sir *Laurence Hyde*, who was then making a Journey in the Service of the King, and from him went to the Church to a Sermon, where He found himſelf a little preſſed as He uſed to be, and therefore thought fit to make what Haſte He could to his Houſe, and was no ſooner come thither into a lower Room, than having made Water, and the Pain in his
And Death. Arm ſeizing upon him, He fell down dead, without the leaſt Motion of any Limb: The Suddenneſs of it made it apprehended to be an Apoplexy, but there being Nothing like Convulſions, or the leaſt Diſtortion or Alteration in the Viſage, it is not like to be from that Cauſe, nor could the Phyſicians make any reaſonable Gueſs from whence that mortal Blow proceeded. He wanted about ſix Weeks of attaining the Age of ſeventy, and was the greateſt Inſtance of the Felicity of a Country Life that

was

was ſeen in that Age; having enjoyed a competent, and to him a plentiful Fortune, a very great Reputation of Piety and Virtue, and his Death being attended with univerſal Lamentation. It cannot be expreſſed with what Agony his Son bore this Loſs, having as He was uſed to ſay, "not only loſt the beſt Father, but the beſt Friend "and the beſt Companion He ever had or could have;" and He was never ſo well pleaſed, as when He had fit Occaſions given him to mention his Father, whom He did in Truth believe to be the wiſeſt Man He had ever known, and He was often heard to ſay, in the Time when his Condition was at higheſt, "that though God Almighty "had been very propitious to him, in raiſing him to great "Honours and Preferments, He did not value any Ho-"nour He had ſo much, as the being the Son of ſuch "a Father and Mother, for whoſe Sakes principally "He thought God had conferred thoſe Bleſſings upon "him."

THERE fell out at this Time or thereabouts, a great Alteration in the Court and State, by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*. The King from the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* had not only been very reſerved in his Bounty, but ſo frugal in his own Expenſe, that He had retrenched much of what had formerly iſſued out for his Houſhold, inſomuch as every Year ſomewhat had been paid of his Debts. He reſolved now to govern his Treaſury by Commiſſion, and to take a conſtant Account of it; and thereby to diſcover what had been of late done amiſs: The Commiſſioners He appointed were, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Laud*, (formerly Biſhop of *London*) the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, and other principal Officers of State, who together with the Lord *Cottington* (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by his Office of the Quorum in that Commiſſion) were to ſupply the Office of Treaſurer in all Particulars. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who till now had only intended the good Government of the Church, without intermeddling in ſecular Affairs, otherwiſe than when the Diſcipline of the Church was concerned, in which He was very ſtrict, both in the high Commiſſion and in all other Places, where He ſat as a privy Counſellor, well foreſeeing, as He made manifeſt upon ſeveral (11) Occaſions, the Growth of the *Schiſmaticks*, and that if They were not with Rigour ſuppreſſed, They would put

The Treaſurer's Office given to Commiſſioners.

Of whom Archbiſhop Laud *is one.*

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the whole Kingdom into a Flame, which ſhortly after fell out to be too confeſſed a Truth; though for the preſent his Providence only ſerved to increaſe the Number of his Enemies, who had from that his Zeal contracted all the Malice againſt him that can be imagined, and which He, out of the Conſcience of his Duty, and the Purity of his Intentions, and his Knowledge of the King's full Approbation of his Vigilance and Ardour, too much undervalued; I ſay, as ſoon as He was made Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, He thought himſelf obliged to take all the Pains He could to underſtand that Employment, and the Nature of the Revenue, and to find out all poſſible Ways for the Improvement thereof, and for the preſent Managery of the Expenſe. Many were of Opinion that He was the more ſolicitous in that Diſquiſition, and the more inquiſitive into what had been done, that He might make ſome Diſcovery of paſt Actions, which might reflect upon the Memory of the late Treaſurer, the Earl of *Portland*, and call his Wiſdom and Integrity in Queſtion, who had been ſo far from being his Friend, That He had always laboured to do him all the Miſchief He could, and it was no ſmall Grief of Heart to him, and much Occaſion of his ill Humour, to find that the Archbiſhop had too much Credit with the King, to be ſhaken by him; and the Archbiſhop was not in his Affections behind hand with him, looking always upon him as a *Roman Catholick*, though He diſſembled it by going to Church; and as the great Countenancer and Support of that Religion; all his Family being of that Profeſſion, and very few reſorting to it, or having any Credit with him but ſuch: It is very true, the Archbiſhop had no great Regard for his Memory, or for his Friends, and was willing enough to make any Diſcovery of his Miſcarriages, and to inform his Majeſty of them, who He believed had too good an Opinion of him and his Integrity.

The Truth is, the Archbiſhop had laid down one Principle to himſelf, which He believed would much advance the King's Service, and was without Doubt very prudent; that the King's Duties being provided for, and chearfully paid, the Merchants ſhould receive all the Countenance and Protection from the King that They could expect; and not be liable to the Vexation particular Men gave them for their private Advantage; being forward enough to receive Propoſitions which tended to the King's Profit,

fit, but careful that what accrued of Burthen to the Subject, ſhould redound entirely to the Benefit of the Crown, and not enrich Projectors at the Charge of the People; and there is Reaſon to believe that if this Meaſure had been well obſerved, much of that Murmur had been prevented, which contributed to that Jealouſy and Diſcontent which ſoon after brake out. This Vigilance and Inclination in the Archbiſhop, opened a Door to the Admiſſion of any Merchants or others to him, who gave him Information of this Kind; and who being ready to pay any Thing to the King, deſired only to be protected from private Oppreſſions. The Archbiſhop uſed to ſpend as much Time as He could get, at his Country Houſe at *Croydon*, and then his Mind being unbent from Buſineſs, He delighted in the Converſation of his Neighbours, and treated them with great Urbanity.

THERE was a Merchant of the greateſt Reputation, *(Daniel Harvey)* who having a Country Houſe within the Diſtance of a few Miles from *Croydon*, and underſtanding the whole Buſineſs of Trade more exactly than moſt Men, was always very welcome to the Archbiſhop, who uſed to aſk him many Queſtions upon ſuch Matters as He de-
(12) ſired to be informed in; and received much Satisfaction from him. Upon an accidental Diſcourſe between them, what Encouragement Merchants ought to receive, who brought a great Trade into the Kingdom, and paid thereupon great Sums of Money to the King, Mr. *Harvey* mentioned the Diſcouragements They had received in the late Times, by the Rigour of the Earl of *Portland*, in Matters that related nothing to the King's Service, but to the Profit of private Men; and thereupon remembered a Particular, that, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year of the King, and the Combination amongſt many Merchants to pay no more Cuſtoms or Impoſitions to the King, becauſe They had not been granted in Parliament, which produced thoſe Suits and Decrees in the Exchequer, which are generally underſtood, and a general Diſtraction in Trade; many Merchants of the greateſt Wealth and Reputation reſolved to continue the Trade; and in a ſhort Time reduced it into ſo good Order, and by their Advice and Example diſpoſed others to make a punctual Entry of their Goods, and to pay their Duties to the King, that the Trade ſeemed to be reſtored to the Nation, and the Cuſtoms to riſe above the Value

Mr. Harvey's *Complaint to the Archbiſhop of the Earl of* Portland.

They had ever yielded to the Crown; which was no ſooner brought to paſs, than the Earl of *Portland* (who endeavoured to perſuade the King that this great Work was entirely compaſſed by his Wiſdom, Intereſt, and Dexterity) diſobliged the Merchants in a very ſenſible Degree, in requiring them to unlade their Ships at the Cuſtom-Houſe Quay, and at no other Quay or Wharf, upon Pretence that thereby the King would have his Cuſtoms well paid, of which otherwiſe He would be in Danger to be cozened; and alledged an Order that had been formerly made in the Court of the Exchequer, that fine Goods which were portable (as Silks and fine Linens) and might eaſily be ſtolen, ſhould always be landed at the Cuſtom-Houſe Quay: The Merchants looked upon this Conſtraint and Reſtraint, as a great Oppreſſion, and applied themſelves to him for Reparation and Redreſs; They undertook to make it evident to him, that it was merely a Matter which concerned the private Benefit of the particular Wharfingers, and not in the leaſt Degree the King's Profit; that the Cuſtom-Houſe Quay was of great Value to the Owner of it, who had a very great Rent for it, but that it yielded the King nothing, nor would in fifty Years or thereabouts, there being a Leaſe yet to come for that Term; that the Mention of fine Goods, and the Order of the Exchequer, was not applicable to the Queſtion; that They diſputed not the Landing of fine Goods, but that the Pretence was to compel them to bring their groſſeſt, and their Merchandiſe of the greateſt Bulk to that Quay, whereas They had been always free to ſhip or unſhip ſuch Goods at what Wharf They would chuſe for their Conveniences; there being the ſworn Waiters of the Cuſtom-Houſe attending in the one, as well as the other; that the reſtraining them to one Wharf, and obliging all the Ships to be brought thither, muſt prove much to their Prejudice, and make them depend upon the good Will of the Wharfinger for their Diſpatch, who in Truth, let his Deſire be never ſo good, could not be able to perform the Service, without obliging them to wait very long, and thereby to loſe their Markets: All this Diſcourſe how reaſonable ſoever, made no Impreſſion upon the Treaſurer, but He diſmiſſed them with his uſual Roughneſs, and reproached them that They deſired all Occaſions to cozen the King of his Cuſtoms; which They looked upon as an ill Reward for the Service

Service They had done, and a great Diſcouragement to Trade. The Archbiſhop heard this Diſcourſe with great Trouble and Indignation, and being then interrupted by (13) the Coming of Perſons of Quality, told him, He would ſome other Time run over all theſe Particulars again, and that He ſhould recollect himſelf for other Inſtances of that ſtrange Nature.

THE next Time the Archbiſhop returned to *Croydon*, which He uſually did once in the Week during the Summer, and ſtaid a Day or two, impatient to underſtand more of the Matter, He ſent for Mr. *Harvey*, and told him, "that his laſt Diſcourſe had given him much Cauſe "of Sorrow, in finding how the King had been uſed, and "that He knew his Nature ſo well, that He could con-"fidently ſay, that He never knew of that Kind of Pro-"ceeding, and that He wondered that the Merchants had "not then petitioned the King, to hear the Matter him-"ſelf:" He anſwered, "that They had left no Way un-"attempted for their Eaſe, having no Fear of diſpleaſing "the Treaſurer; that They had cauſed a Petition to be "drawn by their Council, which was ſigned by all the "principal Merchants in the City, wherein (to obviate "the Calumny concerning refuſing to pay, or ſtealing "Cuſtoms) They declared, that They were all very wil-"ling to pay all Duties to his Majeſty, and would ne-"ver refuſe the ſame, (which was a Declaration, would "have been much valued a Year or two before, and "ought to have been ſo then) only deſired to be left at "Liberty to ſhip and land their Goods as They had been "accuſtomed to; that They had given this Petition to a "Secretary of State to preſent it to the King, who referred "it to the Conſideration of the Treaſurer; and thereupon "They purſued it no further, knowing how He ſtood re-"ſolved, and the Cauſe of it, which troubled them moſt, "*viz.* that that Cuſtom-Houſe Quay did, though not in "his own Name, in Truth belong to Sir *Abraham Dawes*, "one of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, and the only Fa-"vourite of the Lord Treaſurer, all the other Farmers "being offended with the Order, which They ſaw would "offend the Merchants:" The Archbiſhop aſked "where "that Petition was, that He thought it ſtill of that Mo-"ment, that He would be glad to ſee it:" He anſwered, "He knew not where it was; but He believed it to re-"main in the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, who had drawn it, and

"was of Council with the Merchants throughout the "whole Proceedings; and was ſo warm in it, that He "had exceedingly provoked the Lord Treaſurer, who "would have ruined him if He could:" He aſked who that Mr. *Hyde* was, and where He was; the other ſaid, "He was a young Lawyer of the *Middle Temple*, who was "not afraid of being of Council with them, when all Men "of Name durſt not appear for them; and that He was "confident that He, having been always preſent at all "Debates, remembered many Circumſtances in the Bu-"ſineſs which the other had forgotten; that He was ge-"nerally known; and had lately married the Daughter of "Sir *Thomas Ayleſbury*."

Mr. Harvey *mentions Mr.* Hyde *to the Archbiſhop.*

WITHIN a few Days after, the Archbiſhop meeting Sir *Thomas Ayleſbury* at Court, aſked him whether He had married his Daughter to one Mr. *Hyde* a Lawyer, and where He was; He anſwered, He had done ſo, and that He lived in his Houſe, when He was not at his Chamber in the *Middle Temple:* The Archbiſhop deſired him to ſend him to Him, for He heard well of him; and the next Morning He attended him, and found him walking alone in his Garden at *Lambeth*; He received him civilly according to his Manner, without much Ceremony; and preſently aſked him, whether He had not been of Council with ſome Merchants in ſuch a Buſineſs, and where that Petition now was; He anſwered him, not knowing why He aſked, "that He had been about two "Years paſt, of Council with ſome Merchants about ſuch "an Affair, in which the Earl of *Portland* had been much (14) "incenſed againſt him, that He remembered He had "drawn ſuch a Petition, which was ſigned by all the "conſiderable Merchants of *London*, but that there was "little Progreſs made thereupon, by Reaſon of the Aſpe-"rity of the Treaſurer:" He aſked ſtill for the Petition that was ſo ſigned; He told him, He thought He had it himſelf, if He had it not, He was confident He could find who had it: He deſired him, that He would find it out, and bring it to him, and any other Papers concerning that Affair, or the Buſineſs of the Cuſtoms: He ſaid, "the King had, contrary to his Deſire, made him one of "the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; that He underſtood "nothing of that Province, but was willing to take any "Pains which might enable him to do his Maſter Service, "which made him inquiſitive into the Cuſtoms, the prin-

Mr. Hyde *attends the Archbiſhop.*

"cipal

"cipal Branch of the Revenue; that his Neighbour *Da-*
"*niel Harvey* had ſpoken much Good of him to Him;
"and informed him of that Complaint of the Merchants,
"which He thought had much Reaſon in it, but it was
"like other Acts of the Earl of *Portland*; that He would
"be willing to receive any Information from him, and
"that He ſhould be welcome when He came to him."
He told him, in ſhort (which He heard would pleaſe him beſt) two or three Paſſages that happened in that Tranſaction; and ſome haughty Expreſſions which fell from the Treaſurer, when upon his urging that the Farmers would not hold their Farm, if He did not ſtrictly hold the Merchants to Cuſtom-Houſe Quay; He told him, "that if
"the Farmers were weary of their Bargain, He would
"help the King to forty thouſand Pounds a Year above
"the Rent They paid, and that They ſhould be paid all
"the Money They had advanced within one Week;"
upon which the Earl indeed had let himſelf out into an indecent Rage, uſing many Threats to him; which He found was not ingrateful to the Archbiſhop, upon whom He attended within a Day or two again, and delivered him the Petition, and many other uſeful Papers, which pleaſed him abundantly; and He required him to ſee Him often.

BY this Accident Mr. *Hyde* came firſt to be known to the Archbiſhop, who ever afterwards uſed him very kindly, and ſpoke well of him upon all Occaſions, and took particular Notice of him when He came of Council in any Cauſes depending at the Council Board, as He did frequently; and deſired his Service in many Occaſions, and particularly in the raiſing Monies for the building St. *Paul's* Church, in which He made a Journey or two into *Wiltſhire* with good Succeſs; which the Archbiſhop ſtill acknowledged, in a more obliging Way than He was accuſtomed to; inſomuch as it was ſo much taken Notice of, that Mr. *Hyde* (who well knew how to cultivate thoſe Advantages) was uſed with more Countenance by all the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the eminent Practiſers, than was uſually given to Men of his Years; ſo that He grew every Day in Practice, of which He had as much as He deſired, and having a competent Eſtate of his own, He enjoyed a very pleaſant and a plentiful Life, living much above the Rank of thoſe Lawyers, whoſe Buſineſs was only to be rich; and was generally beloved

Mr. Hyde receives Encouragement in his Profeſſion.

beloved and eſteemed by moſt Perſons of Condition and great Reputation. Though He purſued his Profeſſion with great Diligence and Intentneſs of Mind, and upon the Matter wholly betook himſelf to Buſineſs, yet He made not himſelf a Slave to it, but kept both his Friends at Court, and about the Town, by his frequent Application and conſtant Converſation; in Order to which, He always gave himſelf at Dinner to thoſe who uſed to meet together at that Hour, and in ſuch Places as was mutually agreed between them; where They enjoyed themſelves with great Delight, and publick Reputation, for the In-(15) nocence, and Sharpneſs, and Learning of their Converſation: For He would never ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of ſome Hours (which commonly He borrowed from the Night) to refreſh himſelf with polite Learning, in which He ſtill made ſome Progreſs: The Afternoons He entirely dedicated to the Buſineſs of his Profeſſion, taking Inſtructions and the like; and very rarely ſupped, except He was called out by ſome of his Friends, who ſpared him the more, becauſe He always complied with thoſe Summons; otherwiſe He never ſupped, for many Years (before the Troubles brought in that Cuſtom) both for the gaining that Time for himſelf, and that He might riſe early in the Morning according to his Cuſtom, and which He would ſay, He could never do when He ſupped. The Vacations He gave wholly to his Study and Converſation, never going out of *London* in thoſe Seaſons, except for two Months in the Summer, which He ſpent at his own Houſe in the Country, with great Chearfulneſs amongſt his Friends, who then reſorted to him in good Numbers.

His Method of ſpending his Time.

He never did ride any Country Circuits with the Judges, which He often repented afterwards, ſaying, that beſides the knowing the Gentry, and People, and Manners of *England* (which is beſt attained that Way) there is a very good and neceſſary Part of the Learning in the Law, which is not ſo eaſily got any other Way, as in riding thoſe Circuits, which as it ſeems to have much of Drudgery, ſo is accompanied with much Pleaſure and Profit; and it may be, the long Lives of Men of that Profeſſion (for the Lawyers uſually live to more Years than any other Profeſſion) may very reaſonably be imputed to the Exerciſe They give themſelves by their Circuits, as well as to their other Acts of Temperance

and

and Sobriety: And as He had denied himſelf that Satisfaction purely to have that Time to himſelf for other Delight, ſo He did reſolve, if the Confuſion of the Time had not ſurprized him, for three or four Years, (longer He did not intend) to have improved himſelf by the Experience of thoſe Journies.

HE was often heard to ſay, that, "next the immediate "Bleſſing and Providence of God Almighty, which had "preſerved him throughout the whole Courſe of his Life "(leſs ſtrict than it ought to have been) from many Dan-"gers and Diſadvantages, in which many other young "Men were loſt, He owed all the little He knew, and "the little Good that was in him, to the Friendſhips and "Converſation He had ſtill been uſed to, of the moſt ex-"cellent Men in their ſeveral Kinds that lived in that "Age; by whoſe Learning, and Information, and In-"ſtruction, He formed his Studies, and mended his Un-"derſtanding; and by whoſe Gentleneſs and Sweetneſs "of Behaviour, and Juſtice, and Virtue, and Example, "He formed his Manners, ſubdued that Pride, and ſup-"preſſed that Heat and Paſſion, He was naturally in-"clined to be tranſported with." And He never took more Pleaſure in any Thing, than in frequently mentioning and naming thoſe Perſons, who were then his Friends, or of his moſt familiar Converſation; and in remembring their particular Virtues and Faculties; and uſed often to ſay, "that He never was ſo proud, or thought himſelf "ſo good a Man, as when He was the worſt Man in "the Company;" all his Friends and Companions being in their Quality, in their Fortunes, at leaſt in their Faculties and Endowments of Mind, very much his Superiors; and He always charged his Children to follow his Example in that Point, in making their Friendſhips and Converſation; proteſting, that in the whole Courſe of his Life, He never knew one Man, of what Condition ſoever, arrive to any Degree of Reputation in the World,
(16) who made choice or delighted in the Company or Converſation of thoſe, who in their Qualities were inferior, or in their Parts not much ſuperior to himſelf.

Some Account of his chief Acquaintance, whilſt only a Student of the Law.

WHILST He was only a Student of the Law, and ſtood at Gaze, and irreſolute what Courſe of Life to take, his chief Acquaintance were *Ben. Johnſon*, *John Selden*, *Charles Cotton*, *John Vaughan*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, *Thomas May*, and *Thomas Carew*, and ſome others of emi-

nent Faculties in their ſeveral Ways. *Ben. Johnſon*'s Name can never be forgotten, having by his very good Learning, and the Severity of his Nature and Manners, very much reformed the Stage; and indeed the *Engliſh* Poetry itſelf: His natural Advantages were, Judgment to order and govern Fancy, rather than Exceſs of Fancy, his Productions being ſlow and upon Deliberation, yet then abounding with great Wit and Fancy, and will live accordingly; and ſurely as He did exceedingly exalt the *Engliſh* Language in Eloquence, Propriety, and maſculine Expreſſions; ſo He was the beſt Judge of, and fitteſt to preſcribe Rules to Poetry and Poets, of any Man who had lived with, or before him, or ſince: If Mr. *Cowley* had not made a Flight beyond all Men, with that Modeſty yet, to aſcribe much of this, to the Example and Learning of *Ben. Johnſon*. His Converſation was very good, and with the Men of moſt Note; and He had for many Years an extraordinary Kindneſs for Mr. *Hyde*, till He found He betook himſelf to Buſineſs, which He believed ought never to be preferred before his Company: He lived to be very old, and till the Palſy made a deep Impreſſion upon his Body, and his Mind.

Character of Ben. Johnſon.

Of Mr. Selden.

Mr. Selden was a Perſon, whom no Character can flatter, or tranſmit in any Expreſſions equal to his Merit and Virtue; He was of ſo ſtupendous Learning in all Kinds, and in all Languages (as may appear in his excellent and tranſcendent Writings) that a Man would have thought He had been entirely converſant amongſt Books, and had never ſpent an Hour but in Reading and Writing; yet his Humanity, Courteſy, and Affability was ſuch, that He would have been thought to have been bred in the beſt Courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all He knew, exceeded that Breeding: His Stile in all his Writings ſeems harſh and ſometimes obſcure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abſtruſe Subjects of which He commonly treated, out of the Paths trod by other Men; but to a little undervaluing the Beauty of a Stile, and too much Propenſity to the Language of Antiquity; but in his Converſation He was the moſt clear Diſcourſer, and had the beſt Faculty in making hard Things eaſy, and preſenting them to the Underſtanding, of any Man that hath been known. Mr. *Hyde* was wont to ſay, that He valued himſelf upon nothing

nothing more than upon having had Mr. *Selden*'s Acquaintance from the Time He was very young; and held it with great Delight as long as They were ſuffered to continue together in *London*; and He was very much troubled always when He heard him blamed, cenſured, and reproached, for ſtaying in *London*, and in the Parliament, after They were in Rebellion, and in the worſt Times, which his Age obliged him to do; and how wicked ſoever the Actions were, which were every Day done, He was confident He had not given his Conſent to them; but would have hindered them if He could, with his own Safety, to which He was always enough indulgent. If He had ſome Infirmities with other Men, They were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious Abilities and Excellencies in the other Scale.

(17) CHARLES COTTON was a Gentleman born to a competent Fortune, and ſo qualified in his Perſon, and Education, that for many Years He continued the greateſt Ornament of the Town, in the Eſteem of thoſe who had been beſt bred: His natural Parts were very great, his Wit flowing in all the Parts of Converſation; the Superſtructure of Learning not raiſed to a conſiderable Height, but having paſſed ſome Years in *Cambridge*, and then in *France*, and converſing always with learned Men, his Expreſſions were ever proper, and ſignificant, and gave great Luſtre to his Diſcourſe, upon any Argument; ſo that He was thought by thoſe who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with Books than He was. He had all thoſe Qualities which in Youth raiſe Men to the Reputation of being fine Gentlemen; ſuch a Pleaſantneſs and Gaiety of Humour, ſuch a Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs of Nature, and ſuch a Civility and Delightfulneſs in Converſation, that no Man in the Court, or out of it, appeared a more accompliſhed Perſon; all theſe extraordinary Qualifications being ſupported by as extraordinary a Clearneſs of Courage, and Fearleſſneſs of Spirit, of which He gave too often Manifeſtation. Some unhappy Suits in Law, and Waſte of his Fortune in thoſe Suits, made ſome Impreſſion upon his Mind; which being improved by domeſtick Afflictions, and thoſe Indulgences to himſelf, which naturally attend thoſe Afflictions, rendered his Age leſs reverenced, than his Youth had been; and gave his beſt Friends Cauſe to have wiſhed, that He had not lived ſo long. *Of Mr.* Cotton.

JOHN

of Mr. Vaughan.

JOHN VAUGHAN was then a Student of the Law in the *Inner Temple*, but at that Time indulged more to the politer Learning; and was in Truth a Man of great Parts of Nature, and very well adorned by Arts and Books; and ſo much cheriſhed by Mr. *Selden*, that He grew to be of entire Truſt and Friendſhip with him, and to that owed the beſt Part of his Reputation; for He was of ſo magiſterial and ſupercilious a Humour, ſo proud and inſolent a Behaviour, that all Mr. *Selden*'s Inſtructions, and Authority, and Example, could not file off that Roughneſs of his Nature, ſo as to make him very grateful. He looked moſt into thoſe Parts of the Law, which diſpoſed him to leaſt Reverence to the Crown, and moſt, to popular Authority; yet without Inclination to any Change in Government; and therefore, before the Beginning of the Civil War, and when He clearly diſcerned the Approaches to it in Parliament, (of which He was a Member) He withdrew himſelf into the Faſtneſſes of his own Country, *North Wales*, where He enjoyed a ſecure, and as near an innocent Life, as the Iniquity of that Time would permit; and upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second, He appeared under the Character of a Man, who had preſerved his Loyalty entire, and was eſteemed accordingly by all that Party.

HIS Friend Mr. *Hyde*, who was then become Lord High Chancellor of *England*, renewed his old Kindneſs and Friendſhip towards him, and was deſirous to gratify him all the Ways He could, and earneſtly preſſed him to put on his Gown again, and take upon him the Office of a Judge; but He excuſed himſelf upon his long Diſcontinuance (having not worn his Gown, and wholly diſcontinued the Profeſſion from the Year 1640, full twenty Years) and upon his Age, and expreſsly refuſed to receive any Promotion; but continued all the Profeſſions of Reſpect and Gratitude imaginable to the Chancellor, till it was in his Power to manifeſt the contrary, to his Prejudice, which He did with Circumſtances very uncommendable.

of Sir Kenelm Digby.

SIR *Kenelm Digby* was a Perſon very eminent and notorious throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, from his Cradle to his Grave; of an ancient Family and noble Extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful Fortune, notwithſtanding the Attainder of his Father. He was a Man of a very extraordinary Perſon and Preſence, which drew the Eyes of all Men upon him, which were more fixed by (18)

a wonder-

a wonderful graceful Behaviour, a flowing Courteſy and Civility, and ſuch a Volubility of Language, as ſurprized, and delighted; and though in another Man it might have appeared to have ſomewhat of Affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and ſeemed natural to his Size, and Mould of his Perſon, to the Gravity of his Motion, and the Tune of his Voice and Delivery. He had a fair Reputation in Arms, of which He gave an early Teſtimony in his Youth, in ſome Encounters in *Spain*, and *Italy*, and afterwards in an Action in the *Mediterranean* Sea, where He had the Command of a Squadron of Ships of War, ſet out at his own Charge under the King's Commiſſion; with which, upon an Injury received, or apprehended from the *Venetians*, He encountered their whole Fleet, killed many of their Men, and ſunk one of their Galeaſſes; which in that drowſy and unactive Time, was looked upon with a general Eſtimation, though the Crown diſavowed it. In a Word, He had all the Advantages that Nature, and Art, and an excellent Education could give him, which, with a great Confidence and Preſentneſs of Mind, buoyed him up againſt all thoſe Prejudices, and Diſadvantages, (as the Attainder, and Execution of his Father, for a Crime of the higheſt Nature; his own Marriage with a Lady, though of an extraordinary Beauty, of as extraordinary a Fame; his changing, and re-changing his Religion; and ſome perſonal Vices, and Licences in his Life) which would have ſuppreſſed and ſunk any other Man, but never clouded or eclipſed him, from appearing in the beſt Places, and the beſt Company, and with the beſt Eſtimation and Satisfaction.

Of Mr. May.

THOMAS MAY was the eldeſt Son of his Father, a Knight, and born to a Fortune, if his Father had not ſpent it; ſo that He had only an Annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal Education; yet ſince his Fortune could not raiſe his Mind, He brought his Mind down to his Fortune, by a great Modeſty and Humility in his Nature, which was not affected, but very well became an Imperfection in his Speech, which was a great Mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any Diſcourſe but in the Company of his very Friends. His Parts of Nature, and Art were very good, as appears by his Tranſlation of *Lucan* (none of the eaſieſt Work of that Kind) and more by his Supplement to *Lucan*, which being entirely his own, for the Learning, the Wit,

Wit, and the Language, may be well looked upon as one of the beſt Epic Poems in the *Engliſh* Language; He writ ſome other commendable Pieces, of the Reign of ſome of our Kings; He was cheriſhed by many Perſons of Honour, and very acceptable in all Places; yet (to ſhew that Pride and Envy have their Influences upon the narroweſt Minds, and which have the greateſt Semblance of Humility) though He had received much Countenance, and a very conſiderable Donative from the King; upon his Majeſty's refuſing to give him a ſmall Penſion, which He had deſigned and promiſed to another very ingenious Perſon, whoſe Qualities He thought inferior to his own, He fell from his Duty, and all his former Friends; and proſtituted himſelf to the vile Office of celebrating the infamous Acts of thoſe who were in Rebellion againſt the King; which He did ſo meanly, that He ſeemed to all Men to have loſt his Wits, when He left his Honeſty; and ſo ſhortly after, died miſerable and neglected; and (19) deſerves to be forgotten.

Of Mr. Carew.

THOMAS CAREW was a younger Brother of a good Family, and of excellent Parts, and had ſpent many Years of his Youth in *France*, and *Italy*; and returning from Travel, followed the Court; which the Modeſty of that Time diſpoſed Men to do ſome Time, before They pretended to be of it; and He was very much eſteemed by the moſt eminent Perſons in the Court, and well looked upon by the King himſelf, ſome Years, before He could obtain to be Sewer to the King; and when the King conferred that Place upon him, it was not without the Regret even of the whole *Scotch* Nation, which united themſelves in recommending another Gentleman to it; of ſo great Value were thoſe Relations held in that Age, when Majeſty was beheld with the Reverence it ought to be. He was a Perſon of a pleaſant and facetious Wit, and made many Poems (eſpecially in the amorous Way) which for the Sharpneſs of the Fancy, and the Elegancy of the Language, in which that Fancy was ſpread, were at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior to any of that Time: But his Glory was, that after fifty Years of his Life, ſpent with leſs Severity or Exactneſs than it ought to have been, He died with the greateſt Remorſe for that Licence, and with the greateſt Manifeſtation of Chriſtianity, that his beſt Friends could deſire.

AMONG

AMONG theſe Perſons Mr. *Hyde*'s uſual Time of Converſation was ſpent, till He grew more retired to his more ſerious Studies, and never diſcontinued his Acquaintance with any of them, though He ſpent leſs Time in their Company; only upon Mr. *Selden* He looked with ſo much Affection and Reverence, that He always thought himſelf beſt, when He was with him; but He had then another Conjunction and Communication, that He took ſo much Delight in, that He embraced it in the Time of his greateſt Buſineſs and Practice, and would ſuffer no other Pretence, or Obligation to withdraw him from that Familiarity and Friendſhip; and took frequent Occaſions to mention their Names with great Pleaſure; being often heard to ſay, "that if He had any Thing good in him, "in his Humour, or in his Manners, He owed it to the "Example, and the Information He had received in, and "from that Company, with moſt of whom He had an "entire Friendſhip:" And They were in Truth, in their ſeveral Qualifications, Men of more than ordinary Eminence, before They attained the great Preferments many of them lived to enjoy: The Perſons were, Sir *Lucius Carey*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; Sir *Francis Wenman* of *Oxfordſhire*; *Sidney Godolphin* of *Godolphin* in *Cornwall*; *Edmund Waller* of *Becconsfield*; Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*; Dr. *George Morley*; Dr. *John Earles*; Mr. *John Hales* of *Eton*; and Mr. *William Chillingworth*. *Characters of Mr.* Hyde's *more intimate Friends.*

WITH Sir *Lucius Carey* He had a moſt entire Friendſhip without Reſerve, from his Age of twenty Years, to the Hour of his Death, near twenty Years after; upon which there will be Occaſion to enlarge when We come to ſpeak of that Time, and often before, and therefore We ſhall ſay no more of him in this Place, than to ſhew his Condition, and Qualifications, which were the firſt Ingredients into that Friendſhip, which was afterwards cultivated, and improved by a conſtant Converſation and Familiarity, and by many Accidents which contributed thereto. He had the Advantage of a noble Extraction, and of being born his Father's eldeſt Son, when there was a greater Fortune in Proſpect to be inherited (beſides what He might reaſonably expect by his Mother) than (10) came afterwards to his Poſſeſſion. His Education was equal to his Birth, at leaſt in the Care, if not in the Climate; for his Father being Deputy of *Ireland*, before He *Of Sir* Lucius Carey.

was

was of Age fit to be ſent abroad, his Breeding was in the Court, and in the Univerſity of *Dublin*; but under the Care, Vigilance, and Direction of ſuch Governors and Tutors, that He learned all thoſe Exerciſes and Languages, better than moſt Men do in more celebrated Places; inſomuch as when He came into *England*, which was when He was about the Age of eighteen Years, He was not only Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, and had read all the Poets, and other of the beſt Authors with notable Judgment for that Age, but He underſtood, and ſpake, and writ *French*, as if He had ſpent many Years in *France*.

He had another Advantage, which was a great Ornament to the reſt, that was, a good, a plentiful Eſtate, of which He had the early Poſſeſſion. His Mother was the ſole Daughter and Heir of the Lord Chief Baron *Tanfield*, who having given a fair Portion with his Daughter in Marriage, had kept himſelf free to diſpoſe of his Land, and his other Eſtate, in ſuch Manner as He ſhould think fit; and He ſettled it in ſuch Manner upon his Grandſon Sir *Lucius Carey*, without taking Notice of his Father, or Mother, that upon his Grandmother's Death, which fell out about the Time that He was nineteen Years of Age, all the Land, with two very good Houſes very well furniſhed (worth above £2000 *per Annum*) in a moſt pleaſant Country, and the two moſt pleaſant Places in that Country, with a very plentiful perſonal Eſtate, fell into his Hands and Poſſeſſion, and to his entire Diſpoſal.

With theſe Advantages, He had one great Diſadvantage (which in the firſt Entrance into the World is attended with too much Prejudice) in his Perſon and Preſence, which was in no Degree attractive or promiſing: His Stature was low, and ſmaller than moſt Men; his Motion not graceful; and his Aſpect ſo far from inviting, that it had ſomewhat in it of Simplicity; and his Voice the worſt of the three, and ſo untuned, that inſtead of reconciling, it offended the Ear, ſo that Nobody would have expected Muſick from that Tongue; and ſure no Man was leſs beholden to Nature for its Recommendation into the World; but then no Man ſooner, or more diſappointed this general and cuſtomary Prejudice; that little Perſon and ſmall Stature was quickly found to contain a great Heart, a Courage ſo keen, and a Nature ſo fearleſs, that no Compoſition of the ſtrongeſt Limbs, and moſt

moſt harmonious and proportioned Preſence and Strength, ever more diſpoſed any Man to the greateſt Enterprize; it being his greateſt Weakneſs to be too ſolicitous for ſuch Adventures; and that untuned Tongue and Voice, eaſily diſcovered itſelf to be ſupplied, and governed, by a Mind and Underſtanding ſo excellent, that the Wit and Weight of all He ſaid, carried another Kind of Luſtre, and Admiration in it, and even another Kind of Acceptation from the Perſons preſent, than any Ornament of Delivery could reaſonably promiſe itſelf, or is uſually attended with; and his Diſpoſition and Nature was ſo gentle and obliging, ſo much delighted in Courteſy, Kindneſs, and Generoſity, that all Mankind could not but admire, and love him.

IN a ſhort Time after He had Poſſeſſion of the Eſtate his Grandfather had left him, and before He was of Age, He committed a Fault againſt his Father, in marrying a young Lady, whom He paſſionately loved, without any conſiderable Portion, which exceedingly offended him; and diſappointed all his reaſonable Hopes and Expectation, of redeeming and repairing his own broken Fortune, and deſperate Hopes in Court, by ſome advant-
(21) ageous Marriage of his Son; about which He had then ſome probable Treaty. Sir *Lucius Carey* was very conſcious to himſelf of his Offence and Tranſgreſſion, and the Conſequence of it, which though He could not repent, having married a Lady of a moſt extraordinary Wit, and Judgment, and of the moſt ſignal Virtue, and exemplary Life, that the Age produced, and who brought him many hopeful Children, in which He took great Delight; yet He confeſſed it, with the moſt ſincere and dutiful Applications to his Father for his Pardon, that could be made; and for the Prejudice He had brought upon his Fortune, by bringing no Portion to him, He offered to repair it, by reſigning his whole Eſtate to his Diſpoſal, and to rely wholly upon his Kindneſs for his own Maintenance and Support; and to that Purpoſe, He had cauſed Conveyances to be drawn by Council, which He brought ready engroſſed to his Father, and was willing to ſeal, and execute them, that They might be valid; but his Father's Paſſion and Indignation ſo far tranſported him (though He was a Gentleman of excellent Parts,) that He refuſed any Reconciliation, and rejected all the Offers that were made him of the Eſtate; ſo that his Son remained ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate againſt his Will;

Will; for which He found great Reaſon afterwards to rejoice; but He was for the preſent, ſo much afflicted with his Father's Diſpleaſure, that He tranſported himſelf and his Wife into *Holland*, reſolving to buy ſome military Command, and to ſpend the Remainder of his Life in that Profeſſion; but being diſappointed in the Treaty He expected; and finding no Opportunity to accommodate himſelf with ſuch a Command, He returned again into *England*, reſolving to retire to a Country Life, and to his Books; that ſince He was not like to improve himſelf in Arms, He might advance in Letters.

In this Reſolution He was ſo ſevere (as He was always naturally very intent upon what He was inclined to) that He declared, He would not ſee *London* in many Years, which was the Place He loved of all the World; and that in his Studies, He would firſt apply himſelf to the *Greek*, and purſue it without Intermiſſion, till He ſhould attain to the full Underſtanding of that Tongue; and it is hardly to be credited, what Induſtry He uſed, and what Succeſs attended that Induſtry; for though his Father's Death, by an unhappy Accident, made his Repair to *London* abſolutely neceſſary, in fewer Years, than He had propoſed for his Abſence; yet He had firſt made himſelf Maſter of the *Greek* Tongue (in the *Latin* He was very well verſed before) and had read not only the *Greek* Hiſtorians, but *Homer* likewiſe, and ſuch of the Poets as were worthy to be peruſed.

Though his Father's Death brought no other Convenience to him, but a Title to redeem an Eſtate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which He was compelled to ſell a finer Seat of his own; yet it impoſed a Burthen upon him, of the Title of a Viſcount, and an Increaſe of Expenſe, in which He was not in his Nature too provident, or reſtrained; having naturally ſuch a Generoſity and Bounty in him, that He ſeemed to have his Eſtate in Truſt, for all worthy Perſons, who ſtood in want of Supplies and Encouragement, as *Ben. Johnſon*, and many others of that Time, whoſe Fortunes required, and whoſe Spirits made them ſuperior to, ordinary Obligations; which yet They were contented to receive from Him, becauſe his Bounties were ſo generouſly diſtributed, and ſo much without Vanity and Oſtentation, that except from thoſe few Perſons, from whom He ſometimes received the Characters of fit Objects for his Benefits, or whom He

(22) He intruſted, for the more ſecret deriving them to them, He did all He could, that the Perſons themſelves who received them, ſhould not know from what Fountain They flowed; and when that could not be concealed, He ſuſtained any Acknowledgment from the Perſons obliged, with ſo much Trouble, and Baſhfulneſs, that They might well perceive, that He was even aſhamed of the little He had given, and to receive ſo large a Recompence for it.

As ſoon as He had finiſhed all thoſe Tranſactions, which the Death of his Father had made neceſſary to be done, He retired again to his Country Life, and to his ſevere Courſe of Study, which was very delightful to him, as ſoon as He was engaged in it; but He was wont to ſay, that He never found Reluctancy in any Thing He reſolved to do, but in his quitting *London*, and departing from the Converſation of thoſe He enjoyed there; which was in ſome Degree preſerved, and continued by frequent Letters, and often Viſits, which were made by his Friends from thence, whilſt He continued wedded to the Country; and which were ſo grateful to him, that during their Stay with him, He looked upon no Book, except their very Converſation made an Appeal to ſome Book; and truly his whole Converſation was one continued *Convivium Philoſophicum*, or *Convivium Theologicum*, enlivened, and refreſhed with all the Facetiouſneſs of Wit, and Good-Humour, and Pleaſantneſs of Diſcourſe, which made the Gravity of the Argument itſelf (whatever it was) very delectable. His Houſe where He uſually reſided (*Tew*, or *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*) being within ten or twelve Miles of the Univerſity, looked like the Univerſity itſelf, by the Company that was always found there. There were Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Earles*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, and indeed all Men of eminent Parts and Faculties in *Oxford*, beſides thoſe who reſorted thither from *London*; who all found their Lodgings there, as ready as in the Colleges, nor did the Lord of the Houſe know of their coming, or going, nor who were in his Houſe, till He came to Dinner, or Supper, where all ſtill met; otherwiſe, there was no troubleſome Ceremony, or Conſtraint to forbid Men to come to the Houſe, or to make them weary of ſtaying there; ſo that many came thither to ſtudy in a better Air, finding all the Books They could deſire, in his Library,

and all the Perſons together, whoſe Company They could wiſh, and not find, in any other Society. Here Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote, and formed, and modelled his excellent Book againſt the learned Jeſuit Mr. *Nott*, after frequent Debates upon the moſt important Particulars; in many of which, He ſuffered himſelf to be over-ruled by the Judgment of his Friends, though in others He ſtill adhered to his own Fancy, which was ſceptical enough, even in the higheſt Points.

In this happy and delightful Converſation, and Reſtraint, He remained in the Country many Years; and until He had made ſo prodigious a Progreſs in Learning, that there were very few claſſick Authors in the *Greek*, or *Latin* Tongue, that He had not read with great Exactneſs; He had read all the *Greek*, and *Latin* Fathers; all the moſt allowed and authentick eccleſiaſtical Writers; and all the Councils, with wonderful Care, and Obſervation; for in Religion He thought too careful, and too curious an Enquiry could not be made, amongſt thoſe, whoſe Purity was not queſtioned, and whoſe Authority was conſtantly, and confidently urged, by Men who were furtheſt from being of one Mind amongſt themſelves; and for the mutual Support of their ſeveral Opinions, in which They moſt contradicted each other; and in all thoſe Controverſies, He had ſo diſpaſſioned a Conſideration, ſuch a Candour in his Nature, and ſo profound a Charity in his (13) Conſcience, that in thoſe Points, in which He was in his own Judgment moſt clear, He never thought the worſe, or in any Degree declined the Familiarity, of thoſe who were of another Mind; which, without Queſtion, is an excellent Temper for the Propagation, and Advancement of Chriſtianity. With theſe great Advantages of Induſtry, He had a Memory retentive of all that He had ever read, and an Underſtanding and Judgment to apply it ſeaſonably and appoſitely, with the moſt Dexterity and Addreſs, and the leaſt Pedantry and Affectation, that ever Man, who knew ſo much, was poſſeſſed with, of what Quality ſoever: It is not a trivial Evidence of his Learning, his Wit, and his Candour, that may be found in that Diſcourſe of his, againſt the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, publiſhed ſince his Death, and from a Copy under his own Hand, though not prepared and digeſted by him for the Preſs, and to which He would have given ſome Caſtigations.

BUT all his Parts, Abilities, and Faculties, by Art and Induſtry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in Compariſon of his moſt accompliſhed Mind and Manners; his Gentleneſs, and Affability was ſo tranſcendent, and obliging, that it drew Reverence, and ſome Kind of Compliance from the rougheſt, and moſt unpoliſhed, and ſtubborn Conſtitutions; and made them of another Temper in Debate, in his Preſence, than They were in other Places: He was in his Nature ſo ſevere a Lover of Juſtice, and ſo preciſe a Lover of Truth, that He was ſuperior to all poſſible Temptations for the Violation of either; indeed ſo rigid an Exacter of Perfection, in all thoſe Things which ſeemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common Practice of Men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved, and admired his Virtue (as all who did know him muſt love, and admire it) did believe, that He was of a Temper and Compoſition, fitter to live *in Republicâ Platonis*, than *in Fæce Romuli*; but this Rigidneſs was only exerciſed towards himſelf; towards his Friend's Infirmities no Man was more indulgent. In his Converſation, which was the moſt chearful and pleaſant that can be imagined, though He was young (for all I have yet ſpoken of him doth not exceed his Age of twenty-five or twenty-ſix Years) and of great Gaiety in his Humour, with a flowing Delightfulneſs of Language, He had ſo chaſte a Tongue, and Ear, that there was never known a profane, or looſe Word to fall from him, nor in Truth in his Company; the Integrity, and Cleanlineſs of the Wit of that Time, not exerciſing itſelf in that Licence, before Perſons for whom They had any Eſteem.

Of Sir Francis Wenman.

SIR *Francis Wenman* would not look upon himſelf under any other Character, than that of a Country Gentleman; though no Man of his Quality in *England* was more eſteemed in Court. He was of a noble Extraction, and of an ancient Family in *Oxfordſhire*, where He was poſſeſſed of a competent Eſtate; but his Reputation of Wiſdom, and Integrity, gave him an Intereſt and Credit in that Country, much above his Fortune; and no Man had more Eſteem in it, or Power over it. He was a Neighbour to the Lord *Falkland*, and in ſo entire Friendſhip and Confidence with him, that He had great Authority in the Society of all his Friends, and

Acquaintance. He was a Man of a great Sharpneſs of Underſtanding, and of a piercing Judgment; no Man better underſtood the Affections and Temper of the Kingdom, or indeed the Nature of the Nation, or diſcerned farther the Conſequence of Counſels, and with what Succeſs They were like to be attended. He was a very good *Latin* Scholar, but his Ratiocination was above his Learning; and the Sharpneſs of his Wit incomparable: He was equal to the greateſt Truſt and (24) Employment, if He had been ambitious of it, or ſolicitous for it; but his Want of Health produced a Kind of Lazineſs of Mind, which diſinclined him to Buſineſs, and He died a little before the general Troubles of the Kingdom, which He foreſaw with wonderful Concern, and when many wiſe Men were weary of living ſo long.

Of Mr. Sidney Godolphin.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN was a younger Brother of *Godolphin*, but by the Proviſion left by his Father, and by the Death of a younger Brother, liberally ſupplied for a very good Education, and for a chearful Subſiſtence, in any Courſe of Life He propoſed to himſelf. There was never ſo great a Mind and Spirit contained in ſo little Room; ſo large an Underſtanding, and ſo unreſtrained a Fancy, in ſo very ſmall a Body; ſo that the Lord *Falkland* uſed to ſay merrily, that He thought it was a great Ingredient into his Friendſhip for Mr. *Godolphin*, that He was pleaſed to be found in his Company, where He was the properer Man; and it may be, the very Remarkableneſs of his little Perſon, made the Sharpneſs of his Wit, and the compoſed Quickneſs of his Judgment and Underſtanding, the more notable. He had ſpent ſome Years in *France*, and in the *Low-Countries*; and accompanied the Earl of *Leiceſter* in his Ambaſſage into *Denmark*, before He reſolved to be quiet, and attend ſome Promotion in the Court; where his excellent Diſpoſition and Manners, and extraordinary Qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though every Body loved his Company very well, yet He loved very much to be alone, being in his Conſtitution inclined ſomewhat to Melancholy, and to Retirement amongſt his Books; and was ſo far from being active, that He was contented to be reproached by his Friends with Lazineſs; and was of ſo nice and tender a Compoſition, that a little Rain or Wind would diſorder him, and divert him from any ſhort Journey, He had moſt willingly propoſed to himſelf;

ſelf; inſomuch, as when He rid abroad with thoſe in whoſe Company He moſt delighted, if the Wind chanced to be in his Face, he would (after a little pleaſant murmuring) ſuddenly turn his Horſe, and go Home: Yet the Civil War no ſooner began (the firſt Approaches towards which He diſcovered as ſoon as any Man, by the Proceedings in Parliament, where He was a Member, and oppoſed with great Indignation) than He put himſelf into the firſt Troops which were raiſed in the Weſt for the King; and bore the Uneaſineſs and Fatigue of Winter Marches, with an exemplar Courage and Alacrity; until by too brave a Purſuit of the Enemy, into an obſcure Village in *Devonſhire*, He was ſhot with a Muſket; with which (without ſaying any Word more, than, *Oh God, I am hurt*) He fell dead from his Horſe; to the exceſſive Grief of his Friends, who were all that knew him; and the irreparable Damage of the Public.

Of Mr. Edmund Waller.

EDMUND WALLER was born to a very fair Eſtate, by the Parſimony, or Frugality, of a wiſe Father and Mother; and He thought it ſo commendable an Advantage, that He reſolved to improve it with his utmoſt Care, upon which in his Nature He was too much intent; and in Order to that, He was ſo much reſerved and retired, that He was ſcarce ever heard of, till by his Addreſs and Dexterity He had gotten a very rich Wife in the City, againſt all the Recommendation, and Countenance, and Authority of the Court, which was thoroughly engaged on the Behalf of Mr. *Crofts*; and which uſed to be ſucceſsful in that Age, againſt any Oppoſition. He had the good Fortune to have an Alliance and Friendſhip with Dr. *Morley*, who had aſſiſted, and inſtructed him in the reading many good Books, to which his natural Parts and Promptitude inclined him, eſpeci-
(25) ally the Poets; and at the Age when other Men uſed to give over writing Verſes (for He was near thirty Years of Age, when He firſt engaged himſelf in that Exerciſe, at leaſt, that He was known to do ſo) He ſurprized the Town with two or three Pieces of that Kind; as if a tenth Muſe had been newly born, to cheriſh drooping Poetry. The Doctor at that Time brought him into that Company, which was moſt celebrated for good Converſation; where He was received, and eſteemed, with great Applauſe, and Reſpect. He was a very pleaſant Diſcourſer, in Earneſt, and in Jeſt, and therefore very

grateful to all Kind of Company, where He was not the leſs eſteemed for being very rich.

He had been even nurſed in Parliaments, where He ſat when He was very young; and ſo when They were reſumed again (after a long Intermiſſion) He appeared in thoſe Aſſemblies with great Advantage; having a graceful Way of ſpeaking, and by thinking much upon ſeveral Arguments (which his Temper and Complexion, that had much of Melancholic, inclined him to) He ſeemed often to ſpeak upon the ſudden, when the Occaſion had only adminiſtred the Opportunity of ſaying, what He had thoroughly conſidered, which gave a great Luſtre to all He ſaid; which yet was rather of Delight, than Weight. There needs no more be ſaid to extol the Excellence and Power of his Wit, and Pleaſantneſs of his Converſation, than that it was of Magnitude enough, to cover a World of very great Faults; that is, ſo to cover them, that They were not taken Notice of to his Reproach; *viz.* a Narrowneſs in his Nature to the loweſt Degree; an Abjectneſs, and Want of Courage to ſupport him in any virtuous Undertaking; an Inſinuation, and ſervile Flattery to the Height, the vaineſt, and moſt imperious Nature could be contented with; that it preſerved and won his Life from thoſe, who were moſt reſolved to take it; and in an Occaſion in which He ought to have been ambitious to have loſt it; and then preſerved him again, from the Reproach and Contempt that was due to him, for ſo preſerving it, and for vindicating it at ſuch a Price; that it had Power to reconcile him to thoſe, whom He had moſt offended and provoked; and continued to his Age with that rare Felicity, that his Company was acceptable, where his Spirit was odious; and He was at leaſt pitied, where He was moſt deteſted.

Of Dr. Sheldon.

Of Doctor *Sheldon* there needs no more be ſaid in this Place, than that his Learning, and Gravity, and Prudence, had in that Time raiſed him to ſuch a Reputation, when He was Chaplain in the Houſe to the Lord Keeper *Coventry* (who exceedingly eſteemed him, and uſed his Service not only in all Matters relating to the Church, but in many other Buſineſſes of Importance, and in which that great, and good Lord was nearly concerned) and when He was afterwards Warden of *All Souls* College in *Oxford*, that He then was looked upon, as very equal to any

any Preferment the Church could yield, or hath ſince yielded unto him; and Sir *Francis Wenman* would often ſay, when the Doctor reſorted to the Converſation at the Lord *Falkland*'s Houſe, as He frequently did, that "Dr. "*Sheldon* was born, and bred to be Archbiſhop of *Can-* "*terbury*."

of Dr. Morley.

DOCTOR *Morley* was a Gentleman of very eminent Parts in all polite Learning; of great Wit, and Readineſs, and Subtilty in Diſputation; and of remarkable Temper, and Prudence in Converſation, which rendered him moſt grateful in all the beſt Company. He was then Chaplain in the Houſe, and to the Family, of the Lord and Lady *Carnarvon*, which needed a wiſe, and a wary Director. From ſome academick Conteſts He had been engaged in, during his living in *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, (26) where He was always of the firſt Eminency, He had by the natural Faction and Animoſity of thoſe Diſputes, fallen under the Reproach of holding ſome Opinions, which were not then grateful to thoſe Churchmen, who had the greateſt Power in eccleſiaſtical Promotions; and ſome ſharp Anſwers and Replies, He uſed to make in accidental Diſcourſes, and which in Truth were made for Mirth and Pleaſantneſs Sake (as He was of the higheſt Facetiouſneſs) were reported, and ſpread abroad to his Prejudice; as being once aſked by a grave Country Gentleman (who was deſirous to be inſtructed what their Tenets and Opinions were) "what the *Arminians* held," He pleaſantly anſwered, that *They held all the beſt Biſhopricks and Deaneries in* England; which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. *Morley*'s Definition of the *Arminian* Tenets.

SUCH, and the like harmleſs and jocular Sayings, upon many accidental Occaſions, had wrought upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, (who lived to change his Mind, and to have a juſt Eſteem of him) to entertain ſome Prejudice towards him; and the Reſpect which was paid him by many eminent Perſons, as *John Hampden*, *Arthur Goodwin*, and others, who were not thought Friends to the Proſperity the Church was in, made others apprehend that He was not enough zealous for it: But that Diſaffection, and Virulency (which few Men had then owned and diſcovered) no ſooner appeared, in thoſe, and other Men, but Dr. *Morley* made Haſte as publickly to oppoſe them, both in private, and in publick; which

had the more Effect to the Benefit of the Church, by his being a Perſon above all poſſible Reproach, and known, and valued by more Perſons of Honour than moſt of the Clergy were; and being not only without the Envy of any Preferment, but under the Advantage of a diſcountenanced Perſon: And as He was afterwards the late King's Chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him, as any of his Chaplains were permitted to attend him; ſo preſently after his Murder, He left the Kingdom, and remained in Baniſhment, till King *Charles* the Second's happy Return.

Of Dr. Earles.

DOCTOR *Earles* was at that Time Chaplain in the Houſe to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and had a Lodging in the Court under that Relation: He was a Perſon very notable for his Elegance in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues; and being Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and having been Proctor of the Univerſity, and ſome very witty, and ſharp Diſcourſes being publiſhed in Print without his Conſent, though known to be his, He grew ſuddenly into a very general Eſteem with all Men; being a Man of great Piety and Devotion; a moſt eloquent and powerful Preacher; and of a Converſation ſo pleaſant and delightful, ſo very innocent, and ſo very facetious, that no Man's Company was more deſired, and more loved. No Man was more negligent in his Dreſs, and Habit, and Mien; no Man more wary, and cultivated, in his Behaviour, and Diſcourſe; inſomuch as He had the greater Advantage when He was known, by promiſing ſo little before He was known. He was an excellent Poet, both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Engliſh*, as appears by many Pieces yet abroad; though He ſuppreſſed many more himſelf, eſpecially of *Engliſh*, incomparably good, out of an Auſterity to thoſe Sallies of his Youth. He was very dear to the Lord *Falkland*, with whom He ſpent as much Time as He could make his own; and as that Lord would impute the ſpeedy Progreſs He made in the *Greek* Tongue, to the Information, and Aſſiſtance He had from Mr. *Earles*, ſo Mr. *Earles* would frequently profeſs, that He had got more uſeful Learning by his Converſation at *Tew* (the Lord *Falkland*'s Houſe) than He had at *Oxford*. In the firſt ſettling of the Prince his (27) Family, He was made one of his Chaplains; and attended on him when He was forced to leave the Kingdom.

He

He was amongſt the few excellent Men who never had, nor ever could have an Enemy, but ſuch a one, who was an Enemy to all Learning, and Virtue, and therefore would never make himſelf known.

of Mr. Hales.

MR. JOHN HALES had been *Greek* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; and had borne the greateſt Part of the Labour of that excellent Edition and Impreſſion of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works, ſet out by Sir *Harry Savile*; who was then Warden of *Merton* College, when the other was Fellow of that Houſe. He was Chaplain in the Houſe with Sir *Dudley Carleton*, Ambaſſador at the *Hague* in *Holland*, at the Time when the Synod of *Dort* was held, and ſo had Liberty to be preſent at the Conſultations in that Aſſembly; and hath left the beſt Memorial behind him, of the Ignorance, and Paſſion, and Animoſity, and Injuſtice of that Convention; of which He often made very pleaſant Relations; though at that Time it received too much Countenance from *England*. Being a Perſon of the greateſt Eminency for Learning, and other Abilities, from which He might have promiſed himſelf any Preferment in the Church, He withdrew himſelf from all Purſuits of that Kind, into a private Fellowſhip in the College of *Eton*, where his Friend Sir *Harry Savile* was Provoſt; where He lived amongſt his Books, and the moſt ſeparated from the World of any Man then living; though He was not in the leaſt Degree inclined to Melancholy, but on the contrary, of a very open and pleaſant Converſation; and therefore was very well pleaſed with the Reſort of his Friends to him, who were ſuch as He had choſen, and in whoſe Company He delighted, and for whoſe Sake He would ſometimes, once in a Year, reſort to *London*, only to enjoy their chearful Converſation.

HE would never take any Cure of Souls; and was ſo great a Contemner of Money, that He was wont to ſay, that his Fellowſhip, and the Burſar's Place (which for the Good of the College, He held many Years) was worth him fifty Pounds a Year more than He could ſpend; and yet, beſides his being very charitable to all poor People, even to Liberality, He had made a greater, and better Collection of Books, than were to be found in any other private Library that I have ſeen; as He had ſure read more, and carried more about him, in his excellent Memory, than any Man I ever knew, my Lord *Falkland* only excepted, who I think ſided him.

He

He had, whether from his natural Temper and Conſtitution, or from his long Retirement from all Crowds, or from his profound Judgment, and diſcerning Spirit, contracted ſome Opinions, which were not received, nor by him publiſhed, except in private Diſcourſes; and then rather upon Occaſion of Diſpute, than of poſitive Opinion; and He would often ſay, his Opinions He was ſure did Him no Harm, but He was far from being confident, that They might not do others Harm, who entertained them, and might entertain other Reſults from them, than He did; and therefore He was very reſerved in communicating what He thought Himſelf in thoſe Points, in which He differed from what was received.

NOTHING troubled him more, than the Brawls which were grown from Religion; and He therefore exceedingly deteſted the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*; more for their impoſing uncharitably upon the Conſciences of other Men, than for the Errors in their own Opinions; and would often ſay, that He would renounce the Religion of the Church of *England* to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Chriſtians ſhould be damned; and that no Body would conclude another Man to (28)
be damned, who did not wiſh him ſo. No Man more ſtrict and ſevere to himſelf; to other Men ſo charitable as to their Opinions, that He thought that other Men were more in Fault for their Carriage towards them, than the Men themſelves were, who erred; and He thought that Pride, and Paſſion, more than Conſcience, were the Cauſe of all Separation from each others Communion; and He frequently ſaid, that that only kept the World from agreeing upon ſuch a Liturgy, as might bring them into one Communion; all doctrinal Points upon which Men differed in their Opinions, being to have no Place in any Liturgy. Upon an occaſional Diſcourſe with a Friend, of the frequent, and uncharitable Reproaches of Heretick, and Schiſmatick, too lightly thrown at each other, amongſt Men who differ in their Judgment, He writ a little Diſcourſe of Schiſm, contained in leſs than two Sheets of Paper; which being tranſmitted from Friend to Friend in Writing, was at laſt, without any Malice, brought to the View of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Laud*, who was a very rigid Surveyor of all Things which never ſo little bordered upon Schiſm; and thought the Church could not be

too

too vigilant againſt, and jealous of ſuch Incurſions.

HE ſent for Mr. *Hales*, whom, when They had both lived in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, He had known well; and told him, that He had in Truth believed him to be long ſince dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old Acquaintance; then aſked him, whether He had lately writ a ſhort Diſcourſe of Schiſm, and whether He was of that Opinion, which that Diſcourſe implied. He told him, that He had, for the Satisfaction of a private Friend (who was not of his Mind) a Year or two before, writ ſuch a ſmall Tract, without any Imagination that it would be communicated; and that He believed it did not contain any Thing, that was not agreeable to the Judgment of the Primitive Fathers; upon which, the Archbiſhop debated with him upon ſome Expreſſions of *Irenæus*, and the moſt ancient Fathers; and concluded with ſaying, that the Time was very apt to ſet new Doctrines on Foot, of which the Wits of the Age were too ſuſceptible; and that there could not be too much Care taken, to preſerve the Peace and Unity of the Church; and from thence aſked him of his Condition, and whether He wanted any Thing, and the other anſwering, that He had enough, and wanted, or deſired no Addition, ſo diſmiſſed him with great Courteſy; and ſhortly after ſent for him again, when there was a Prebendary of *Windſor* fallen, and told him, the King had given him the Preferment, becauſe it lay ſo convenient to his Fellowſhip of *Eton*; which (though indeed the moſt convenient Preferment that could be thought of for him) the Archbiſhop could not without great Difficulty, perſuade him to accept, and He did accept it rather to pleaſe Him, than Himſelf; becauſe He really believed He had enough before. He was one of the leaſt Men in the Kingdom; and one of the greateſt Scholars in *Europe*.

of Mr. Chillingworth.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH was of a Stature little ſuperior to Mr. *Hales* (and it was an Age, in which there were many great, and wonderful Men of that Size) and a Man of ſo great a Subtilty of Underſtanding, and ſo rare a Temper in Debate; that as it was impoſſible to provoke him into any Paſſion, ſo it was very difficult to keep a Man's ſelf from being a little diſcompoſed by his Sharpneſs, and Quickneſs of Argument, and Inſtances, in which He had a rare Facility, and a great Ad-

Advantage over all the Men I ever knew. He had ſpent all his younger Time in Diſputation; and had arrived to ſo great a Maſtery, as He was inferior to no Man in (29)
thoſe Skirmiſhes; but He had, with his notable Perfection in this Exerciſe, contracted ſuch an Irreſolution, and Habit of doubting, that by Degrees He grew confident of Nothing, and a Sceptick at leaſt, in the greateſt Myſteries of Faith.

THIS made him from firſt wavering in Religion, and indulging to Scruples, to reconcile himſelf too ſoon, and too eaſily to the Church of *Rome*; and carrying ſtill his own Inquiſitiveneſs about him, without any Reſignation to their Authority (which is the only Temper can make that Church ſure of it's Proſelytes) having made a Journey to *St. Omers*, purely to perfect his Converſion, by the Converſation of thoſe, who had the greateſt Name, He found as little Satisfaction there; and returned with as much Haſte from them; with a Belief that an entire Exemption from Error, was neither inherent in, nor neceſſary to any Church: Which occaſioned that War, which was carried on by the Jeſuits with ſo great Aſperity, and Reproaches againſt him, and in which He defended himſelf, by ſuch an admirable Eloquence of Language, and clear, and incomparable Power of Reaſon, that He not only made them appear unequal Adverſaries, but carried the War into their own Quarters; and made the Pope's Infallibility to be as much ſhaken, and declined by their own Doctors (and as great an Acrimony amongſt themſelves upon that Subject) and to be at leaſt as much doubted, as in the Schools of the Reformed or Proteſtant; and forced them ſince, to defend and maintain thoſe unhappy Controverſies in Religion, with Arms and Weapons of another Nature, than were uſed, or known in the Church of *Rome*, when *Bellarmine* died; and which probably will in Time undermine the very Foundation that ſupports it.

SUCH a Levity, and Propenſity to change, is commonly attended with great Infirmities in, and no leſs Reproach, and Prejudice to the Perſon; but the Sincerity of his Heart was ſo conſpicuous, and without the leaſt Temptation of any corrupt End; and the Innocence, and Candour in his Nature ſo evident, and without any Perverſeneſs; that all who knew him, clearly diſcerned, that all thoſe reſtleſs Motions and Fluctuations,

tions, proceeded only from the Warmth and Jealouſy of his own Thoughts, in a too nice Inquiſition for Truth. Neither the Books of the Adverſary, nor any of their Perſons, though He was acquainted with the beſt of both, had ever made great Impreſſion upon him; all his Doubts grew out of himſelf, when He aſſiſted his Scruples with all the Strength of his own Reaſon, and was then too hard for himſelf; but finding as little Quiet and Repoſe in thoſe Victories, He quickly recovered, by a new Appeal to his own Judgment; ſo that He was in Truth, upon the Matter, in all his Sallies, and Retreats, his own Convert; though He was not ſo totally diveſted of all Thoughts of this World, but that when He was ready for it, He admitted ſome great and conſiderable Churchmen, to be Sharers with him in his publick Converſion.

WHILST He was in Perplexity, or rather ſome paſſionate Diſinclination to the Religion He had been educated in, He had the Misfortune to have much Acquaintance with one Mr. *Lugar*, a Miniſter of that Church; a Man of a Competency of Learning, in thoſe Points moſt controverted with the *Romaniſts*, but of no acute Parts of Wit, or Judgment; and wrought ſo far upon him, by weakening, and enervating thoſe Arguments, by which He found He was governed (as He had all the Logick, and all the Rhetorick, that was neceſſary to perſuade very powerfully Men of the greateſt Talents) that the poor Man, not able to live long in Doubt, too haſ-
(30) tily deſerted his own Church, and betook himſelf to the *Roman:* Nor could all the Arguments, and Reaſons of Mr. *Chillingworth* make him pauſe in the Expedition He was uſing; or reduce him from that Church after He had given himſelf to it; but He had always a great Animoſity againſt him, for having (as He ſaid) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another Religion, and there left him. So unfit are ſome Conſtitutions to be troubled with Doubts, after They are once fixed.

HE did really believe all War to be unlawful; and did not think that the Parliament (whoſe Proceedings He perfectly abhorred) did in Truth intend to involve the Nation in a Civil War, till after the Battle of *Edgehill*; and then He thought any Expedient, or Stratagem that was like to put a ſpeedy End to it, to be the moſt commendable: And ſo having too mathematically conceived

ceived an Engine, that ſhould move ſo lightly, as to be a Breaſt-work in all Encounters, and Aſſaults in the Field; He carried it, to make the Experiment, into that Part of his Majeſty's Army, which was only in that Winter Seaſon in the Field, under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, in *Hampſhire*, upon the Borders of *Suſſex*; where He was ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Arundel*; which was forced, after a ſhort, ſharp Siege, to yield for want of Victual; and poor Mr. *Chillingworth* with it, falling into the Rebels Hands; and being moſt barbarouſly treated by them, eſpecially by that Clergy which followed them; and being broken with Sickneſs, contracted by the ill Accommodation, and Want of Meat, and Fire during the Siege, which was in a terrible Seaſon of Froſt and Snow, He died ſhortly after in Priſon. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of a chearful Diſpoſition; void of all Kind of Vice, and endued with many notable Virtues; of a very publick Heart, and an indefatigable Deſire to do Good; his only Unhappineſs proceeded from his ſleeping too little, and thinking too much; which ſometimes threw him into violent Fevers.

THIS was Mr. HYDE's Company, and Converſation, to which He dedicated his vacant Times, and all that Time which He could make vacant, from the Buſineſs of his Profeſſion; which He indulged with no more Paſſion than was neceſſary to keep up the Reputation of a Man, that had no Purpoſe to be idle; which indeed He perfectly abhorred: And He took always Occaſion to celebrate the Time He had ſpent in that Converſation, with great Satisfaction, and Delight. Nor was He leſs fortunate, in the Acquaintance and Friendſhips which He made with the Perſons in his Profeſſion; who were all eminent Men, or of the moſt hopeful Parts; who being all much ſuperior to him in Age, and Experience, and entirely devoted to their Profeſſion, were yet well pleaſed with the Gaiety of his Humour, and inoffenſive, and winning Behaviour; and this good Inclination of theirs was improved by the Intereſt They ſaw He had in Perſons of the beſt Quality, to whom He was very acceptable, and his Condition of living, which was with more Expenſe than young Lawyers were accuſtomed to.

Mr. Hyde's *Friends in his Profeſſion.*

THOSE Perſons were, Mr. *Lane*, who was then Attorney to the Prince of *Wales*; and afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and laſtly upon the Death of the Lord

Lord *Littleton*, was made Keeper of the Great Seal, who died in Baniſhment with King *Charles* the Second. Mr. *Geoffrey Palmer*, afterwards Attorney General. Mr. *John Maynard*; and *Bulſtrode Whitlock*; all Men of eminent Parts, and great Learning out of their Profeſſions; and in their Profeſſions, of ſignal Reputation; and though the two laſt did afterwards bow their Knees to *Baal*, and (31) ſo ſwerved from their Allegiance, it was with leſs Rancour and Malice than other Men; They never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the Torrent, than ſwam with the Stream; and failed through thoſe Infirmities, which leſs than a general Defection, and a proſperous Rebellion could never have diſcovered. With theſe, and very few other Perſons of other Societies, and of more than ordinary Parts in the Profeſſion, He converſed. In Buſineſs, and in Practice, with the reſt of the Profeſſion He had at moſt a formal Acquaintance, and little Familiarity; very ſeldom uſing, when his Practice was at higheſt, ſo much as to eat in the Hall, without which, no Man ever got the Reputation of a good Student; but He ever gave his Time of eating to his Friends; and was wont pleaſantly to ſay, "that He repaired himſelf with very good Company at Dinner, for the ill "Company He had kept in the Morning;" and made himſelf Amends for the Time He loſt with his Friends, by declining Suppers; and with a Part of that Time which was allowed for Sleep: But He grew every Day more intent on Buſineſs, and more engaged in Practice, ſo that He could not aſſign ſo much Time as He had uſed to do, to his beloved Converſation.

THE Countenance He received from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who took all Occaſion to mention him as a Perſon He had Kindneſs for; the Favour of the Lord *Coventry*, manifeſted as often as He came before him; the Reception He found with the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who had raiſed the Court of Requeſts to as much Buſineſs as the Chancery itſelf was poſſeſſed of, and where He was looked upon as a Favourite; the Familiarity uſed towards him by the Lord *Pembroke*, who was Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſe, and a greater Man in the Country than the Court; by the Earl of *Holland*, and many other Lords and Ladies, and other Perſons of Intereſt in the Court, made him looked upon by the Judges in *Weſtminſter Hall*, with much

Condeſcenſion;

Condeſcenſion; and They, who before He put on his Gown, looked upon him as one who deſigned ſome other Courſe of Life (for though He had been always very punctual in the Performance of all thoſe publick Exerciſes the Profeſſion obliged him to, both before, and after He was called to the Bar; yet in all other Reſpects He ſeemed not to confine himſelf wholly to that Courſe of Life) now when They no ſooner ſaw him put on his Gown, but that He was ſuddenly in Practice, and taken Notice of particularly in all Courts of Juſtice with unuſual Countenance, thought He would make what Progreſs He deſired in that Profeſſion.

As He had thoſe many Friends in Court, ſo He was not leſs acceptable to many great Perſons in the Country, who leaſt regarded the Court, and were leaſt eſteemed by it; and He had that rare Felicity, that even They, who did not love many of thoſe, upon whom He moſt depended, were yet very well pleaſed with him, and with his Company. The Earl of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Intereſts, and Friendſhips were then the ſame; and who were looked upon with Reverence by all who had not Reverence for the Court; and even by all in the Court, who were not ſatisfied there (which was, and always will be a great People) were very kind to him, and ready to truſt him in any Thing that was moſt ſecret; and though He could not diſpoſe the Archbiſhop, or the Earl of *Eſſex* to any Correſpondence, or good Intelligence with each other; which He exceedingly laboured to do, and found an equal Averſion in both towards each other; yet He ſucceeded to his Wiſh in bringing the Archbiſhop, and the Earl of *Hertford* to a very good Acquaintance, and Inclination to each other; which They both often acknowledged kindly to him, and with which the Earl of *Eſſex* was as much unſatisfied.

Mr. Hyde *reconciles the Archbiſhop and the Earl of* Hertford.

(33)

The Perſon whoſe Life this Diſcourſe is to recollect (and who had ſo great an Affection, and Reverence for the Memory of Archbiſhop *Laud*, that He never ſpake of him without extraordinary Eſteem, and believed him to be a Man of the moſt exemplar Virtue, and Piety of any of that Age) was wont to ſay, the greateſt Want the Archbiſhop had, was of a true Friend, who would ſeaſonably have told him of his Infirmities, and what People ſpake of him; and He ſaid, He knew well, that ſuch a Friend would have been very acceptable to him; and upon

upon that Occaſion He uſed to mention a Story of Himſelf; that when He was a young Practiſer of the Law, being in ſome Favour with him (as is mentioned before) He went to viſit him, in the Beginning of a *Michaelmaſs* Term, ſhortly after his Return from the Country, where He had ſpent a Month or two of the Summer.

His free Expoſtulation with the Archbiſhop.

HE found the Archbiſhop early walking in the Garden; who received him according to his Cuſtom, very graciouſly, and continuing his Walk, aſked him, "what "good News in the Country?" to which He anſwered, "there was none good; the People were univerſally diſ-"contented; and (which troubled him moſt) that many "People ſpoke extreme ill of his Grace, as the Cauſe of "all that was amiſs." He replied, "that He was ſorry for "it; He knew He did not deſerve it; and that He muſt "not give over ſerving the King, and the Church, to "pleaſe the People, who otherwiſe would not ſpeak well "of him." Mr. *Hyde* told him, "He thought He need "not leſſen his Zeal for either; and that it grieved him "to find Perſons of the beſt Condition, and who loved "both King, and Church, exceedingly indevoted to "Him; complaining of his Manner of treating them, "when They had Occaſion to reſort to him, it may be, "for his Directions." And then named him two Perſons of the moſt Intereſt and Credit in *Wiltſhire*, who had that Summer attended the Counеil Board, in ſome Affairs which concerned the King, and the County; that all the Lords preſent uſed them with great Courteſy, knowing well their Quality and Reputation; but that He alone ſpake very ſharply to them, and without any Thing of Grace, at which They were much troubled; and one of them, ſuppoſing that Somebody had done him ill Offices, went the next Morning to *Lambeth*, to preſent his Service to him, and to diſcover, if He could, what Miſrepreſentation had been made of him: That after He had attended very long, He was admitted to ſpeak with his Grace, who ſcarce hearing him, ſharply anſwered him, that "He had no Leiſure for Compliments;" and ſo hurried away; which put the other Gentleman much out of Countenance: And that this Kind of Behaviour of his was the Diſcourſe of all Companies of Perſons of Quality; every Man continuing any ſuch Story with another like it, very much to his Diſadvantage; and to the Trouble of thoſe who were very juſt to him.

The Archbiſhop's Reply.

HE heard the Relation very patiently, and attentively; and diſcourſed over every Particular with all imaginable Condeſcenſion; and ſaid, with evident Shew of Trouble, that "He was very unfortunate to be ſo ill underſtood; that He meant very well; that He remembered "the Time, when thoſe two Perſons were with the Coun"cil; that upon any Deliberations, when any Thing was "reſolved, or to be ſaid to any Body, the Council en"joined him to deliver their Reſolutions; which He did "always according to the beſt of his Underſtanding; but "by the Imperfection He had by Nature, which He ſaid "often troubled him, He might deliver it in ſuch a Tune, (33) "and with a Sharpneſs of Voice, that made Men believe "He was angry, when there was no ſuch Thing; that "when thoſe Gentlemen were there, and He had deli"vered what He was to ſay, They made ſome Stay, and "ſpake with ſome of the Lords, which not being accord"ing to Order, He thought He gave them ſome Repre"henſion; They having at that Time very much other "Buſineſs to do: That He did well remember, that one "of them, (who was a Perſon of Honour) came after"wards to him, at a Time He was ſhut up about an "Affair of Importance, which required his full Thoughts; "but that as ſoon as He heard of the other's being with"out, He ſent for him, himſelf going into the next "Room, and received him very kindly, as He thought; "and ſuppoſing that He came about Buſineſs, aſked him "what his Buſineſs was; and the other anſwering, that "He had no Buſineſs, but continuing his Addreſs with "ſome Ceremony, He had indeed ſaid, that *He had not "Time for Compliments*; but He did not think that He "went out of the Room in that Manner: And con"cluded, that it was not poſſible for him in the many "Occupations He had, to ſpend any Time in unneceſ"ſary Compliments; and that if his Integrity and Up"rightneſs, which never ſhould be liable to Reproach, "could not be ſtrong enough to preſerve him, He muſt "ſubmit to God's Pleaſure."

HE was well contented to hear Mr. *Hyde* reply very freely upon the Subject, who ſaid, "He obſerved by "what his Grace himſelf had related, that the Gentle"men had too much Reaſon for the Report They made; "and He did not wonder that They had been much "troubled at his Carriage towards them; that He did

"exceedingly

"exceedingly wiſh, that He would more reſerve his Paſ-
"ſion towards all Perſons, how faulty ſoever; and that
"He would treat Perſons of Honour, and Quality, and
"Intereſt in their Country, with more Courteſy and Con-
"deſcenſion; eſpecially when They came to viſit him,
"and make Offer of their Service." He ſaid, ſmiling, that "He could only undertake for his Heart; that He "had very good Meaning; for his Tongue, He could "not undertake, that he would not ſometimes ſpeak more "haſtily, and ſharply, than He ſhould do, (which often-"times He was ſorry and reprehended himſelf for) and "in a Tune which might be liable to Miſinterpretation, "with them, who were not very well acquainted with "him, and ſo knew, that it was an Infirmity, which his "Nature, and Education had ſo rooted in him, that it "was in vain to contend with it." For the State and Diſtance He kept with Men, He ſaid, "He thought it "was not more than was ſuitable to the Place and Degree "He held in the Church, and State; or ſo much as o-"thers had aſſumed to themſelves, who had ſat in his "Place; and thereupon He told him ſome Behaviour and "Carriage of his Predeceſſor *Abbot* (who He ſaid was "not better born than himſelf) towards the greateſt "Nobility of the Kingdom, which He thought was very "inſolent, and inexcuſable;" and was indeed very ridiculous.

AFTER this free Diſcourſe, Mr. *Hyde* ever found himſelf more graciouſly received by him, and treated with more Familiarity; upon which He always concluded, that if the Archbiſhop had had any true Friend, who would, in proper Seaſons, have dealt frankly with him, in the moſt important Matters, and wherein the Errors were like to be moſt penal, He would not only have received it very well, but have profited himſelf by it. But it is the Misfortune of moſt Perſons of that Education (how worthy ſoever) that They have rarely Friendſhips with Men above their own Condition; and that their Aſcent being com-
(34) monly ſudden, from low to high, They have afterwards rather Dependants than Friends; and are ſtill deceived, by keeping ſomewhat in Reſerve to themſelves, even from thoſe with whom They ſeem moſt openly to communicate; and which is worſe, receive for the moſt Part, their Informations and Advertiſements from Clergymen, who underſtand the leaſt, and take the worſt Meaſure

of human Affairs, of all Mankind, that can write and read.

UNDER this univerſal Acquaintance, and general Acceptation, Mr. *Hyde* led, for many Years, as chearful, and pleaſant a Life, as any Man did enjoy, as long as the Kingdom took any Pleaſure in itſelf. His Practice grew every Day as much as He wiſhed; and would have been much more, if He had wiſhed it; by which, He not only ſupported his Expenſe, greater much than Men of his Rank, and Pretences, uſed to make, but encreaſed his Eſtate by ſome convenient Purchaſes of Land, adjoining to his other; and He grew ſo much in Love with Buſineſs and Practice, that He gave up his whole Heart to it; reſolving, by a Courſe of ſevere Study, to recover the Time He had loſt upon leſs profitable Learning, and to intend nothing elſe, but to reap all thoſe Benefits, to which that Profeſſion could carry him, and to the purſuing whereof, He had ſo many, and ſo unuſual Encouragements; and towards which it was not the leaſt, that God had bleſſed him with an excellent Wife, who perfectly reſigned herſelf to him; and who then had brought him, before any Troubles in the Kingdom, three Sons, and a Daughter, which He then, and ever, looked upon as his greateſt Bleſſing, and Conſolation.

Mr. Hyde's *Reflections on the younger Part of his Life.*

BECAUSE we ſhall have little Cauſe hereafter to mention any other Particulars, in the calm Part of his Life, whilſt He followed the Study and Practice of the Law, it will not in this Place appear a very impertinent Digreſſion to ſay, that He was, in that very Time, when Fortune ſeemed to ſmile, and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, wont to ſay, that "when He reflected upon himſelf, and "his paſt Actions, even from the Time of his firſt "coming to the *Middle Temple*, He had much more Cauſe "to be terrified upon the Reflection, than the Man had, "who viewed *Rocheſter* Bridge in the Morning that it was "broken, and which He had galloped over in the Night; "that He had paſſed over more Precipices than the other "had done, for many Nights, and Days, and ſome Years "together; from which nothing but the immediate "Hand of God could have preſerved him." For though it is very true, the Perſons before mentioned were the only Men, in whoſe Company, in thoſe Seaſons of his Life, He took Delight; yet He frequently found himſelf in the Con-

Converſation of worſe, and indeed of all Manner of Men; and it being in the Time when the War was entered into againſt the two Crowns; and the Expeditions made to, and unproſperous returns from *Cadiz*, and the Iſle of *Ree*, the Town was full of Soldiers, and of young Gentlemen who intended to be Soldiers, or as like them as They could; great Licence uſed of all Kinds, in Cloaths, in Diet, in Gaming; and all Kind of Expenſes equally carried on, by Men who had Fortunes of their own to ſupport it, and by others, who having nothing of their own, cared not what They ſpent, whilſt They could find Credit; ſo that there was never an Age, in which in ſo ſhort a Time, ſo many young Gentlemen, who had not Experience in the World, or ſome tutelar Angel to protect them, were inſenſibly, and ſuddenly overwhelmed in that Sea of Wine, and Women, and Quarrels, and Gaming, which almoſt overſpread the whole Kingdom, and the Nobility and Gentry thereof. And when He had, by God's immediate Bleſſing, diſentangled himſelf from theſe (35) Labyrinths (his Nature and Inclination diſpoſing him rather to paſs through thoſe diſſolute Quarters, than to make any Stay in them) and was enough compoſed againſt any extravagant Excurſions; He was ſtill converſant with a Rank of Men (how worthy ſoever) above his Quality; and engaged in an Expenſe above his Fortune, if the extraordinary Accidents of his Life had not ſupplied him for thoſe Exceſſes; ſo that it brought no Prejudice upon him, except in the Cenſure of ſevere Men, who thought him a Perſon of more Licence than in Truth He was; and who in a ſhort Time, were very fully reconciled to him.

And his own Character.

HE had without Doubt great Infirmities; which by a providential Mercy were ſeaſonably reſtrained from growing into Vices, at leaſt into any that were habitual. He had Ambition enough to keep him from being ſatisfied with his own Condition, and to raiſe his Spirit to great Deſigns of raiſing himſelf; but not to tranſport him to endeavour it by any crooked, and indirect Means. He was never ſuſpected to flatter the greateſt Man; or in the leaſt Degree to diſſemble his own Opinions or Thoughts, how ingrateful ſoever it often proved; and even an affected Defect in, and Contempt of thoſe two uſeful Qualities coſt him dear afterwards. He indulged his Palate very much, and took even ſome Delight in eating and

drinking well; but without any Approach to Luxury; and, in Truth, rather diſcourſed like an Epicure, than was one; having ſpent much Time in the eating Hours, with the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lumley*, Men who excelled in gratifying their Appetites. He had a Fancy ſharp, and luxuriant; but ſo carefully cultivated, and ſtrictly guarded, that He never was heard to ſpeak a looſe or a profane Word; which He imputed to the Chaſtity of the Perſons, where his Converſation uſually was; where that rank Sort of Wit was religiouſly deteſted; and a little Diſcountenance would quickly root thoſe unſavoury Weeds out of all Diſcourſes where Perſons of Honour are preſent.

He was in his Nature inclined to Pride and Paſſion; and to a Humour, between Wrangling and Diſputing, very troubleſome; which good Company in a ſhort Time ſo much reformed, and maſtered, that no Man was more affable and courteous to all Kind of Perſons; and They who knew the great Infirmity of his whole Family, which abounded in Paſſion, uſed to ſay, He had much extinguiſhed the Unrulineſs of that Fire. That which ſupported, and rendered him generally acceptable, was his Generoſity (for He had too much a Contempt of Money) and the Opinion Men had of the Goodneſs, and Juſtice of his Nature which was tranſcendent in him, in a wonderful Tenderneſs, and Delight in obliging. His Integrity was ever without Blemiſh; and believed to be above Temptation. He was firm and unſhaken in his Friendſhips: and though He had great Candour towards others in the Differences of Religion, He was zealouſly, and deliberately fixed in the Principles both of the Doctrine, and Diſcipline of the Church: Yet He uſed to ſay to his neareſt Friends, in that Time, when He expected another Kind of Calm for the Remainder of his Life, "though He had ſome glimmering Light of, and Inclination to Virtue in his Nature, "that the whole Progreſs of his Life had been full of deſperate Hazards; and that only the merciful Hand of "God Almighty had prevented his being both an unfortunate, and a vicious Man:" And He ſtill ſaid, that "God had vouchſafed that ſignal Goodneſs to him, for "the Piety, and exemplar Virtue of his Father and Mother;" whoſe Memory He had always in Veneration; and He was pleaſed with what his neareſt Ally, and Boſom Friend Serjeant *Hyde* (who was afterwards Chief Juſtice of (36) the

the King's Bench) uſed at that Time to ſay of him, that his Couſin had paſſed his Time very luckily; and with notable Succeſs; and was like to be very happy in the World; but He would never adviſe any of his Friends to walk in the ſame Paths, or to tread in his Steps.

General State of Europe. *A. D.* 1639.

IT was about the Year 1639, when He was little more than thirty Years of Age; and when *England* enjoyed the greateſt Meaſure of Felicity, that it had ever known; the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* worrying each other, by their mutual Incurſions and Invaſions; whilſt They had both a Civil War in their own Bowels; the former, by frequent Rebellions from their own Factions, and Animoſities; the latter, by the Defection of *Portugal*; and both laboured more to ranſack, and burn each other's Dominions, than to extinguiſh their own Fire. All *Germany* weltering in it's own Blood; and contributing to each other's Deſtruction, that the poor Crown of *Sweden* might grow great out of their Ruins, and at their Charge: *Denmark*, and *Poland* being Adventurers in the ſame deſtructive Enterprizes. *Holland*, and the *United Provinces* wearied, and tired with their long and chargeable War, how proſperous ſoever They were in it; and beginning to be more afraid of *France*, their Ally, than of *Spain*, their Enemy. *Italy*, every Year infeſted by the Arms of *Spain* and *France*; which divided the Princes thereof into the ſeveral Factions.

OF all the Princes of *Europe*, the King of *England* alone ſeemed to be ſeated upon that pleaſant Promontory, that might ſafely view the tragick Sufferings of all his Neighbours about him, without any other Concernment, than what aroſe from his own princely Heart, and Chriſtian Compaſſion, to ſee ſuch Deſolation wrought by the Pride, and Paſſion, and Ambition of private Perſons, ſupported by Princes, who knew not what themſelves would have. His three Kingdoms flouriſhing in entire Peace, and univerſal Plenty; in Danger of nothing but their own Surfeits; and his Dominions every Day enlarged, by ſending out Colonies upon large and fruitful Plantations; his ſtrong Fleets commanding all Seas; and the numerous Shipping of the Nation bringing the Trade of the World into his Ports; nor could it with unqueſtionable Security be carried any whither elſe; and all theſe Bleſſings enjoyed, under a Prince of the greateſt Clemency and Juſtice, and of the greateſt Piety and Devotion, and the moſt in-

dulgent to his Subjects, and moſt ſolicitous for their Happineſs and Proſperity.

O fortunati nimium, bona ſi ſua nôrint!

In this bleſſed Conjuncture, when no other Prince thought He wanted any Thing, to compaſs what He moſt deſired to be poſſeſſed of, but the Affection and Friendſhip of the King of *England*; a ſmall, ſcarce diſcernable Cloud aroſe in the North; which was ſhortly after attended with ſuch a Storm, that never gave over raging, till it had ſhaken, and even rooted up the greateſt and talleſt Cedars of the three Nations; blaſted all its Beauty and Fruitfulneſs; brought its Strength to Decay, and its Glory to Reproach, and almoſt to Deſolation; by ſuch a Career, and Deluge of Wickedneſs, and Rebellion, as by not being enough foreſeen, or, in Truth, ſuſpected, could not be prevented.

Upon the Rebellion in *Scotland*, in the Year 1640, the King called a Parliament; which met according to Summons, upon the 3d of *April*. Mr. *Hyde* was choſen to ſerve for two Places; for the Borough of *Wotton-Baſſet* in the County of *Wilts*; and for the Borough of *Shafteſbury*, in the County of *Dorſet*; but made choice to ſerve for his Neighbours of the former Place: and ſo a new Writ iſſued (37) for the Choice of another Burgeſs for *Shaftesbury*.

Mr. Hyde *choſen Member for* Wotton-Baſſet.

The next Day after Mr. *Pym* had recapitulated the whole Series of the Grievances, and Miſcarriages, which had been in the State; Mr. *Hyde* told the Houſe, that "that "worthy Gentleman had omitted one Grievance, more "heavy than (as He thought) many of the others; which "was, the Earl Marſhal's Court: a Court newly erected, "without Colour, or Shadow of Law, which took upon "it to fine, and impriſon the King's Subjects; and to "give great Damages for Matters which the Law gave "no Damages for." He repeated a pleaſant Story of a Citizen, who being rudely treated, for more than his Fare came to, by a Waterman, who preſſing him, ſtill ſhewed his Creſt or Badge upon his Coat, the Citizen bad him begone *with his Gooſe*; whereas it was in Truth, a Swan, the Creſt of an Earl, whoſe Servant the Waterman was; whereupon the Citizen was called into the Marſhal's Court, and after a long and chargeable Attendance, was, *for the opprobrious diſhonouring the Earl's Creſt, by calling the Swan a Gooſe*, fined, and impriſoned, till He had paid conſi-

His firſt Speech in the Houſe of Commons.

conſiderable Damages to the Lord, or at leaſt to the Waterman; which really undid the Citizen.

HE told them another Story as ridiculous, of a Gentleman, who owing his Taylor a long Time, a good Sum of Money for Cloaths, and his Taylor coming one Day to his Chamber, with more than ordinary Importunity for his Debt, and not receiving any good Anſwer, threatened to arreſt him; upon which the Gentleman enraged, gave him very ill Words, called him baſe Fellow, and laid his Hands upon him, to thruſt him out of his Chamber; in this Struggle, and under this Provocation, Oppreſſion, and Reproach, the poor Taylor chanced to ſay, that He was as good a Man as the other; for which Words He was called into the Marſhal's Court; and for his Peace, was content to be ſatisfied his Debt, out of his own ill Manners; being compelled to releaſe all his other Demands in Lieu of Damages. The Caſe was known by many, and deteſted by all.

HE told them, that "there was an Appendant to that "Court, which He called the Pageantry of it, the He-"ralds, who were as grievous to the Gentry, as the Court "was to the People. He ſaid, that ſure the Knights of "that Houſe, when They received that Honour from the "King, though They might think themſelves obliged to "live at a higher Rate, yet They believed, that They "might die as good cheap as other Men; He told them "They could not, it would coſt them ten Pounds more; "and yet a Gentleman could not die for nothing." The Heralds had procured ſuch an Order from the Earl Marſhal, to force all Perſons to pay at their Funerals, ſuch ſeveral Sums, according to their ſeveral Degrees. He concluded with a Deſire, that when the Wiſdom of that Houſe provided Remedies againſt the other Grievances, it would likewiſe ſecure the Subject againſt this Exorbitance. This Repreſentation was very acceptable to the Houſe, both in Reſpect of the Matter, which was odious enough; and in Regard of the Perſon that uſurped that monſtrous Juriſdiction, who was in no Degree grateful to them; upon whom He that made the Motion, had not made the leaſt Reflection. The Modeſty of that Time not permitting the Mention of great Men, with any Reproach, until their Offences were firſt examined, and proved; and this being the firſt Part He had acted upon that Stage, brought him much

much Applauſe; and He was ever afterwards heard with great Benignity.

He endeavours to prevent the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Upon the warm Debate in the Houſe of Commons, concerning the giving the King Money, Mr. *Hyde* (38) obſerved by the ſeveral Diſcourſes of many of the Court, who were of near Admiſſion to the King and Queen, and like to make probable Gueſſes, that They believed, the King would be ſo much diſpleaſed at the Proceedings of the Houſe, that He would diſſolve them; which He believed would prove the moſt fatal Reſolution could be taken. As ſoon as the Houſe was up, He went over to *Lambeth*, to the Archbiſhop; whom He found walking in his Garden, having received a full Account of all that had paſſed, from Perſons who had made more Haſte from the Houſe. He appeared ſad, and full of Thoughts; and calling the other to him, ſeemed willing to hear what He would ſay. He told him, "that He would not trouble "him with the Relation of any Thing that had paſſed, of "which He preſumed He had received a good Account; "that his Buſineſs was only to inform him of his own "Fears and Apprehenſions; and the Obſervation He had "made upon the Diſcourſes of ſome conſiderable Men of "the Court; as if the King might be wrought upon, be"cauſe there had not been that Expedition uſed as He ex"pected, ſpeedily to diſſolve the Parliament. That He "came only to beſeech him to uſe all his Credit, to pre"vent ſuch a deſperate Counſel; which would produce "great Miſchief to the King, and to the Church: that "He was confident the Houſe was as well conſtituted and "diſpoſed, as ever Houſe of Commons was, or would be: "that the Number of the diſaffected to Church, or State, "was very ſmall; and though They might obſtruct for "ſome Time the quick reſolving upon what was fit, They "would never be able to pervert their good Inclinations, "and Deſires to ſerve the King."

The Archbiſhop heard him very patiently, and ſaid, He believed the King would be very angry at the Way of their Proceedings; for that in this Conjuncture, the delaying, and denying to do what He deſired, was the ſame Thing; and therefore He believed it probable that He would diſſolve them; without which He could not enter upon other Counſels. That for his own Part, He was reſolved to deliver no Opinion; but as He would not perſuade the Diſſolution, which might be attended by Conſequences

ſequences He could not foreſee, ſo He had not ſo good an Opinion of their Affections to the King, or the Church, as to perſuade their longer Sitting, if the King were inclined to diſſolve them. As He actually did on the 4th or 5th of *May*, not three Weeks after their firſt Meeting.

He is again returned to ſerve in Parliament.

THE Temper and Conſtitution of both Houſes of Parliament, which the King was forced to call ſhortly after, and met on the 3d of *November* 1640, was very different from the laſt: and They diſcovered not more Prejudice againſt any Man, than againſt Mr. *Hyde*; who was again returned to ſerve there, and whom They were ſorry to find amongſt them; as a Man They knew well to have great Affection for the Archbiſhop; and of unalterable Devotion to the Government of the Church; and therefore They firſt laboured to find ſome Defect in his Election; and then to irreconcile thoſe towards him, who They found had any Eſteem or Kindneſs for him: but not finding the Succeſs in either, anſwerable to their Expectation, They lived fairly towards him; and endeavoured by ſeveral Applications, to gain Credit with him; who returned them their own Civilities; having had very particular Acquaintance with many of them, whom He as much endeavoured to preſerve from being prevailed upon.

He procures the Suppreſſion of the Earl Marſhal's Court.

WITHIN few Days after their Meeting, He renewed the Motion He had made in the laſt Parliament, againſt (39) the Marſhal's Court, (though He knew the Earl Marſhal had gotten himſelf much into their Favour, by his Application, and ſome Promiſes He had made to them at the Meeting at *York*; and principally by his declared Averſion and Prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*) and told them what extravagant Proceedings there had been in that Court, ſince the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament; and that more Damages had been given there, by the ſole Judgment of the Lord Marſhal, for contumelious and reproachful Words, of which the Law took no Notice, in two Days, than had been given by all the Juries, in all the Courts in *Weſtminſter Hall*, in the whole Term, and the Days for Trial after it was ended. Upon which He got a Committee to be named, of which himſelf ſat in the Chair; and found that the firſt Precedent They had in all their Records, for that Form of Proceeding, which They had uſed, and for giving of Damages for Words, was but in the Year 1633; and the very Entrance upon this Inquiſition, put an End to that upſtart Court, which never

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preſumed to ſit afterwards; and ſo that Grievance was thoroughly aboliſhed. And to manifeſt how great an Impreſſion the Alarums of this Kind made upon the higheſt, and the prudeſt Natures, the very next *Sunday* after this Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, the Earl Marſhal, ſeeing Mr. *Hyde* in the Cloſet at *Whitehall*, during the Time of the Sermon, He came with great Courteſy to him, thanked him for having treated his Perſon ſo civilly, when upon ſo juſt Reaſon He had found fault with ſome of his Actions: ſaid, He believed He had been in the Wrong; but that He had been miſled by the Advice of Sir *Harry Martin*, and other Civilians, who were held Men of great Learning, and who aſſured him, that thoſe Proceedings were juſt and lawful. He ſaid, They had gained well by it, but ſhould miſlead him no more: and concluded with great Profeſſions of Kindneſs, and Eſteem; and offered him all Offices in his Power; when in his Heart, He did him the Honour to deteſt, and hate him perfectly; as He profeſſed to all whom He truſted.

His Credit grew every Day in the Houſe, in Spite of all the Endeavours, which were uſed to leſſen it. And it being evident, that He had no Dependance upon the Court; and inſiſted wholly upon maintaining what the Law had eſtabliſhed, very many wiſe Men, and of Eſtate, and Reputation in the Kingdom (who obſerved well the crooked, and ambitious Deſigns of thoſe, who deſired to be thought to care only for the good of their Country) adhered to him; and were willing to take Advice from him, how to prevent thoſe Miſeries, which were like to be brought upon the Kingdom: ſo that They who had cut out all the Work from the Beginning, and ſeldom met with any notable Contradiction, found themſelves now frequently diſappointed; and different Reſolutions taken, to what They had propoſed; which They imputed to his Activity.

He was very much in the Buſineſs of the Houſe: the greateſt Chairman in the Committees of the greateſt Moment; and very diligent in attending the Service both in the Houſe, and at Committees: for He had from the Beginning of the Parliament, laid aſide his Gown, and Practice, and wholly given himſelf up to the publick Buſineſs; which He ſaw ſo much concerned the Peace, and very Being of the Kingdom. He was in the Chair of that Committee which conſidered of the Illegality of the Court

He lays aſide his Gown, and gives himſelf wholly to publick Buſineſs.

of

of *York*: and the other, that examined the Miſcarriage of the Judges, in the Caſe of Ship-Money, and in other Caſes of Judicatory, in their ſeveral Courts; and prepared Charges thereupon againſt them. He was in the Chair againſt the Marſhal's Court. In that Committee which was
(40) againſt the Court of *York*; which was proſecuted with great Paſſion, and took up many Weeks Debate: In that which concerned the Juriſdiction of the Lord Preſident, and Council, of the Marches of *Wales*; which likewiſe held a long Time, and was proſecuted with great Bitterneſs and Animoſity: In which the Inhabitants of the four neighbour Counties of *Salop*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Gloceſter*, and conſequently the Knights, and Burgeſſes which ſerved for the ſame, were paſſionately concerned to abſolve themſelves from the Burthen of that Juriſdiction; and all the Officers of that Court, and Council, whereof ſome were very great Men, and held Offices of great Value, laboured with equal Paſſion and Concernment, to ſupport, and maintain what was in Practice, and Poſſeſſion; and their Friends appeared accordingly.

HE was in the Chair in many Committees made upon private Complaints: inſomuch as He was ſeldom in the Afternoon free from that Service in the Committees; as He was never abſent in Mornings from the Houſe: and He was often heard to mention one private Committee, in which He was put accidentally into the Chair, upon an Incloſure which had been made of ſome great Waſtes, belonging to ſome of the Queen's Manors, without the Conſent of the Tenants, the Benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a Servant of near Truſt; who forthwith ſold the Lands incloſed to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Privy Seal; who together with his Son *Mandevil*, were now moſt concerned to maintain the Incloſure; againſt which, as well the Inhabitants of other Manors, who claimed Common in thoſe Waſtes, as the Queen's Tenants of the ſame, made loud Complaints, as a great Oppreſſion, carried upon them with a very high Hand, and ſupported by Power.

THE Committee ſat in the Queen's Court; and *Oliver Cromwell* being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the Petitioners, who were numerous, together with their Witneſſes; the Lord *Mandevil* being likewiſe preſent as a Party, and by the Direction of the Committee, ſitting covered: *Cromwell* (who had never before been heard to ſpeak in the Houſe of Commons) ordered the

The firſt Cauſe of Oliver Cromwell's *Enmity to him.*

the Witneſſes, and Petitioners in the Method of the Proceeding; and ſeconded, and enlarged upon what They ſaid with great Paſſion; and the Witneſſes, and Perſons concerned, who were a very rude Kind of People, interrupted the Council, and Witneſſes on the other Side, with great Clamour, when They ſaid any Thing that did not pleaſe them; ſo that Mr. *Hyde* (whoſe Office it was to oblige Men of all Sorts to keep Order) was compelled to uſe ſome ſharp Reproofs, and ſome Threats, to reduce them to ſuch a Temper, that the Buſineſs might be quietly heard. *Cromwell* in great Fury reproached the Chairman for being partial, and that He diſcountenanced the Witneſſes by threatening them; the Other appealed to the Committee, which juſtified him, and declared, that He behaved himſelf as He ought to do; which more enflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any mention of Matter of Fact, or the Proceeding before, and at the Incloſure, the Lord *Mandevil* deſired to be heard, and with great Modeſty related what had been done, or explained what had been ſaid, Mr. *Cromwell* did anſwer, and reply upon him, with ſo much Indecency and Rudeneſs, and in Language ſo contrary and offenſive, that every Man would have thought, that as their Natures, and their Manners were as oppoſite as it is poſſible, ſo their Intereſt could never have been the ſame In the End, his whole Carriage was ſo tempeſtuous, and his Behaviour ſo inſolent, that the Chairman found himſelf obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if He proceeded in the ſame (41) Manner, He would preſently adjourn the Committee; and the next Morning complain to the Houſe of him; which He never forgave; and took all Occaſions afterwards to purſue him with the utmoſt Malice and Revenge, to his Death.

When Mr. *Hyde* ſat in the Chair, in the grand Committee of the Houſe, for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, all that Party made great Court to him; and the Houſe keeping thoſe diſorderly Hours, and ſeldom riſing till after four of the Clock in the Afternoon, They frequently importuned him to dine with them, at Mr. *Pym*'s Lodging, which was at Sir *Richard Manly*'s Houſe, in a little Court behind *Weſtminſter Hall*; where He, and Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and two or three more, upon a Stock kept a Table, where They tranſacted much Buſi-

Buſineſs; and invited thither thoſe, of whoſe Converſion They had any Hope.

ONE Day after Dinner, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who that Day likewiſe dined there, aſked Mr. *Hyde*, whether He would ride into the Fields, and take a little Air, it being a fine Evening; which the other conſenting to, They ſent for their Horſes, and riding together in the Fields, between *Weſtminſter* and *Chelſea*, Mr. *Fiennes* aſked him, what it was that inclined him to adhere ſo paſſionately to the Church, which could not poſſibly be ſupported. He anſwered, that He could have no other Obligation than that of his own Conſcience, and his Reaſon, that could move with him; for He had no Relation or Dependence upon any Churchmen, that could diſpoſe him to it; that He could not conceive, how Religion could be preſerved without Biſhops; nor how the Government of the State could well ſubſiſt, if the Government of the Church were altered; and aſked him what Government They meant to introduce in its Place: To which He anſwered, that there would be Time enough to think of that; but aſſured him, and wiſhed him to remember what He ſaid, that if the King reſolved to defend the Biſhops, it would coſt the Kingdom much Blood; and would be the Occaſion of as ſharp a War, as had ever been in *England:* for that there was a great Number of good Men, who reſolved to loſe their Lives, before They would ever ſubmit to that Government. Which was the firſt poſitive Declaration He had ever heard from any particular Man of that Party; very few of them having at that Time that Reſolution, much leſs avowing it; and if They had, the Kingdom was in no Degree at that Time infected with that Poiſon, how much ſoever it was ſpread afterwards.

His Converſation with Nat. Fiennes.

WITHIN two Days after this Diſcourſe from Mr. *Fiennes*, Mr. *Hyde*, walking between the Parliament Houſe and *Weſtminſter*, in the Church-Yard met with *Harry Martin*, with whom He lived very familiarly; and ſpeaking together about the Proceedings of the Houſes, *Martin* told him, that He would undo himſelf by his adhering to the Court; to which He replied, that He had no Relation to the Court, and was only concerned to maintain the Government, and preſerve the Law: and then told him He could not conceive what He propoſed to himſelf, for He did not think him to be of the Opinion, or Nature with thoſe Men, who go-

And with Harry Martin.

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verned the Houſe; and aſked him what He thought of ſuch, and ſuch Men; and He very frankly anſwered, that He thought them Knaves; and that when They had done as much as They intended to do, They ſhould be uſed as They had uſed others. The other preſſed him then to ſay what He deſired; to which, after a little Pauſe, He very roundly anſwered, *I do not think one Man wiſe enough to govern us all:* which was the firſt Word He had ever heard any Man ſpeak to that Purpoſe; and would without Doubt, if it had been then (42) communicated or attempted, been the moſt abhorred by the whole Nation, of any Deſign that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even ſo early entered into the Hearts of ſome deſperate Perſons: that Gentleman being at that Time poſſeſſed of a very great Fortune, and having great Credit in his Country.

Who owns himſelf a Republican.

WHILST Things were thus depending, one Morning, when there was a Conference with the Lords, and ſo the Houſe adjourned, Mr. *Hyde* being walking in the Houſe, Mr. *Peircy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, being a Member of the Houſe, came to him, and told him, that the King would ſpeak with him, and would have him that Afternoon to come to him. He anſwered, He believed it was ſome Miſtake, for that He had not the Honour to be known to the King; and that there was another of the ſame Name, of the Houſe. Mr. *Peircy* aſſured him, He was the Man; and ſo it was agreed, that at ſuch an Hour in the Evening, He would call on him at his Chamber; which He did, and was by him conducted into the Gallery, and ſo into the ſquare Room; where He ſtaid till the other went to the King; who in a very ſhort Time came thither, attended only by Mr. *Peircy*, who as ſoon as Mr. *Hyde* had kiſſed his Majeſty's Hand, withdrew.

Mr. Hyde *is ſent for by the King.*

THE King told him, "that He heard from all Hands, "how much He was beholden to him; and that when all "his Servants in the Houſe of Commons either neglected "his Service, or could not appear uſefully in it, He took "all Occaſions to do him Service; for which He thought "fit to give him his own Thanks, and to aſſure him, that "He would remember it to his Advantage." He took Notice of his Affection to the Church, for which, He ſaid, "He thanked him more than for all the reſt;" which the other acknowledged with the Duty that became him; and

The King's Diſcourſe with him.

and ſaid, "He was very happy, that his Majeſty was "pleaſed with what He did; but if He had commanded "him to have withdrawn his Affection and Reverence "for the Church, He would not have obeyed him;" which his Majeſty ſaid, made him love him the better. Then He diſcourſed of the Paſſion of the Houſe; and of the Bill then brought in againſt Epiſcopacy; and aſked him, "whether He thought They would be able to carry "it;" to which He anſwered, "He believed They could "not, at leaſt, that it would be very long firſt." "Nay "(replied the King) if you'll look to it, that They do "not carry it before I go for *Scotland*, which will be at "ſuch a Time, when the Armies ſhall be diſbanded, I "will undertake for the Church after that Time; why "then (ſaid the other) by the Grace of God, it will not "be in much Danger:" with which the King was well "pleaſed; and diſmiſſed him with very gracious Expreſſions. And this was the firſt Introduction of him to the King's taking Notice of him.

AFTERWARDS in that Summer, during the Time of his Majeſty's Stay in *Scotland*, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* (who then kept the Signet, though He was not ſworn Secretary till the King's Return) being very ſick, ſent to him, to deſire to ſpeak with him; whereupon He went to him to his Houſe in *King's-Street*; and found him in his Bed: and the Buſineſs was wholly to ſhew him a Letter from the King to him, in which He writ to him, that He underſtood by ſeveral Hands, that He was very much beholden to Mr. *Hyde*, for the great Zeal He ſhewed to his Service; and therefore commanded him to ſpeak with him, and to let him know the Senſe He had of it; and that when He returned, He would let him know it himſelf.

(43) HAVING now taken a View of him from his Birth; and through his whole Youth, and firſt Entrance into the Buſineſs of the World, in which He had great Succeſs and Proſperity, (and if the Calm, in which He was born, and laſted ſo long, had continued, no Man could with more Probability have promiſed himſelf better Fortune, in the Profeſſion to which He had dedicated himſelf) and having now brought him to be known to the King; and the Tempeſt that from the preſent foul Weather ſhortly after broke out, driving him from farther applying himſelf to, or proſecuting that Profeſſion; and the Parliament

ment making ſome ſhort Receſs, during the King's being in *Scotland*; we will here conclude the firſt Part of his Life, and enter upon the ſecond; which will contain a more important Part; and in which We will mention no Particulars of that active Time, but ſuch in which He had a ſignal Part; leaving the reſt to the Hiſtory of thoſe great and monſtrous Actions.

Montpelier.
27th of *March*, 1669.

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The LIFE of

EDWARD EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the SECOND.

(44) WHEN the Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation, and its particular Grievances, was (by Order of the Houſe of Commons) printed; Mr. *Hyde*, only to give Vent to his own Indignation, and without the leaſt Purpoſe of communicating it, or that any Uſe ſhould be made of it, had drawn ſuch a full Anſwer to it, as the Subject would have enabled any Man to have done, who had thought of it: and the Lord *Digby*, who had much Converſation and Friendſhip with him, coming accidentally and ſuddenly into the Room, where He was alone amongſt his Books and Papers; conferring together of the extravagant Proceedings of the Parliament, He, upon the Familiarity that was between them, and upon the Argument that was then between them, read the Anſwer to him which He had prepared to the Remonſtrance; with which He ſeemed much pleaſed, and deſired him that He would permit it to be made Uſe of by the King, and that He might ſhew it to his Majeſty; who found it abſolutely neceſſary to publiſh ſome Anſwer in his own Name to that Remonſtrance, which had ſo much poiſoned the Hearts of the People; and that his Majeſty was endeavouring to procure ſuch an Anſwer to be drawn. The other expreſsly and poſitively refuſed to give it him, or that any Uſe ſhould be made of it; and reproached him for propoſing a Thing to him,

Mr. Hyde *draws up an Anſwer to the Parliament's Remonſtrance.*

which might prove ruinous to him, if the Houſe ſhould have the leaſt Imagination, that He exerciſed himſelf in ſuch Offices; with which Anſwer He ſeemed ſatisfied, and departed: no other Perſon having ſeen it but the Lord *Falkland*, from whom Nothing was ever concealed.

WITHIN few Days after, the Lord *Digby*, with whom the King adviſed in the Buſineſs of the Parliament without Reſerve, came again to him; and after ſome Apologies, told him freely, that very many had been with the King, deſiring him that He would take Care that ſome Anſwer might be publiſhed to that Remonſtrance; which had already done much Harm, and would do much more if it were not anſwered; and that the King had ſpoken to him; upon which He had confeſſed that He had ſeen an Anſwer, that pleaſed him very well; but could not pre-(45) vail with the Author of it to ſuffer it to be made Uſe of; and told him who it was: whereupon the King ſeemed to wonder very much, that a Perſon who had appeared ſo publickly in Defence of his Service, ſhould be ſo wary of aſſiſting him in private: and after many Expreſſions of Grace towards that Gentleman, his Majeſty had commanded him to come in his Name to him; and to conjure him to ſend that Paper to him; and to give him his Royal Word, that no Perſon living ſhould know that He had the leaſt Hand in it; ſo that no Danger ſhould accrue to him thereby.

MR. HYDE, though He was very unſatisfied with what the Lord *Digby* had done (whoſe Affection to him He did not in any Degree make Queſtion of, but did not like his over Activity, to which his reſtleſs Fancy always diſpoſed him; and as He doubted not, that himſelf had given the Occaſion to the King to ſend thoſe Commands, ſo He had likewiſe enlarged thoſe Commands, as He believed, in ſuch a Manner as He thought might moſt oblige him) yet upon the real Conſideration that it might do the King much Service, He did without Delay deliver the Papers: inſiſting upon the Promiſe of Secrecy, and likewiſe, that his Majeſty would not publiſh, without firſt communicating it to his Council, and as done with their Advice. And to that Purpoſe He affixed that Title to it, before He delivered the Papers out of his Hands; believing that as it would be more for the King's Service to carry ſuch an Authority in the Front of it, as *The King's Anſwer with the Advice of his Council*; ſo it could

could not be refuſed by them, and yet might engage them in ſome Diſpleaſure with the Houſe of Commons, which probably might be offended at it. The King was very punctual in doing what was deſired; and cauſed it to be read at a full Council; where many of the Lords commended it very much, and none ſpake againſt it; and ſo it was publiſhed and printed: and it was very apparent to all Men, that the King's Service was very much advanced by it: and it was not more evident to any, than to the Houſe of Commons; who knew not how to make any Expoſtulation upon it, it being in the King's own Name, and publiſhed with the Advice of his Privy Council; ſo that all They could do, was to endeavour to diſcover who was the Penner of it; to which Diſcovery They were moſt intent by all their ſecret Friends in Court; who found Means to diſcover moſt other Secrets to them, but in this could do them no Service.

Which by the King's Command is printed.

As ſoon as the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* were called to the Privy Council, the King ſent for Mr. *Hyde* to him, who had not ſeen his Majeſty from the Time He had been preſented by Mr. *Peircy*. He commanded the Lord *Digby* to bring him when it was Night to the Queen's back Stairs; and as ſoon as He was there, both King and Queen came into the Room; and when He had kiſſed their Hands, and the Lord *Digby* was withdrawn, the King told him "He was much beholden to "him for many good Services; and that now He had "preferred two of his Friends, it was Time to give Him "ſome Teſtimony of his Favour; and therefore He had "ſent to him to tell him, that He intended to make him "his Solicitor-General, in the Place of him who had ſerved "him ſo ill." Mr. *Hyde* ſuddenly anſwered, "God for- "bid!" With which the King ſeeming ſurpriſed, ſaid "why God forbid?" The other replied, "it was in no "Degree fit at this Time that He ſhould remove the "other; and if He were removed, himſelf was in no De- "gree fit for it." The Queen ſaid, "He ought not to "ſuffer for his Modeſty: She had heard Men who could "judge well, ſay, that He was as fit for it as the other."

Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Solicitor General.

(46) Mr. *Hyde* ſaid "that was an Argument that Gentleman "thought the other not fit for it, not that He believed "*him* fit; which in Truth He ſaid He was not. That it "it might be, that when the Place was actually void, the "King might have filled it better with another Man, than

"with Mr. *St. John*, whoſe Parts were not above many "others; and his Affections were below moſt Mens: "But now that He was inveſted in that Office, it was "not a good Conjuncture to remove him; and when it "ſhould be, He did humbly adviſe his Majeſty to make "Choice of the ableſt Man of the Profeſſion, whoſe Af-"fections were clear; by whom He might indeed have "great Benefit; whereas himſelf was young, and with-"out any of that Learning or Experience, which might "make him capable of that great Truſt." The Queen ſaying again this was his Modeſty, He replied, "Madam "when you know me better, you will not find me ſo "modeſt a Man, but that I hope by your Majeſty's Fa-"vour in due Time to be made a better Man, than I "am at preſent; but if you believe that I know any "Thing of the Diſpoſition of the preſent Time, or of "what may conduce to the King's Service, I pray be-"lieve, that though the Solicitor will never do much Ser-"vice, He will be able to do much more Miſchief if He "be removed." The King at the ſame Time reſolved to remove another Officer, who did diſſerve him notoriouſly, and to prefer Mr. *Hyde* to that Place; with which their gracious Intention both their Majeſties acquainted him; but He poſitively refuſed it; and aſſured both their Majeſties, that He ſhould be able to do much more Service in the Condition He was in.

He is entruſted with the Conduct of the King's Affairs in Parliament.

BEFORE the King left *Whitehall* He renewed his Commands to the three Perſons mentioned before, the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepper*, and Mr. *Hyde*, to meet conſtantly together, and conſult upon his Affairs; and conduct them the beſt Way They could in the Parliament; and to give him conſtant Advice what He was to do; without which He declared again very ſolemnly He would make no Step in the Parliament. Two of them were obliged by their Offices and Relations, and the other by his Duty and Inclination, to give him all Satisfaction; notwithſtanding the Diſcouragement They had ſo lately received, in the King's going to the Houſe to demand the five Members, without ever communicating his Intention to them; and which had made a deep Impreſſion upon them. And ſo They met every Night late together; and communicated their Obſervation and Intelligence of the Day; and ſo agreed what was to be done, or attempted the next; there being very

very many Perſons of Condition and Intereſt in the Houſe, who would follow their Advice, and aſſiſt in any Thing They deſired. And becauſe Mr. *Hyde* had larger Accommodation, in the Houſe where He lived in *Weſtminſter*, than either of the other had, the Meetings at Night were for the moſt Part with him; and after their Deliberation together, what was to be put in Writing was always committed to Mr. *Hyde*; and when the King had left the Town, He writ as freely to the King as either of the other did; and ſometimes when They would be excuſed, He went to him in great Secret.

HE had been from the Beginning very unbeloved by all the governing Party; and though They took ſome Pains at firſt to win him, yet their Hope of that was quickly deſperate; and from the Night of the Proteſtation, He was as much in their Deteſtation as any Man; and the more, that They could take no Advantage againſt him: And though They had a better Opinion of his Diſcretion, than to believe He had any Share in the Advice of the late Proceedings, yet They were very willing that others ſhould believe it; and made all the Infuſions They (47) could to that Purpoſe amongſt thoſe, who took their Opinions from them; towards which his known Friendſhip with the Lord *Digby* was an Argument very prevalent; and then his oppoſing the Votes upon their Privilege, had inflamed them beyond their Temper; inſomuch as Mr. *Hambden* told him one Day, that the Trouble that had lately befallen them, had been attended with that Benefit, that They knew who were their Friends: and the other offering to ſpeak upon the Point of Privilege, and how monſtrous a Thing it was to make a Vote ſo contrary to the known Law; He replied very ſnappiſhly, "that He well knew He had a Mind They ſhould be "all in Priſon," and ſo departed without ſtaying for an Anſwer. Then They imputed to him the diſpoſing the Lord *Falkland* to ſerve the Court; and the Court to receive his Service; and from the Time that He and *Colepepper* were called to the Council, They equally were enraged againſt both: and now, when They had diſcovered the Place of the nightly Meetings, that a Secretary of State, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, every Day went to the Lodging of a private Perſon, who ought to attend them, They believed it a Condeſcenſion that had ſome other Foundation than mere Civility; yet They

could not diſcover any Thing againſt them, which They thought fit to offer in Publick.

It is not amiſs in this Place to ſay ſomewhat of thoſe three Perſons, who had from that Time ſo great a Part in the Buſineſs that was upon the Stage; and did in a ſhort Time raiſe the Reputation of the King, and of his Cauſe, to a very great Degree; and who, though They were well united in the Oppoſition of all the ill Deſigns againſt the Crown, and concurred in the publick Service with neceſſary and mutual Civilities towards each other; yet their Principles, and Conſtitutions were very different; and the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr. *Hyde* (between whom, as is ſaid before, the Friendſhip was moſt entire) had never had the leaſt Acquaintance with Sir *John Colepepper*, before the Parliament; and finding themſelves often of one Opinion, grew into ſome Converſation; and being after united in the King's Truſt, They rarely conferred but in the Agitation of Buſineſs; their Natures being in nothing like.

Some Account of the Temper and Principles of Lord Falkland.

The Lord *Falkland*, though He was a Man of a chearful Converſation, was of a ſevere Nature, and a Lover of Virtue; yet He had great Eſteem for all Men of great Parts, though They applied them to ill Purpoſes. He was ſo great an Enemy to all Diſſimulation, that He choſe ſometimes the other Extreme, when it was not requiſite. He had not the Court in great Reverence; and had a preſaging Spirit that the King would fall into great Misfortune: And often ſaid to his Friend, that He choſe to ſerve the King, becauſe Honeſty obliged him to it; but that He foreſaw his own Ruin by doing it. He had a better Opinion of the Church of *England*, and the Religion of it, than of any other Church, and Religion; and had extraordinary Kindneſs for very many Churchmen; and if He could have helped, or prevented it, there ſhould have been no Attempts againſt it. But He had in his own Judgment ſuch a Latitude in Opinion, that He did not believe any Part of the Order, or Government of it, to be ſo eſſentially neceſſary to Religion, but that it might be parted with, and altered, for a notable publick Benefit or Convenience: And that the Crown itſelf ought to gratify the People, in yielding to many Things; and to part with ſome Power, rather than to run the Hazards, which would attend the Refuſal. But He was ſwayed in this by a Belief, that the King would in the

the End be prevailed with to yield to what was preſſed; and this Opinion wrought too much upon too many.

(48) ALBEIT He had the greateſt Compliance with the Weakneſs, and even the Humour of other Men, when there could be no Suſpicion of Flattery; and the greateſt Addreſs to inform, and reform them; yet towards the King, who many Times obſtinately adhered to many Concluſions which did not naturally reſult from good Premiſes, and did love to argue many Things to which He would not ſo poſitively adhere, He did not practiſe that Condeſcenſion; but contradicted him with more Bluntneſs, and by ſharp Sentences; and in ſome Particulars (as of the Church) to which the King was in Conſcience moſt devoted: And of this his Majeſty often complained; and cared leſs to confer with him in private, and was leſs perſuaded by him, than his Affairs, and the other's great Parts and Wiſdom would have required: Though He had not a better Opinion of any Man's Sincerity, or Fidelity towards him.

Of Sir John Colepepper.

SIR *John Colepepper* had ſpent ſome Years of his Youth in foreign Parts, and eſpecially in Armies; where He had ſeen good Service, and very well obſerved it; and might have made a very good Officer, if He had intended it. He was of a rough Nature; a hot Head; and of great Courage; which had engaged him in many Quarrels, and Duels; wherein He ſtill behaved himſelf very ſignally. He had in a very good Seaſon, and after a ſmall Waſte of his Fortune, retired from that Courſe of Life, and married, and betook himſelf to a Country Life; and ſtudied the Buſineſs of the Country, and the Concernments of it, in which He was very well verſed; and being a Man of Sharpneſs of Parts, and Volubility of Language, He was frequently made Choice of to appear at the Council-Board, in thoſe Matters which related to the Country: In the managing whereof, his Abilities were well taken Notice of. His Eſtate was very moderate, and his uſual Expenſe exceeded it not; not being delighted with Delicacies of any Nature, or indeed ever acquainted with them. He had Infirmities, which ſometimes made a Noiſe; but his Parts, and Abilities made him very acceptable to his Neighbours, and to thoſe who were moſt conſiderable in their Eſtates, and moſt popular; ſo that with very little Oppoſition, He had been choſen to be Knight of that great County *Kent* for the Parlia-

Parliament; where He quickly made himſelf to be taken Notice of. He was proud, and ambitious, and very much diſpoſed to improve his Fortune: which He knew well how to do, by Induſtry, and Thrift, without ſtooping to any corrupt Ways, to which He was not inclined.

He did not love the Perſons of many of thoſe who were the violent Managers; and leſs their Deſigns: And therefore He no ſooner knew that He was well ſpoken of at Court, but He expoſed himſelf to the Invitation, and heartily embraced that Intereſt: And when He came thither, He might very well be thought a Man of no very good Breeding; having never ſacrificed to the Muſes, or converſed in any polite Company. He was warm, and poſitive in Debates; and of preſent Fancy to object, and find Fault with what was propoſed; and indeed would take any Argument in Pieces, and expoſe it excellently to a full View; and leave Nothing to Chance, or Accident, without making it foreſeen; but after that, knew not ſo well what to judge, and determine; and was ſo irreſolute, and had a Fancy ſo perpetually working, that after a Concluſion made, He would the next Day, in the Execution of it, and ſometimes after, raiſe new Doubts, and make new Objections; which always occaſioned Trouble; and ſometimes produced Inconvenience.

In Matters of Religion, He was in his Judgment very indifferent; but more inclined to what was eſtabliſhed, to avoid the Accidents which commonly attend a Change, (49) without any Motives from his Conſcience; which yet He kept to himſelf; and was well content to have it believed that the Activity proceeded from thence. He had, with all this Uncourtlineſs (for ſure no Man leſs appeared a Courtier) and Ungracefulneſs in his Mein and Motion, a wonderful Inſinuation and Addreſs into the Acceptation, and Confidence of the King and Queen; and Flattery being a Weed not ſo natural to the Air and Soil of the Country, where He had wholly lived, He was believed to ſpeak with all Plainneſs and Sincerity; when no Man more complied with thoſe Infirmities they both had; and by that Compliance prevailed often over them.

He had a very tragical Way in expreſſing himſelf, to raiſe the Fears and Apprehenſions of thoſe, who were naturally

naturally apprehenſive of Dangers; and by this Means He prevailed marvellouſly with the Queen, in thoſe Matters to which She was moſt averſe; by repreſenting Things as diſmally to her as He could well do: And on the other Hand, to the King (who was naturally very Sanguine) He was full of Compliance; cheriſhed all his Hopes and Imaginations; and raiſed and improved thoſe Hopes very frequently by Expedients very unagreeable to the End propoſed. He was then (as was ſaid before) very poſitive in his Concluſions: as if He did not propoſe a Thing that might come to paſs, but what infallibly muſt be ſo; which was a Temper the King could not contend with; and did ſo much ſuſpect himſelf (which was his greateſt Infirmity, and the chief Ground of all his Sufferings) that He did believe a Man, of whom He thought very well, did know every Thing that He confidently inſiſted upon. But his greateſt Advantage was (beſides his Diligence in Speaking as often as He could with the King and Queen, and always with the Queen, upon any important Counſel) that He had an entire Confidence and Friendſhip with Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, whom the King loved, and truſted very much; and who always imprinted that Advice in the King's Mind, which the other had infuſed; and being a Member of the Houſe, was always ready to report the Service He did his Majeſty there, as advantageouſly as the Buſineſs would bear.

Of Mr. Hyde.

Mr. *Hyde* was in his Nature and Diſpoſition, different from both the other; which never begot the leaſt Diſagreement between the Lord *Falkland* and him. He was of a very chearful and open Nature, without any Diſſimulation; and delivered his Opinion of Things or Perſons, where it was convenient, without Reſerve, or Diſguiſe; and was at leaſt tenacious enough of his Opinion, and never departed from it out of Compliance with any Man. He had a very particular Devotion and Paſſion for the Perſon of the King; and did believe him the moſt, and the beſt Chriſtian in the World. He had a moſt zealous Eſteem and Reverence for the Conſtitution of the Government; and believed it ſo equally poiſed, that if the leaſt Branch of the Prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the Subject ſuffered by it, and that his Right was impaired: And He was as much troubled when the Crown exceeded its juſt Limits, and thought its Prerogative hurt by it: And therefore not only never conſented

ſented to any Diminution of the King's Authority, but always wiſhed that the King would not conſent to it, with what Importunity or Impetuouſity ſoever it was deſired and preſſed.

He had taken more Pains than ſuch Men uſe to do, in the Examination of Religion; having always converſed with thoſe of different Opinions with all Freedom, and Affection; and had very much Kindneſs and Eſteem for many, who were in no Degree of his own Judgment; and upon all this, He did really believe the Church of (50) *England* the moſt exactly formed and framed for the Encouragement and Advancement of Learning and Piety, and for the Preſervation of Peace, of any Church in the World; That the taking away any of its Revenue, and applying it to ſecular Uſes, was Robbery, and notorious Sacrilege; and that the diminiſhing the Luſtre it had, and had always had in the Government, by removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was a Violation of Juſtice; the removing a Land-mark; and the ſhaking the very Foundation of Government: and therefore He always oppoſed, upon the Impulſion of Conſcience, all Mutations in the Church; and did always believe, let the Seaſon, or the Circumſtance be what it would, that any Compliance was pernicious; and that a peremptory and obſtinate Refuſal, that might put Men in Deſpair of what They laboured for, and take away all Hope of obtaining what They deſired, would reconcile more Perſons to the Government, than the gratifying them in Part; which only whetted their Appetite to deſire more, and their Confidence in demanding it.

Though He was of a Complexion and Humour very far from Deſpair; yet He did believe the King would be oppreſſed by that Party which then governed; and that They who followed and ſerved him would be deſtroyed; ſo that it was not Ambition of Power, or Wealth, that engaged him to embark in ſo very hazardous an Imployment; but abſtractly the Conſideration of his Duty; and He often uſed to apply thoſe Words of *Cicero*, to himſelf, *Mea Ætas incidit in id Bellum, cujus altera Pars Sceleris nimium habuit, altera Felicitatis parum.* It is very probable, that if his Acceſs at that Time had been as frequent to the King, as Sir *John Colepepper*'s was, or the Lord *Falkland*'s might have been, ſome Things might have been left undone, the doing whereof brought much

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Prejudice to the King; for all His Principles were much more agreeable to his Majeſty's own Judgment, than thoſe of either of the other; and what He ſaid was of equal Authority with him; and when any Advice was given by either of the other, the King uſually aſked, "whether *Ned Hyde* were of that Opinion;" and They always very ingenuouſly confeſſed, that He was not: But his having no Relation of Service, and ſo no Pretence to be ſeen often at Court; and the great Jealouſy that was entertained towards him, made it neceſſary to him to repair only in the Dark to the King upon emergent Occaſions, and leave the Reſt to be imparted by the other two; and the Differences in their Natures and Opinions never produced any Diſunion between them in thoſe Councils, which concerned the Conduct of the King's Service; but They proceeded with great Unanimity, and very manifeſtly much advanced the King's Buſineſs from the very low State it was in, when They were firſt truſted; the other two having always much Deference to the Lord *Falkland*, who allayed their Paſſions; to which They were both enough inclined.

WHEN the two Bills were ſent to the King, *for the granting the Militia*, and *the removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers*, moſt Men did believe that the King would never give his Aſſent to either of theſe two; though very many had concurred in them for no other Reaſon, than becauſe They were aſſured He would not refuſe; and others upon Confidence that He would; and therefore would not render themſelves obnoxious by oppoſing them: Upon all which the Queen continued her Reſolution; and haſtened her Journey that She might be out of the Way, and thereby the King might the more reſolutely reject thoſe Bills, which He intended to do; and the Houſes the more importunately preſſed the
(51) Diſpatch of the Bills, as ſoon as the Day was appointed for the Queen's beginning her Journey from *Windſor* towards *Dover*.

IN this Perplexity, when Nothing was ſo neceſſary as the moſt obſtinate Reſolution, Sir *John Colepepper*, who was naturally inclined to Expedients, and, in difficult Caſes, that is, Caſes made difficult by the Perverſeneſs of ſupercilious Contenders, to Compoſition, much deſired, that the King would paſs that againſt the Biſhops, and abſolutely reject the other; which He did in Truth believe

believe would ſatisfy ſo many, that thoſe that remained unſatisfied, would not have Credit enough, to give any further Diſturbance; and in his own Judgment, as hath been ſaid before, He thought the Matter of little Importance; but He knew that Argument would make no other Impreſſion upon the King, than to the Diſadvantage of the Arguer; and if He had thought himſelf obliged to have enacted one, He would have choſen to have paſſed that for the Militia, rather than the other; He urged therefore to the King, no other Perſon preſent, the Neceſſity of giving the Parliament Satisfaction in one of thoſe Bills; and that there were more who would be ſatisfied with that concerning the Biſhops, than with the other concerning the Militia; and therefore it would be beſt to gratify the major Part. Then He expoſed the dreadful Conſequences which would attend the yielding in the Point of the Militia, as if it would be the next Day in their Power to depoſe him; and all the tragical Effects of granting that Authority. He ſeemed in no Degree to undervalue the Miſchief of conſenting to the Bill againſt the Biſhops; yet that it would be attended with that preſent Benefit, that the Church would be free from farther Apprehenſion; and that this Degradation would ſecure the Function, and the Revenue; and that when theſe Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings ſhould be once compoſed, that Bill would be eaſily repealed, by the Experience how much the Government was hurt by it; and whilſt the Sword remained in the King's own Hands, there would be no Attempt to make farther Alterations. The King aſked him, whether *Ned Hyde* was of that Mind; to which He anſwered, He was not, nor did wiſh that either of the Bills ſhould be paſſed, which He thought, as the Time was, could not be a reaſonable Judgment; the King ſaid, *it was his; and that He would run the Hazard.*

Sir John Colepepper *adviſes the King to paſs the Bill againſt the Biſhops.*

When He found He could not prevail there, He went to the Queen; and repeated all the Arguments He had uſed to the King, with his uſual Vehemence; and added, that He exceedingly apprehended that by ſome Means or other, upon this Refuſal of the King's, her Majeſty's Journey would be ſtopped; and that She would not be ſuffered to tranſport herſelf out of the Kingdom; and therefore He heartily wiſhed that She would ſo uſe her Credit with the King, that He might

paſs

paſs that Act concerning the Biſhops, which He ſaid would lay ſuch an Obligation upon both Houſes, as would redound to her Majeſty's Advantage. The Queen was ſo terrified with the Apprehenſion of her being hindered from purſuing her Purpoſe, that She gave not over her Importunity with the King, till She had prevailed with him; and ſo that Bill for removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers was paſſed by Commiſſion; when both their Majeſties were upon their Way, and in their Journey to *Dover*.

Who is prevailed on by the Queen to do ſo.

NOTHING that is here ſaid muſt reflect upon the Memory of Sir *John Colepepper*, as if He were corrupted in his Affections to the Church; or gave this Advice to gratify and pleaſe other Men, or for any particular Advantage to himſelf, of all which He was very innocent. It is ſaid before, that in his Judgment He looked upon (52) the Thing as what might be conſcientiouſly conſented to; and then his real Apprehenſion of Danger, and Miſchief to the King (to whom He bore all poſſible Fidelity) by refuſing it, ſo far wrought upon his warm Conſtitution, that He did really believe it to be his Duty to be ſolicitous to the vehement Degree He was. But He quickly found He had been deceived, at leaſt in the Imagination, that the conſenting to that one Bill would at all allay their Paſſion. They were on the contrary ſo far from being pleaſed with it, that They immediately betook themſelves to enquire, "who the evil Counſellors "were, who diſſuaded his Majeſty from conſenting to "the other concerning the Militia;" which was ſo neceſſary to all their Purpoſes: And forthwith ſent ſome of their Meſſengers to the King, whilſt He ſtaid at *Dover*, to complain of ſuch evil Counſel; and to uſe all Importunity, that He would paſs it, as a Matter of abſolute Neceſſity for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom; and for the carrying on the Service for ſuppreſſing the Rebellion in *Ireland*; with many new Expreſſions "of "the Preſumption of thoſe malignant Perſons, who gave "his Majeſty ſuch Advice," and with Boldneſs enough, that the King ſhould prefer ſuch Advice, before the Wiſdom of the Parliament.

THEY who hated the Biſhops moſt, and were glad that They were rid of the Oppoſition They gave them in all their Demands, ſeemed not at all contented; but enlarged exceedingly upon the Miſchief, in not granting the

The Effect of this Condeſcenſion on the ſeveral Parties.

the Militia. And no Doubt there were many the leſs pleaſed with the paſſing the other, in doubt, that They ſhould thereby loſe the Aſſiſtance of very many towards the utter Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and the Diſpoſal of all Church Lands, upon which their Hearts were ſet; and who would with the more Choler have concurred with them, if that Bill, as well as the other, had been rejected; and therefore They rather wiſhed They had the other, which They knew would bring all their Ends to paſs. They who loved the Church, and were afraid of ſo great an Alteration in the Frame and Conſtitution of Parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the *Three Eſtates*, of which the Parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked; and lamented the paſſing that Act, as an Introduction to the entire Deſtruction of the Government of the Church, and to the Alteration of the Religion of the Kingdom: And very many who more conſidered the Policy, than the Juſtice and Piety of the State, did ever after believe, that being removed out of the Parliament, the preſerving them in the Kingdom, was not worth any notable Contention. Then They looked upon the King's Condeſcenſion in this Particular, in a Subject that all Men knew had a wonderful Influence upon his Conſcience, as He often took Occaſion to profeſs, as a Manifeſtation, that He would not be conſtant in retaining, and denying any Thing that ſhould be impetuouſly, and fiercely demanded; which as it exceedingly confirmed thoſe, who were engaged in that Party; ſo it abated the Courage of too many, who had always oppoſed them, and heartily deteſted their Proceedings; and made them more remiſs in their Attendance at the Houſe, and leſs ſolicitous for any Thing that was done there: Who by Degrees firſt became a neutral Party, believing They ſhould be ſafe, in angering no Body; and when They afterwards found no Security in that Indifferency, They adhered to thoſe, who They ſaw had the beſt Succeſs; and ſo went Sharers with them in their Future Attempts, according to their ſeveral Tempers and Inclinations.

THE Benefit that would redound to the King from not paſſing the other Bill of the Militia, more than avoiding the Infamy of conſenting to it, was not evident (53) to diſcerning Men; for They foreſaw that They would quickly wreſt it out of his Hands without his Conſent; and

and that the Reputation of the Parliament was ſo great, that whatſoever the two Houſes (which the People looked upon as the Parliament) ſhould concur in, and enjoin to be done, the People would look upon as Law, and obſerve it accordingly; ſo that when by the Removal of ſo many Voices out of the Houſe of Peers, as the Biſhops made, who were always firm to the Crown and Government, the Houſe of Commons found a Concurrence from the Lords, in all They propoſed, their joint Determination would find Obedience, for the moſt Part, from the People: whom there were all Endeavours uſed to corrupt, and poſſeſs, by preſently printing, and cauſing to be read in Churches, all their Meſſages, and Petitions to the King; that They might ſee all their Concernments were for the Good of the Kingdom, and Preſervation of the People.

WHEN the King accompanied the Queen to *Dover*, where They expected a Wind many Days, He ſent the Prince, under his new Governour, the Marquis of *Hertford*, to *Richmond*; that there might be no Room for the Jealouſy, that the Prince ſhould be tranſported beyond the Seas; which had been infuſed into the Minds of many; and would have made a great Noiſe, if He had waited upon his Mother to *Dover:* but as ſoon as the Wind appeared hopeful for her Majeſty's Embarkation, the King ſent an Expreſs to *Richmond*, that the Prince ſhould attend his Majeſty at *Greenwich*, the Saturday following: the Marquis being at that Time very much indiſpoſed by a Defluction upon his Eyes, and a Catarrh. The Parliament being preſently informed, as They had Spies in all Places, of this Direction, and there being yet no Certainty of the Queen's being embarked, was much troubled; and reſolved to ſend to his Majeſty, by Members of both Houſes, to deſire that the Prince might not remove from *Richmond*, at leaſt till the Marquis recovered Health enough to be able to attend him; and at the ſame Time ſent an expreſs Order to the Marquis, that He ſhould not ſuffer the Prince to go from thence, till He himſelf ſhould be able to go with him.

The King ſends for the Prince to Greenwich.

THEY appointed one Lord and two Commoners to carry the Meſſage to the King, whom They believed to be ſtill at *Dover*; and Mr. *Hyde* coming accidentally into the Houſe, when the Matter was in Debate, They appointed him to be one of the Meſſengers; which no Ex-

Mr. Hyde *is ſent to the King on that Occaſion.*

cuſes could free him from, for They did not intend it as a Favour to him; ſo that They were obliged preſently to begin their Journey; and that Night They went to *Graveſend*. The next Day They were fully informed of the Queen's being gone to Sea; and that the King would be that Night at *Canterbury*; whither the Meſſengers made what Haſte They could; and found his Majeſty there, with a very little Court, moſt of his Servants having Leave to go before to *London*, the better to provide themſelves for a farther Journey. When They read their Meſſage to the King, in the hearing whereof He ſhewed no Satisfaction, He appointed them to attend him after He had ſupped, and They ſhould receive their Anſwer: And accordingly about nine of the Clock He cauſed it to be read, and delivered it to them; taking no Notice of Mr. *Hyde* as if He had been known to him. That Meſſenger who was a Member of the Houſe of Peers, received it from his Majeſty, as of Right He ought to do, that it might be firſt reported to that Houſe.

Mr. *Hyde* was very much troubled when He heard the Anſwer read; for it had much Sharpneſs in it, which at that Time could only provoke them: So without taking (54) any Notice of it to his Companions, He pretended to them only to be very weary, and deſirous to go to Bed, and bade them good Night; having the Conveniency offered him by the Lord *Grandiſon*, (his familiar Friend) to lodge with him in a Houſe, next the Court: And ſo the other two Meſſengers making Haſte to find ſome Lodging in an Inn; He ſent the Lord *Grandiſon* to the Duke of *Richmond*, to deſire the King that He might ſpeak with him before He went into his Bed. The King was half undreſſed, yet ſaid He would ſtay for him, and bade that He ſhould make Haſte to the back Stairs; and as ſoon as He came thither, the Duke went in to the King, who immediately came out in his Night Dreſs; and the Duke having before ſent all other Servants from thence, retired likewiſe himſelf.

He told the King that "He was ſorry that his Majeſty "had expreſſed ſo much Diſpleaſure in his Anſwer, which "could produce no Good, and might do Hurt; and there- "fore He deſired He would call for it, and alter ſome "Expreſſions;" which his Majeſty was not inclined to do; enlarging himſelf with much Sharpneſs upon the Inſolence of the Meſſage, and of the Order They had ſent

to

to the Marquis of *Hertford:* And ſeemed to apprehend that the Prince would not be ſuffered to attend him at *Greenwich*; the Thought whereof had cauſed that Warmth in him. It was now *Friday* Night, and his Majeſty reſolved the next Night to be at *Greenwich*; and to ſtay there all *Sunday*; and then to purſue his former Reſolutions: Upon which Mr. *Hyde* told him, "that He hoped "the Prince would be at *Greenwich* as ſoon as He, and "then that Point would be cleared; that They could not "report His Meſſage to the Parliament till *Monday* Morn-"ing; and that They might well attend upon his Ma-"jeſty again on *Sunday*, and receive his Pleaſure; and at "that Time the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, "would be likewiſe preſent, when his Majeſty might "take what Reſolution He pleaſed in that Matter; and "therefore He beſought his Majeſty that He would pre-"ſently ſend a Servant to the other two Meſſengers, at "ſuch an Inn, for the Anſwer He had delivered to them, "of which He would farther conſider when He came to "*Greenwich*; where He commanded them to attend him "on *Sunday*, and that He would diſpatch them ſoon "enough for them to be at *London* that Night." All which his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſent to, and immediately ſent a Gentleman to them for the Paper, with that Injunction; and then ſent it by the Lord *Grandiſon* the ſame Night to Mr. *Hyde*, whom He had commanded to attend him on *Sunday* Morning, ſaying He had very much to ſay to him.

On whom He prevails to alter his Anſwer to the Parliament.

WHEN his Majeſty came to *Greenwich*, He found the Prince there with his Governour, who though indiſpoſed in his Health, without returning any Anſwer to the Parliament, brought the Prince very early from *Richmond* to *Greenwich*; with which the King was very much pleaſed, and in very good Humour. And the next Morning when Mr. *Hyde* came to Court (to whom his Companions had told, that the King had ſent for his Anſwer to them again, and appointed them to attend him for it at *Greenwich* that Afternoon; which They had agreed together to do) the King being come into the Privy Chamber, and ſeeing him there, aſked him aloud, where the others who came in the Meſſage with him were; and ſaid, He would expect them in the Afternoon; and ſo diſcourſing ſomewhat of the Weather, that all Men heard, He came near him, and as it were paſſing by (which no Body took

Notice of, the Room not being full) He bade him dine with *Porter*, at the back Stairs, that He might be in the (55) Privy Chamber when He roſe from Dinner; and after He had dined He found him there; and at that Hour moſt People looking after their own Dinner, his Majeſty did, without any Body's taking Notice of it, bid him follow him into the Privy Gallery; where He was no ſooner entered, than the King locked the Door with his own Key, ſaying, "We will not now be diſturbed, for there is no Man in "the Houſe now, who hath a Key to this Door." Then He ſaid, "I will ſay Nothing of the Anſwer, for I am "ſure *Falkland* and *Colepepper* will be here anon; and "then prepare one, and I will not differ with you; for "now I have gotten *Charles*, I care not what Anſwer I "ſend to them."

The King's Diſcourſe to him at Greenwich.

THEN He ſpake of many Particulars of the Parliament with Warmth enough; and lamented his having conſented to the Bill concerning the Biſhops, which He ſaid, He was prevailed upon to do, for his Wife's Security; but He ſhould now be without any Fear to diſpleaſe them. He ſaid, He would lay the next Night at *Theobalds*; where He would ſtay a Day or two, that his Servants might provide themſelves to attend him Northward: That He ſhould not ſee him any more before He took that Journey; and therefore He required him upon all Occaſions to write to him, and advertiſe him of ſuch Matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare and ſend him Anſwers to ſuch Declarations or Meſſages as the Parliament ſhould ſend to him: He ſaid, He knew well the Danger He underwent if it were diſcovered: but his Majeſty aſſured him, and bade him be confident of it, that no Perſon alive, but himſelf and his two Friends, ſhould know that He correſponded with his Majeſty; and that He would himſelf tranſcribe every Paper in his own Hand, before He would ſhew it to any Man, and before his Secretary ſhould write it out. Mr. *Hyde* told him, that He writ a very ill Hand, which would give his Majeſty too much Trouble to tranſcribe himſelf, and that He had ſo much Friendſhip with Secretary *Nicholas*, that He was well contented He ſhould be truſted: to which the King ſaid, *Nicholas* was a very honeſt Man; and He would truſt him in any Thing that concerned himſelf; but in this Particular, which would be ſo penal to the other, if it ſhould be known, it was not neceſſary; for

He

He would quickly learn to read the Hand, if it were writ at firſt with a little the more Care; and no Body ſhould ſee it but himſelf. And his Majeſty continued ſo firm to this Reſolution, that though the Declarations from the Houſes ſhortly after grew ſo voluminous, that the Anſwers frequently contained five or ſix Sheets of Paper, very cloſely writ; his Majeſty always tranſcribed them with his own Hand; which ſometimes took him up two or three Days, and a good Part of the Night, before He produced them to the Council; where they were firſt read, and then He burned the Originals. And He gave himſelf no Eaſe in this particular, till Mr. *Hyde* left the Parliament, and by his Majeſty's Command attended upon him at *York:* which will be mentioned in its Time.

WHILST the King held this Diſcourſe with him in the Privy Gallery, many of the Lords were come from *London*; and not finding him, the Earls of *Eſſex*, and *Holland*, who by their Offices had Keys to the Gallery, opened that Door, and went in; and ſeeing no Body there, walked to the farther End; where in a turning Walk the King and Mr. *Hyde* were: And though They preſently drew back, the King himſelf as well as Mr. *Hyde* was a little diſcompoſed; and ſaid, "I am very "ſorry for this Accident, I meant to have ſaid ſomewhat "to you of thoſe Gentlemen; but we muſt not ſtay "longer together; forget not what I have ſaid; and ſend (5) "me preſently the Anſwer for your Meſſage, and then "attend with your Companions in the Privy Chamber, "and I will come out and deliver it to them:" And ſo He withdrew: The two Earls ſmiling, and ſaluting Mr. *Hyde* civilly. He quickly found the Lord *Falkland*, and *Cole-pepper*, and They as quickly agreed upon the Anſwer which the Lord *Falkland* carried to the King: And his Majeſty approving, and ſigning it, He came out, and delivered it, after He had cauſed it to be read, to the Meſſengers who attended to receive it; and who went that Night to *London*; and the next Morning at the firſt ſitting of the Houſes, reported, and delivered it.

Where He draws up the King's Anſwer.

IT was expected, and believed, that as ſoon as the Queen was gone for *Holland*, the King would return to *Whitehall*, and reſide there. And many wiſe Men were of Opinion, that if He had done ſo, He would have been treated with more Duty and Reſpect; and that He would be able to bring his Buſineſs to a fair End, by very mo-

moderate Condeſcenſions; for the univerſal Prejudice and Averſion was to the Queen, how unjuſtly and unreaſonably ſoever; and to the King only as it was generally believed, that He governed himſelf entirely by her Dictates; and many of thoſe, whoſe Countenance had moſt ſupported the violent Party, by their Concurrence with them, were grown weary of thoſe Exceſſes; and as they had been ſeduced, and craftily drawn farther than they meant to have gone, ſo they plainly diſcerned that there would be farther Attempts made, than were agreeable to their Wiſhes, or their Intereſts; and therefore reſolved to ſecond them no farther.

The Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf was in his Nature an honeſt Man, and a Man of Honour; and though He did not think the King had any gracious Purpoſes towards him, or great Confidence in him, yet He was willing to retire from that angry Company; and did neither deſire the Dignity of the King ſhould be affronted, or the Government receive an Alteration, or Diminution; and did hope nothing more, than to make himſelf the Inſtrument to reconcile the Parliament to the King, by ſome moderate and plauſible Expedient. But it was no ſooner known in the Houſes, that his Majeſty was gone to *Theobalds*, and had taken the Prince with him, with a Purpoſe of making a Progreſs farther Northward; but They fell into all their uſual Heat, and Debate, of their juſt Cauſes of Jealouſy and Diſtruſt, and the Wickedneſs of thoſe Perſons who miſled him; and the next Morning, being well informed that the King ſtaid all Day at *Theobalds*, They reſolved to ſend a Committee of four Lords, and eight Commoners to him, to put him in Mind of his violating their Privileges, for which They had yet no Reparation or Satisfaction; his Refuſal to ſettle the Militia, whereby He left his Kingdom and People expoſed to the Violence of a Foreign Enemy, or a domeſtick Inſurrection; the great Jealouſies, and Fears which poſſeſſed the Minds of all his Subjects; which would be now exceedingly increaſed by his Removal in this Conjuncture from his Parliament; and thereupon concluded, that He would return to *London*, or reſide at ſuch a Diſtance, that They might eaſily repair to him.

When the Perſons deſigned for the Meſſage withdrew to prepare themſelves for their Journey, the Meſſage being read and agreed upon, Mr. *Hyde* went likewiſe out of

of the Houſe; and that the King might not be ſurprized with the Sight of the Meſſage before He heard of it, He ſent inſtantly to the Lord *Grandiſon* (in whom He had entire Confidence) to ſpeak with him; and deſired him to cauſe his Horſe to be made ready, that He might with all poſſible Expedition carry a Letter to the King, which He would prepare by the Time He could be ready for
(57) the Journey. He writ to the King, that ſuch Perſons would be preſently with him; and the Subſtance of the Meſſage They would bring to him; which in Reſpect of the Length of it, and of many Particulars in it, would require ſome Time to anſwer, which He ſhould receive ſoon enough; and for the preſent, He might upon the Delivery, make ſome ſhort Reſentment of the Houſes proceeding with him; and conclude, that He would ſend an Anſwer to their Meſſage in due Time. The Lord *Grandiſon* came to *Theobalds* when the King had newly dined, ſo that He was alone in his Bedchamber; and as ſoon as He had delivered the Letter, He returned to *London*, and met the Meſſengers within a Mile or two of *Theobalds*.

His Advice to the King upon a Meſſage from the two Houſes.

As ſoon as They had delivered their Meſſage, which one of them read, the King with a diſpleaſed Countenance, and in a warmer, and more ſprightly Tone than was natural to him, told them, "that He was amazed "at their Meſſage, and could not conceive what They "would have, nor what They meant to do: that They "made a great Noiſe with their Privileges, but forgot "that He had Privileges too, which They made no Con-"ſcience to violate: that They talked of their Fears, and "Jealouſies, for which They had not the leaſt Ground; "but if They would well conſider, They would find that "They gave Him Cauſe enough for Jealouſy:" and concluded, "that He would think of their Meſſage, and "ſend an Anſwer to the Houſes in convenient Time:" Without ſaying any Thing of his Journey, when or whither He meant to go; nor held any farther Diſcourſe with them. The Manner and the Matter of the King's ſhort Diſcourſe to them wonderfully ſurprized the Meſſengers, who were all Perſons of the beſt Quality in both Houſes, the Earl of *Pembroke* being the Chief, and ſome of them were of known Affections to his Majeſty's Service; who were wonderfully delighted with the King's quick, and ſharp Treatment, with which the reſt were as much troubled:

bled: and ſo They all returned the ſame Night to *London*.

THE King reſolved to purſue the Courſe agreed upon with the Queen at her Departure; and would no more reſume the Conſideration of ſtaying nearer the Parliament: very reaſonably apprehending, that He ſhould render himſelf liable every Day to new Affronts. And the Practice both Houſes had gotten, to ſend for Perſons by a Serjeant at Arms, upon any Suggeſtions of light Diſcourſe, or upon general and ungrounded Suſpicions, by which They were compelled to give long Attendance, if They were not committed to Priſon, had ſo terrified all Conditions of Men, that very few reſorted to the Court. And They who did moſt diligently ſeem to attend their Duty there, did in Truth perform that Service, that They might with the more Eaſe betray their Maſter, and gratify thoſe, who They thought would at laſt bring themſelves into thoſe Places and Offices, upon which They were to depend. So that He thought it moſt abſolutely neceſſary to be at ſuch a Diſtance from *Weſtminſter*, that People might be leſs apprehenſive of their Power: reſolving likewiſe, that no Perſon who attended him, or reſorted to the Place where He was, ſhould yield any Obedience to their Summons, upon thoſe general Suggeſtions; or any Applications They ſhould make to his Majeſty. And though it might have met with better Succeſs if He had taken the contrary Reſolution, and ſtaid in, or near *Whitehall*; yet the Hazards, or Inconveniences which might very probably have attended that Counſel, were too much in View, for wiſe Men to engage poſitively in the Advice. Beſides, the Concert that had been made with the Queen, ſhut out all oppoſite Conſultations: and the King with a ſmall Court, after two Days ſtay at *Theobalds*, began his Progreſs toward *Newmarket*; and ſometimes reſting a Day in a Place, He advanced by eaſy Journies Northward. (58)

The King begins his Progreſs Northward.

HE took the Prince with him, the Marquis likewiſe attending him; but left the Duke of *York* ſtill at *Richmond*, till He came to *York*: And then likewiſe He ſent for his Highneſs, who came thither to him: And the Morning He left *Theobalds*, He ſent his Anſwer to the two Houſes, to their Meſſage They had ſent to him thither.

THEY

THEY had long deteſted and ſuſpected Mr. *Hyde*, from the Time of their firſt Remonſtrance, for framing the King's Meſſages, and Anſwers, which They now every Day received, to their intolerable Vexation; yet knew not how to accuſe him. But now that the Earls of *Eſſex*, and *Holland* had diſcovered his being ſhut up with the King at *Greenwich*; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* had, once before, found him very early in Private with the King at *Windſor*, at a Time when the King thought all Paſſages had been ſtopped; together with his being of late more Abſent from the Houſe, than He had uſed to be; and the Reſort of the other Two every Night to his Lodging, as is mentioned before, ſatisfied them that He was the Perſon; and They reſolved to diſenable him to manage that Office long. Sir *John Colepepper* had as many Eyes upon them, as They had upon the other, and an equal Animoſity againſt them; and had Familiarity and Friendſhip with ſome Perſons, who from the ſecond or third Hand came to know many of the greateſt Deſigns, before they were brought upon the Stage. For though They managed thoſe Councils with the greateſt Secrecy, and by few Perſons, which amounted to no more than pure Deſigns in Speculation; yet when any Thing was to be tranſacted in Publick by the Houſe, They were obliged, not only to prepare thoſe, of whom They were themſelves confident, but to allow thoſe Confidents to communicate it to others, in whom They confided: and ſo Men who did not concur with them, came to know ſometimes their Intentions, Time enough to prevent the Succeſs They propoſed to themſelves.

AND by this Means Sir *John Colepepper* meeting at Night with the Lord *Falkland* and Mr. *Hyde*, aſſured them, that it had been reſolved that Day to have ſeized upon all Three, and ſent them to the *Tower*: of which He having received Notice as He was going to the Houſe, returned to his Lodging, not being able to give the ſame Information to the other Two; but that his own being abſent prevented the Miſchief. For He knew it was reſolved the Night before, that when the Three were together in the Houſe, Somebody ſhould move the Houſe, "that They would apply themſelves to make ſome ſtrict "Enquiry after the Perſons, who were moſt like to give "the King the evil Counſel He had lately followed; and "who prepared thoſe Anſwers and Meſſages They re-

A Deſign of ſending Mr. Hyde to the Tower;

"ceived

"ceived from his Majeſty;" upon which, by one and another, thoſe Three Perſons ſhould be named, and particular Reaſons given for their Suſpicion; and that They did not doubt, but if their Friends were well prepared before hand, They ſhould be able to cauſe them to be all ſent to the *Tower*; and then They doubted not They ſhould be able to keep them there. But it was then likewiſe agreed that They would not make the Attempt, but at a Time when They were all Three in the Houſe; upon hearing whereof, and finding that They Two were there, He went back to his Lodging; knowing that thereupon there would be Nothing done.

Defeated. UPON this Communication, though They were all of Opinion that the Deſign was ſo extravagant, and exceeding all the Rules of common Juſtice, that They would not be able to procure the Conſent of the major Part of (59) the Houſe in it, if there were any conſiderable Number preſent; yet becauſe very many uſually abſented themſelves, and They were not governed by any Rules which had been formerly obſerved; They thought fit to reſolve that One of them would be always preſent in the Houſe, that They might know all that was done; but that They would never be there altogether; and ſeldom Two of them; and when They were, They would only hear, and ſpeak no more than was of abſolute Neceſſity. For it was now grown a very difficult Thing for a Man who was in their Diſfavour, to ſpeak againſt what They propoſed, but that They would find ſome Exception to ſome Word or Expreſſion; upon which, after He had been called upon to explain, He was obliged to withdraw, and then They had commonly a major Part to ſend him to the *Tower*, or to expel him the Houſe; or at leaſt to oblige him to receive a Reprehenſion at the Bar upon his Knees. And ſo They had uſed Sir *Ralph Hopton* at that Time; who excepting to ſome Expreſſion that was uſed in a Declaration prepared by a Committee, and preſented to the Houſe, which He ſaid was diſhonourable to the King, They ſaid, it was a Tax upon the Committee; cauſed him to withdraw; and committed him to the *Tower*; which terrified many from ſpeaking at all, and cauſed more to abſent themſelves from the Houſe; where too ſmall Numbers appeared any Day. Theſe Three Gentlemen kept the Reſolution agreed upon, till They all found

found it neceſſary to forbear any farther Attendance upon the Houſe.

ABOUT the End of *April*, which was in the Year 1642, Mr. *Hyde* received a Letter from the King, wherein He required him, that as ſoon as He could be ſpared from his Buſineſs there, He ſhould repair to his Majeſty at *York*, where He had Occaſion for his Service: which when He had communicated to his two Friends, They were all of Opinion, that it was neceſſary He ſhould defer that Journey for ſome Time; there being every Day great Occaſion of conſulting together, and of ſending Diſpatches to the King. And it was a wonderful Expedition that was then uſed between *York* and *London*, when Gentlemen undertook the Service, as enough were willing to do: Inſomuch, as when They diſpatched a Letter on *Saturday* Night, at that Time of the Year, about twelve at Night, They received always the King's Anſwer, *Monday* by ten of the Clock in the Morning. His Majeſty was content that He ſhould ſtay as long as the Neceſſity required; but that as ſoon as He might be diſpenſed with, He would expect him. And it was happy that He did ſtay, for there was an Occaſion then fell out, in which his Preſence was very uſeful, † *towards diſpoſing the Lord Keeper* Littleton *to ſend the Great Seal to the King at* York; *and to reſolve upon going thither himſelf as ſoon as poſſible to attend his Majeſty*; *which Reſolution being taken*, it was agreed between him and his two Friends, that it was now Time that He ſhould be gone (the King having ſent for him ſome Time before) after a Day or two; in which Time the Declaration of the 19th of *May* would be paſſed, which being very long, He might carry with him; and prepare the Anſwer upon the Way, or after He came to *York*.

Mr. Hyde *is ſent for by the King to* York.

It was upon a *Wedneſday* that He reſolved to begin his Journey; having told the Speaker, that it was very neceſſary, by the Advice of his Phyſician, that He ſhould take the Air of the Country for his Health; and his Phyſician certified the ſame; which Caution was neceſſary: For He had a Week or two before made a Journey into the Country to his own Houſe; and his Abſence being (60) taken Notice of, a Meſſenger was immediately ſent to him, to require him immediately to attend the Houſe; upon which He found it neceſſary to return without De-

Toward which He begins his Journey.

† Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Folio, Vol. I. p. 444, &c.

lay;

lay; and was willing to prevent the like ſudden Enquiry; and ſo prepared the Speaker to anſwer for him. He reſolved with the Lord *Falkland*, to ſtay at a Friend's Houſe near *Oxford*, and little out of the Road He meant to take for *York*, till He ſhould hear of the Keeper's Motion, of which He promiſed to give him timely Notice; not giving in the mean Time any Credit to his Purpoſe of moving; but He was quickly convinced.

Much Notice had been taken of Mr. *Hyde*'s frequent Reſort to him; and of his being often ſhut up with him; and when He took his Leave of him, the Night before He left the Town, the Keeper was walking in his Garden with Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*; who had (as They ſaid) then obſerved, that as ſoon as the Keeper's Eyes were upon him, at his Entrance into the Garden, He had ſhewn ſome Impatience to be free from them; and when They were gone, others took Notice (for there were many in the Garden) as They pretended, that after They had walked ſome Time together, They took their Leave of each other in another Manner than was uſual; and which was not True. But He had not ſo good a Name, as that any Thing of that Kind would not eaſily gain Belief: So that Dr. *Morley* (who is ſince Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) being in *Weſtminſter Hall* on the *Monday* Morning when the News came of the Lord Keeper's Flight; a Perſon of great Authority in the Parliament met him, and with great Paſſion inveighing againſt the Keeper, told him that They knew well enough that his Friend Mr. *Hyde* had contrived that Miſchief, and brought it to paſs; for which He would be that Morning, or the next, accuſed of High Treaſon; which the Doctor (who was ever very much his Friend) hearing, went preſently to the Lord *Falkland*, and told him of it, and deſired to know where He was, that He might give him timely Notice of it; knowing a Gentleman, a very near Friend of his, who would immediately ride to Him. The Lord *Falkland* was then writing to him to inform him of the Keeper's having made good his Word, of which He had but then Notice, and to adviſe him to proſecute his Northern Journey with all Expedition; and deſired the Doctor that He would ſend for the Gentleman, whom He would preſently direct where He ſhould find Mr. *Hyde*; who did make ſo good Haſte, that He delivered the Lord *Falkland*'s Letter to him early the ſame Night.

HE was then at *Ditchley* with the Lady *Lee* (ſince Counteſs of *Rocheſter*) and the Perſon who brought the Advertiſement to him was *John Ayliffe*, whom He dearly loved. He no ſooner received the Advertiſement, but He thought it Time for him to be gone; and as He was utterly unacquainted with the Way, having never been in the Northern Parts, and apprehended that there would be Care taken to intercept him if He went in any common Road, there was with him at that Time Mr. *Chillingworth*, whoſe Company He had deſired from *Oxford*, purpoſely for that Occaſion; and who was well acquainted with thoſe Ways, which led almoſt as far as *Yorkſhire*. They ſent their Horſes that Night to a Village near *Coventry*, where Mr. *Chillingworth*'s Brother had a Farm; and then in the Morning They put themſelves into the Lady's Coach, which with ſix Horſes carried them to that Village, thirty Miles from *Ditchley*; where after They had a little refreſhed themſelves, They took their Horſes; and that Night, out of all Roads, reached *Lutterworth*, a Village in *Leiceſterſhire*, where Mr. *Chillingworth* had likewiſe a Friend, who was Parſon of the Pariſh, who received them very kindly. And ſo by unuſual Ways (61) They got through *Derbyſhire*, until They came to *Yorkſhire*; and then reſted at *Noſtall*, the Houſe of Sir *John Worſtenholme*; who, though He and his Family were at *London*, had given Order for his very good Reception; it having been before reſolved with his Majeſty's Conſent, that He ſhould ſtay in ſome private Place near *York*, till his Majeſty was informed of it, and till his Affairs abſolutely required his Preſence there: there being many Reaſons that He ſhould be concealed in thoſe Parts, as long as might be convenient. *Noſtall* was within twenty Miles of *York*; and from thence He gave his Majeſty Notice of his being there; and ſent him the Anſwer that was prepared to the Declaration of the nineteenth of *May*. And the King the next Day ſent Mr. *Aſhburnham* to him, with the Declaration of the twenty-ſixth of *May*, and which was the higheſt They had yet publiſhed; and to which He wiſhed an Anſwer ſhould be prepared as ſoon as poſſible it might be, that the Poiſon thereof might not work too long upon the Minds of the People.

And after a ſhort Stay at Ditchley

arrives at Noſtall.

AS ſoon as it was taken Notice of in the Parliament that Mr. *Hyde* was abſent, Enquiry was made, what was become of him, and a Motion made in the Houſe, that

He

He might be ſent for. The Speaker ſaid, that He had acquainted him with his going into the Country to recover his Indiſpoſition which troubled him, by freſh Air; and that Dr. *Winſton* his Phyſician was with him, and informed him, that He was troubled with the Stone; and that his having ſat ſo much in the Houſe, in that very hot Weather, had done him much Harm; and therefore that He had adviſed him to refreſh himſelf in the Country Air; with which Teſtimony They were for the preſent ſatisfied; though Mr. *Peard* ſaid confidently, "that "He was troubled with no other Stone, than the Stone "in his Heart; and therefore He would have him ſent "for wherever He was, for He was moſt confident that "He was doing them Miſchief, wherever He was." But He prevailed not, till their Committee from *York* ſent them Word, that He was come thither, and almoſt always with the King. It is ſaid before, that He ſtaid at *Noſtall* at the Houſe of Sir *John Worſtenholme*, from whence He ſent every Day to the King, and received his Majeſty's Commands; and He intended to have ſtaid longer there, where He could better intend, and diſpatch any Buſineſs He was to do; and He was willing for ſome Time not to be ſeen at *York*, which He knew would quickly be taken Notice of at *Weſtminſter*.

When He came firſt thither, He found that the King was not ſatisfied with the Lord Keeper, which gave him much Trouble; his Majeſty having ſent him Word that He did not like his Humours, nor know what to make of him. Mr. *Elliot* who had brought the Seal to the King, to magnify his own Service, and not imagining that the Keeper intended to follow him, had told many Stories; as if the Keeper had refuſed to deliver the Seal, and that He got it by Force, by having locked the Door upon him, and threatened to kill him, if He would not give it to him, which upon ſuch his Manhood He did for pure Fear conſent unto. And his Tale got ſo much Credit with the King that He hardly diſbelieved it, when He came himſelf, though it was in the Nature of it very improbable, that a ſingle Man, by another Man as ſtrong as himſelf (who was attended by many Servants in the next Room) ſhould be ſuffered to ſhut the Door upon him, and to extort That from him, which He had no Mind to part with; and afterwards to go out of his Houſe, when there were Perſons enough in every Room

to

to have laid Hands upon him, and to have taken That again by Force, which He had raviſhed away. Beſides (62) that his Majeſty knew He expected to be ſent for at that Time; and that if He had repented the Promiſe He had made, and reſolved not to perform it, He could have found ſeveral Ways to have evaded it; and refuſed to have admitted Mr. *Elliot* to ſpeak with him: But the Prejudice his Majeſty had before contracted againſt him, and the great Confidence *Elliot* had in the Relation, which was natural in him, had ſhut out all thoſe Reflections. Yet when his Majeſty ſaw him, He received him graciouſly; and cauſed him to be lodged in the Court, in a Room very near his Majeſty; which many believed to be rather out of Jealouſy and Care that He ſhould not again return, than out of Reſpect to him; his Majeſty keeping ſtill the Seal himſelf, and not reſtoring it to his Cuſtody; which could not but make ſome Impreſſion on Him, and more on others, who from thence concluded that He would have no more to do with the Seal; and carried themſelves towards him accordingly.

THE Lords who were come from the Houſe of Peers, and had been offended at his Behaviour there, gave him little Reſpect now; but rather gave Credit to Mr. *Elliot*'s Relation: and were forward to make Relation of his Carriage in the Houſe to his Diſadvantage, to the King himſelf; ſo that it was no Wonder that the poor Gentleman grew very Melancholick. And when He was ſent for to attend the King (who was himſelf preſent when the Great Seal was to be uſed; nor did ever ſuffer it to be uſed but in the Preſence of the Keeper, who ſigned all Things as He ought to do by his Office) when any Proclamation of Treaſon, as that againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, or againſt the Proceedings of the Houſes, as in the Buſineſs of the Militia, or the like, was brought to be ſealed, He uſed all Delays; and made many Exceptions; and found Faults in Matters of Form, and otherwiſe, and ſometimes very reaſonably; yet in ſuch a Manner, as made it evident He retained many Fears about him, as if He was not without Apprehenſion that He might fall again into their Hands; which was the Cauſe that the King had ſaid, that He knew not what to make of him.

MR. *Hyde*, as ſoon as He heard this, wrote a Letter to the King; and put him in Mind of all that had formerly paſſed in that Affair: how abſolutely the Keeper had deſtroyed

Mr. Hyde *writes from* Noſtall *to the King.*

ſtroyed himſelf in the Account of the Parliament, by paying that Obedience which He ought to do to his Majeſty's Commands; and that if He ſhould be deprived of his Majeſty's Favour, He muſt be of all Men the moſt miſerable; and that himſelf ſhould be moſt unfortunate, in having contributed ſo much to his Ruin; which would call his Majeſty's Good Nature, and even his Juſtice into Queſtion: and therefore beſought him to be Gracious to him, and to keep up his Spirits with his Countenance. However He made it his own humble Suit to his Majeſty, that He would not take any ſevere Reſolution againſt him, before He gave Him leave to kiſs his Hand, and to offer him ſome farther Conſiderations. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King ſent him Word, that He would gratify him in the laſt part of his Letter, and conclude Nothing before He ſpake with him: In the mean Time He wiſhed him to ſend the Keeper ſome good Counſel; and that as ſoon as He ſhould have diſpatched ſome Buſineſs He had then upon his Hands, that He would come to *York*, where He would find much to do; and that He thought now, there would be leſs Reaſon every Day for his being concealed. And within four or five Days after, his Majeſty ſent Mr. *Aſhburnham* to him to let him know, that He had every Day ſo much to do with the Keeper, and found him ſo refractory and obſtinate, that He ſhould not be able to keep the Promiſe he had made to him, if (63) He did not make Haſte to *York*; and therefore bade him to be with Him with all Convenience: Whereupon, within two Days after, for He had ſomewhat to diſpatch that required Haſte, and ſooner than He intended, He waited upon his Majeſty at *York*.

And goes from thence to York.

When He came to the Court, being about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, the King was at Council, upon the publiſhing his Anſwer to the Declaration of the twenty ſixth of *May*; which though it contained eight or nine Sheets of Paper, He brought to the Board in his own Hand writing; having kept the Promiſe He had made at *Greenwich*, to that Hour, in writing out all the Papers himſelf which had been ſent to him; which had been a wonderful Taſk He had impoſed on himſelf: ſo that He always ſpent more than half the Day, ſhut up by himſelf in his Chamber, Writing; which was moſt of the News the Houſes heard of him at *London*; and which perplexed them very much.

Mr. *Hyde*

MR. *Hyde* was in the Gallery when the King came from Council; and as ſoon as He ſaw him, He bade him Welcome to *York* very graciouſly; and aſked ſome Queſtions aloud of him, as if He thought He had then come from *London*; and then called him into the Garden, where He walked with Him above an Hour. He ſaid at the beginning, "that They needed not now be afraid of being ſeen "together;" then uſed all the Expreſſions of Kindneſs to him that can be imagined; of the Service He had done him, and of the great Benefit He had received from it, even to the turning the Hearts of the whole Nation towards him again; and of his gracious Reſolutions of rewarding him with the firſt Opportunity; and many Expreſſions of that Kind; which the other received with the Modeſty and Reverence that became him. Then his Majeſty ſpake of his Buſineſs, and the Temper of that Country; and quickly entered upon finding Fault with the Keeper, and proteſted, if it were not for his Sake, He would turn him out of his Place that very Hour; and enlarged upon many Particulars of his Obſtinacy, and of his Want of Courage, to ſuch a Degree, as if He did really apprehend, that the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod would come and take him out of his Chamber.

His Reception there;

and Converſation with the King.

MR. *Hyde* told him, that He would diſcourage many good Men, who deſired to ſerve him very faithfully, if He were too ſevere for ſuch Faults as the Infirmities of their Nature, and Defects in their Education, expoſed them to: That if the Keeper, from thoſe Impreſſions, had committed ſome Faults which might provoke his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, He had redeemed thoſe Errors by a ſignal Service, which might well wipe out the Memory of the other. The King ſaid with ſome Warmth, "that He was ſo far "from another Opinion, that He would hate himſelf if "He did not believe that He had made a full Expiation; "and though He did think that He had been wrought "upon by *him* to perform that Part; yet He thought the "Merit of it far above any of his Tranſgreſſions; and "that He was diſpoſed from the firſt Minute of his "coming to *York*, to have renewed his old Kindneſs to "him, and Confidence in him; and would willingly have "given the Seal again into his Hands, if He had found "He had deſired it: But that He found no Serenity in his "Countenance; nor any Inclination to do what Neceſſity "required: And whereas the Parliament took Advantage,

" that none of his Majeſty's Acts which He had cauſed to " be publiſhed, were Authentick, nor ought to be look- " ed upon as His, becauſe the Great Seal had not been af- " fixed to them, which could not be done whilſt the Great " Seal was at *Weſtminſter*; now He had the Seal by him, (64) " and ſent Proclamations to be ſealed, the Keeper was ſtill " as unwilling that they ſhould paſs, as if He was ſtill " under their Power: Which made him angry, and No- " thing that He had done before."

Mr. *Hyde* replied, that " the poor Gentleman could " not but think himſelf diſobliged to the higheſt Extre- " mity, in the Preſumption of Mr. *Elliot*; and that his " extravagant and inſolent Diſcourſes ſhould find Credit, " without his Majeſty's Reprehenſion, and Vindication, " who knew the Falſhood of them." And ſo put his Ma- jeſty in Mind of all that had paſſed; and of the other Cir- cumſtances, which made all the other's Brags impoſſible to be True. For his Fears and Apprehenſions, He be- ſought his Majeſty to remember, that " He had newly " eſcaped out of that Region, where the Thunder and " Lightening is made; and that He could hardly yet re- " cover the Fright He had been often in, and ſeen ſo ma- " ny others in; and that his Majeſty need not diſtruſt " him, He had paſſed the *Rubicon*, and had no Hope but " in his Majeſty." His Majeſty concluded, that He ſhould be ſure to receive all neceſſary Countenance and Protection from him, of which He bade him to aſſure him, and preſently to viſit him, which going to do, He met him in the Garden, and They there walked together.

Whom He reconciles to the Lord Keeper.

He found him full of Apprehenſion that He ſhould be put out of his Place; and of the Ruin, and Contempt that He ſhould be then expoſed to, which He had brought upon himſelf; but when the other anſwered him, that there was no Danger of that; and told him all that had paſſed between the King and Him; and that if He would, He might have the Seal in his own Cuſtody again within an Hour; He was exceedingly revived, and deſired him to intreat the King to keep the Great Seal ſtill himſelf; that He would by no Means be anſwerable for the Safety of it; nor would truſt any Servant of his own to look to it; which as it was wiſely conſidered, and reſolved by him, ſo it increaſed the King's Confidence in him; who would have been troubled if the other had accepted the Grace that was offered. And from that Time, when any Thing

was

was to be done, that adminiſtered any Argument for Doubt, Mr. *Hyde* always prepared him by Diſcourſe; ſo that there was never after any Unkindneſs from the King towards him; but the Vigour of his Mind grew every Day leſs under a great Melancholy that oppreſſed him, from the Conſideration of the Time, and of his own ill Condition in his Fortune; which was much worſe than any Body imagined it could be.

BEFORE He went out of the Garden, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Hugh Cholmely*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* (who were the Committee from the Parliament) had Intelligence that He was walking in the Garden with the King; whereupon They came preſently thither, and after They had ſaluted him with much Civility, They ſhewed him an Inſtruction They had from the Parliament; by which They were required, if any Member of either Houſe came to *York*, They ſhould let them know, that it was the Pleaſure of the Houſe that They ſhould immediately attend the Houſe; and ſignify to them what Anſwer They made; and ſo They deſired He would excuſe them for doing their Duty. He told them, He was but juſt then come thither in Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, and knew not yet what Service He was to do; but that as ſoon as his Majeſty would give him Leave, He would return to the Parliament.

He is ſummoned to attend the Parliament: His Anſwer.

THERE happened an Accident, at Mr. *Hyde*'s firſt coming to *York*, which He uſed often to ſpeak of, and to be very merry at. One of the King's Servants had provided a Lodging for him, ſo that when He alighted at (65) the Court, He ſent his Servants thither, and ſtaid himſelf at the Court till after Supper, and till the King went into his Chamber; and then He had a Guide, who went with him, and conducted him to his Chamber; which He liked very well, and began to undreſs himſelf. One of his Servants wiſhed that He had any other Lodging, and deſired him not to lie there; He aſked why, it ſeemed to him a good Chamber: His Servant anſwered, that the Chamber was good, but the People of the Houſe the worſt He ever ſaw, and ſuch, as He was confident would do him ſome Miſchief: at which wondering, his Servant told him, that the Perſons of the Houſe ſeemed to be of ſome Condition by their Habit, that was very good; and that the Servants when They came thither, found the Maſter and Miſtreſs in the lower Room, who received

them civilly, and ſhewed them the Chamber where their Maſter was to lodge; and wiſhed them to call for any Thing They wanted, and ſo left them: That ſhortly after, one of them went down, and the Miſtreſs of the Houſe being again in the lower Room, where it ſeems She uſually ſat, She aſked him, what his Maſter's Name was, which He told her; what ſaid She, that *Hyde* that is of the Houſe of Commons? and He anſwering yes, She gave a great Shriek, and cried out, that He ſhould not lodge in her Houſe; curſing him with many bitter Execrations. Upon the Noiſe her Huſband came in, and when She told him who it was that was to lodge in the Chamber above, He ſwore a great Oath that He ſhould not; and that He would rather ſet his Houſe on Fire, than entertain him in it. The Servant ſtood amazed, knowing that his Maſter had never been in, or near that City; and deſired to know what Offence He had committed againſt them; He told them He was confident that his Maſter did not know them, nor could be known to them. The Man anſwered after two or three Curſes, that He knew him well enough, and that He had undone Him, and his Wife, and his Children; and ſo after repeating ſome new bitter Curſes, He concluded, that He would ſet his Houſe on Fire as ſoon as the Other ſhould ſet his Foot in it; and ſo He and his Wife went away in a great Rage into an inner Room, and clapped the Door to them.

When his Servant had made this Relation to him, He was no leſs ſurprized; knew not what to make of it; aſked whether the People were drunk; was aſſured that They were very ſober, and appeared before this Paſſion to be well bred. He ſent to deſire the Maſter of the Houſe to come to him, that They might confer together, and that He would immediately depart his Houſe if He deſired it. He received no Anſwer, but that He and his Wife were gone to Bed; upon which He ſaid no more, but that, if They were gone to Bed, He would go to Bed too, and did accordingly. Though He was not diſturbed in the Night, the Morning was not at all calmer; the Maſter and the Miſtreſs ſtormed as much as ever; and would not be perſuaded to ſpeak with him: But He then underſtood the Reaſon: The Man of the Houſe had been an Attorney in the Court of the Preſident and Council of the North, in great Reputation and Practice there; and thereby got a very good Livelihood, with which He had lived

lived in Splendor; and Mr. *Hyde* had ſat in the Chair of that Committee, and had carried up the Votes of the Commons againſt that Court to the Houſe of Peers, upon which it was diſſolved: Which He confeſſed was a better Reaſon for being angry with him, than many others had, who were as angry, and perſecuted him more. However, He thought himſelf obliged to remove the Eye-ſore from them, and to quit the Lodging that had been aſſigned to him; and He was much better accommodated by
(66) the Kindneſs of a good Prebendary of the Church, Dr. *Hodſhon*, who ſent to invite him to lodge in his Houſe, as ſoon as He heard He was come to Town; where He reſided as long as the Court ſtaid there.

He reſides at York with Dr. Hodſhon.

THERE was now a great Conflux of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament to *York*; inſomuch as there remained not in the Houſe of Commons above a fifth Part of the whole Number; and of the Houſe of Peers ſo few, that there continued not at *Weſtminſter* twenty Lords. Yet They proceeded with the ſame Spirit and Preſumption, as when their Numbers were full; publiſhed new Declarations againſt the King; raiſed Soldiers for their Army apace; and executed their Ordinance for the Militia in all the Counties of *England*, the Northern Parts only excepted; forbad all Perſons to reſort to the King; and intercepted many in their Journey towards *York*, and committed them to Priſon: Notwithſtanding which, many Perſons of Quality every Day flocked thither; and it was no longer ſafe for thoſe Members to ſtay in the Houſes of Parliament, who reſolved not to concur with them in their unwarrantable Deſigns; and therefore the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* ſhortly after repaired likewiſe to *York*.

WHEN the King declared that He would go to *Beverley*, a Place within four Miles of *Hull*, the Noiſe of the King's Journey thither made a great Impreſſion upon the Parliament. Where, how great a Concurrence ſoever there was, in thoſe unwarrantable Actions which begot the War; yet a ſmall Number of thoſe who voted, both the raiſing the Army, and making the General, did in Truth intend, or believe that there would be a War: And therefore when They looked upon it as begun in this March of the King's to *Hull* (for They conſidered their own Actions as done only to prevent a War, by making the King unable to make it, who as They thought only deſired it)

They moved preſently for ſome Overtures of an Accommodation, which that angry Party that reſolved againſt it, never durſt abſolutely reject; but conſenting cheerfully to it, got thereby Authority to inſert ſuch Things in the Addreſs, as muſt inevitably render it ineffectual. So, at this Time They ſent the Earl of *Holland*, a Perſon whom They knew to be moſt unacceptable to the King, with two Members of the Houſe of Commons, who came to *Beverley* the Day the King arrived there. The Subject of their Meſſage was, after ſeveral ſpecious Expreſſions, and Profeſſions of their Duty, to diſſuade his Majeſty from making War againſt his Parliament, by proceeding in his Enterprize againſt *Hull*, which the Parliament was obliged to defend. And all the Expedient They propoſed for the avoiding this War was, that He would conſent to the nineteen Propoſitions, which They had formerly made to him at *York*, and to which He had long ſince returned his Anſwer; and both the one and the other were printed.

THESE nineteen Propoſitions, which contained the Diſinheriſon of the Crown of all its choice Regalities, and left only the Shadow and empty Name of the King, had been framed by the Houſes after Mr. *Hyde* left *London*. And becauſe He had ſo much Work then upon his Hands, as They believed He would not be able to diſpatch ſoon enough, the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* undertook to prepare an Anſwer to them themſelves; and ſo divided the Propoſitions between them; and in a ſhort Time ſo finiſhed their Anſwer that They ſent it to the King, and deſired that Mr. *Hyde* might peruſe it, and then cauſe it to be publiſhed and printed. The Anſwer was full to all Particulars; and writ with very much Wit and Sharpneſs; but there were ſome Expreſſions in it, which He liked not, as prejudicial to the King, and in (67)
Truth a Miſtake in Point of Right, in that Part which had been prepared by Sir *John Colepepper*; who had taken it up upon Credit, and without weighing the Conſequence, did really believe that it had been True; which was, that in the Diſcourſe of the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, He had declared, that the *King*, and *the Houſe of Peers*, and *the Houſe of Commons* made the *Three Eſtates*: And for this Reaſon Mr. *Hyde* did not advance the Printing it; and told the King, that all the Particulars in thoſe Propoſitions had been enough anſwered in former Anſwers

to

to other Declarations (which was True) and therefore that this needed not be publiſhed: With which his Majeſty was ſatisfied, without knowing the particular true Reaſon; which He thought not fit to communicate, for both the Perſons Sakes, of whoſe Affection for the Church (which was principally concerned in that Miſtake, ſince in Truth the Biſhops make the *Third Eſtate*, the King being the Head and Sovereign of the Whole) his Majeſty was always jealous.

Mr. Hyde *adviſes the King not to publiſh the Anſwer to the Parliament's nineteen Propoſitions.*

But They no ſooner came to *York*, than They appeared much unſatisfied, that that Anſwer was not printed: And the Lord *Falkland* finding it remained ſtill in Mr. *Hyde*'s Hands, He expoſtulated warmly with him of the Reaſons; and in ſome Paſſion ſaid, "He therefore "diſliked it becauſe He had not writ it himſelf." Upon which, without ſaying more than that "He never ex- "pected ſo unkind a Reproach from Him," He delivered the written Copy to him, and He immediately procured the King's Conſent, and ſent it to the Preſs that Night, with Order to loſe no Time in the Impreſſion. Of which the King was afterwards very ſenſible; and that excellent Lord, who intended not the leaſt Unkindneſs (nor did it produce the leaſt Interruption in their Friendſhip) was likewiſe much troubled when He knew the Reaſon; and imputed it to his own Inadvertency, and to the Infuſion of ſome Lawyers who had miſled Sir *John Colepepper*; and to the Declarations which many of the Prelatical Clergy frequently and ignorantly made, that the Biſhops did not ſit in Parliament, as the Repreſentatives of the Clergy, and ſo could not be the *Third Eſtate*.

Lord Falkland's *Expoſtulation with him thereon.*

It happened that the Day the Earl of *Holland* came to *Beverley*, Mr. *Hyde* had been riding Abroad; and returning to *Beverley*, happened to be in the ſame Road, when the Earl of *Holland* and his Company proſecuted their Journey to the King: When meeting together, there paſſed the uſual Salutations which are between Perſons well known to each other. "He hoped (the Earl "ſaid) that He ſhould be Welcome to all honeſt Men "at the Court, becauſe He came to invite the King to "return to his Parliament; and to aboliſh all Jealouſies "between them." The other anſwered, "He would be "very Welcome indeed, if He brought proper Expedients "to produce either of thoſe Effects: But then his Errand "muſt be of another Compoſition, than what the King

Mr. Hyde's *Converſation with the Earl of* Holland.

"underſtood it to be." Upon which They entered upon a warmer Diſcourſe than it may be either of them intended; and as the Earl ſpake in another Stile than He had uſed to do, of the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and how much They were ſuperior to any Oppoſition or Contradiction; ſo the Other in the Debate was leſs reſerved, and kept a leſs Guard upon himſelf than He uſed to do; ſo that They ſeemed nothing pleaſed with each other: Nor did Mr. *Hyde* viſit him after his coming to *Beverley*, becauſe He was informed that the Earl had, to many Perſons who reſorted to him, repeated with ſome Liberty and Sharpneſs, what had paſſed between them; and not without ſome Menaces what the Parliament would do. And as ſoon as He did return, (68) there was a new Vote paſſed by Name againſt Him, and Two or Three more, by which He was exempted from Pardon in any Accommodation that ſhould be made between the King and Parliament.

He is exempted from Pardon by a Vote of the Houſes.

Mr. *Hyde* had been abſent four or five Days from the Court; and came into the Preſence when the King was waſhing his Hands before Dinner; and as ſoon as the King ſaw him, He aſked him aloud, "*Ned Hyde*, when "did you play with my Bandſtrings laſt?" upon which He was exceedingly out of Countenance, not imagining the Cauſe of the Queſtion, and the Room being full of Gentlemen, who appeared to be merry with what the King had aſked. But his Majeſty obſerving him to be in Diſorder, and to bluſh very much, ſaid pleaſantly, "be not troubled at it, for I have worn no Bandſtrings "theſe twenty Years;" and then aſked him whether He had not ſeen the Diurnal; of which He had not heard till then, but, ſhortly after, ſome of the Standers-by ſhewed him a Diurnal, in which there was a Letter of Intelligence printed, where it was ſaid, that *Ned Hyde* was grown ſo familiar with the King, that *He uſed to play with his Bandſtrings*. Which was a Method of calumniating They began then, and ſhortly after proſecuted and exerciſed upon much greater Perſons.

In the Afternoon the Earl of *Holland* came to deliver his Meſſage with great Formality; whom the King received with much Coldneſs, and Manifeſtation of Neglect; and when the Earl approached, and kneeled to kiſs his Hand, He turned or withdrew his Hand in ſuch a Manner, that the Earl kiſſed his own. When the

Meſſage

Meſſage was read, the King ſaid little more, than that They ſhould not ſtay long for an Anſwer; and ſo went to his Chamber. The Earl was not without many Friends there, and ſome of them moved the King, that He would give him Leave to ſay ſomewhat to him in Private, which They believed would be very much for his Service; but his Majeſty would by no Means yield to it. By this Time his Majeſty had Notice of the Governor's Irreſolution at *Hull*; and ſo was glad of this Opportunity to have a fair Excuſe for making no Attempt upon that Place. And ſent the next Day for the Earl of *Holland* to receive his Anſwer; which being read aloud in the King's Preſence, and a full Room, by the Clerk of the Council, was very grateful to the Auditors, who feared ſome Condeſcenſion in the King; though very mortifying to the Earl. For beſides that it was thought very ſharp towards the Houſes, it declared his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* a Traitor, for poſſeſſing himſelf of the King's Fleet againſt his Conſent; and concluded, that He would forbear any Attempt upon *Hull* for fourteen Days; in which Time, if the Parliament would enter into a Treaty for a happy Peace, They ſhould find him very well inclined to it; after the Expiration of that Time He ſhould purſue thoſe Ways which He thought fit. In the mean Time, He made a ſhort Progreſs into the adjacent Counties of *Nottingham* and *Leiceſter*, to ſee what Countenance They wore; and to encourage thoſe, who appeared to have good Affections to his Service: And then returning to *Beverley* within the limited Time, and hearing no more from the Parliament, or any Thing from *Hull* that He expected, He returned again to *York*.

MR. *Hyde* was wont often to relate a Paſſage in that melancholick Time, when the Standard was ſet up at *Nottingham*, with which He was much affected. Sir *Edmund Varney*, Knight-Marſhal, who was mentioned be-
(69) fore as Standard Bearer, with whom He had great Familiarity, who was a Man of great Courage, and generally beloved, came one Day to him and told him, "He was "very glad to ſee Him, in ſo univerſal a Damp, under "which the Spirits of moſt Men were oppreſſed, retain "ſtill his natural Vivacity and Cheerfulneſs; that He "knew that the Condition of the King, and the Power "of the Parliament, was not better known to any Man "than to Him; and therefore He hoped that He was

His Converſation with Sir Edmund Varney.

able

"able to adminiſter ſome Comfort to his Friends, that "might raiſe Their Spirits, as well as it ſupported his "own." He anſwered, "that He was in Truth beholden "to his Conſtitution, which did not incline him to De- "ſpair; otherwiſe, that He had no pleaſant Proſpect be- "fore him, but thought as ill of Affairs as moſt Men "did; that the Other was as far from being melancho- "lick as He, and was known to be a Man of great "Courage (as indeed He was of a very cheerful and a "generous Nature, and confeſſedly Valiant) and that "They could not do the King better Service, than by "making it their Buſineſs to raiſe the dejected Minds of "Men; and root out thoſe Apprehenſions which diſturb- "ed them, of Fear and Deſpair, which could do no "Good, and did really much Miſchief."

He replied ſmiling, "I will willingly join with you "the beſt I can, but I ſhall act it very ſcurvily. My "Condition, *ſaid He*, is much worſe than yours, and dif- "ferent I believe from any other Man's, and will very "well juſtify the Melancholick that, I confeſs to you, "poſſeſſes me. You have Satisfaction in your Conſcience "that you are in the Right; that the King ought not to "grant what is required of him; and ſo you do your "Duty, and your Buſineſs together: But for my Part, "I do not like the Quarrel, and do heartily wiſh that "the King would yield and conſent to what They deſire; "ſo that my Conſcience is only concerned in Honour "and in Gratitude to follow my Maſter. I have eaten "his Bread, and ſerved him near thirty Years, and will "not do ſo baſe a Thing, as to forſake him; and chuſe "rather to loſe my Life (which I am ſure I ſhall do) to "preſerve and defend thoſe Things, which are againſt "my Conſcience to preſerve and defend. For I will deal "freely with you, I have no Reverence for the Biſhops, "for whom this Quarrel ſubſiſts." It was not a Time to diſpute; and his Affection to the Church had never been ſuſpected. He was as good as his Word; and was killed in the Battle of *Edgehill*, within two Months after this Diſcourſe. And if thoſe who had the ſame and greater Obligations, had obſerved the ſame Rules of Gratitude and Generoſity, whatever their other Af- fections had been, that Battle had never been fought, nor any of that Miſchief been brought to paſs, that ſuc- ceeded it.

After

AFTER the King came to *Oxford* with his Army, his Majeſty one Day ſpeaking with the Lord *Falkland* very graciouſly concerning Mr. *Hyde*, ſaid He had ſuch a peculiar Style, that He could know any Thing written by him, if it were brought to him by a Stranger, amongſt a Multitude of Writings by other Men. The Lord *Falkland* anſwered, He doubted his Majeſty could hardly do that; becauſe He himſelf, who had ſo long Converſation and Friendſhip with him, was often deceived; and often met with Things written by him, of which He could never have ſuſpected him, upon the variety of Arguments. To which the King replied, He would lay Him *an Angel*, that let the Argument be what it would, He ſhould never bring him a Sheet of Paper (for He would not undertake to judge of leſs) of his Writing, but He would diſcover it to be his. The Lord *Falkland* told him it ſhould be a Wager; but neither the one or (70) the other ever mentioned it to Mr. *Hyde*. Some Days after, the Lord *Falkland* brought ſeveral Packets, which He had then received from *London*, to the King, before He had opened them, as He uſed to do: and after He had read his ſeveral Letters of Intelligence, He took out the Prints of Diurnals and Speeches, and the like, which were every Day printed at *London*, and as conſtantly ſent to *Oxford*: And amongſt the reſt there were two Speeches, the one made by the Lord *Pembroke* for an Accommodation; and the other by the Lord *Brooke* againſt it, and for the carrying on the War with more Vigour, and utterly to root out the Cavaliers, which were the King's Party.

The King's Wager with Lord Falkland *concerning Mr.* Hyde's *Style.*

THE King was very much pleaſed with reading the Speeches, and ſaid, He did not think that *Pembroke* could ſpeak ſo long together; though every Word He ſaid was ſo much his own, that no Body elſe could make it. And ſo after He had pleaſed Himſelf with reading the Speeches over again, and then paſſed to other Papers, the Lord *Falkland* whiſpered in his Ear (for there were other Perſons by) deſiring him He would pay him *the Angel*; which his Majeſty in the Inſtant apprehending, bluſhed, and put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave him *an Angel*, ſaying, He had never paid a Wager more willingly: And was very merry upon it, and would often call upon Mr. *Hyde* for a Speech, or a Letter, which He very often prepared upon ſeveral Occaſions; and the King always com-

Mr. Hyde *laments the Loſs of many of his occaſional Writings.*

commanded them to be printed. And He was often wont to ſay many Years after, that He would be very glad He could make a Collection of all thoſe Papers, which He had written occaſionally at that Time; which He could never do, though He got many of them.

A Diſpute cauſed by one of them.

THERE was at that Time a pleaſant Story upon thoſe Speeches. The Lord *Brooke* had met with them in print; and heard that He was much reproached for ſo Unchriſtian a Speech againſt Peace; though the Language was ſuch as He uſed in all Opportunities: Whereupon one Morning in the Houſe of Peers, and before the Houſe ſate, He came to the Earl of *Portland* (who yet remained there with the King's Approbation, and knew well enough from whence the Speeches came, having himſelf cauſed them to be printed) and ſhewing them to him, deſired He would move the Houſe, that that Speech might, by their Order, be burned by the Hand of the Hangman; by which Means the Kingdom would be informed, that it had never been ſpoken by him. The Earl ſaid He would willingly do him the Service; but He obſerved that the Speeches were printed in that Manner, that where the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Speech ended on the one Side of the Leaf, His (the Lord *Brooke*'s) Speech began on the other Side, ſo that one could not be burned, without burning the other too; which He knew not how the Earl of *Pembroke* would like; and therefore He durſt not move it without his Conſent. Whereupon They both went to the Earl, who was then likewiſe in the Houſe, and *Portland* told him what the Lord *Brooke* deſired, and aſked him whether He wiſhed it ſhould be done. He, who heard He was very well ſpoken of, for having ſpoke ſo honeſtly for Peace, ſaid, He did not deſire it. Upon which *Brooke* in great Anger, aſked if He had ever made that Speech; He was very ſure He had never made the other: And the Other with equal Choler replied, that He was always for Peace; and though He could not ſay He had ſpoken all thoſe Things together, He was ſure He had ſpoken them all at ſeveral Times; and that He knew as well, that He had always been againſt Peace, and had often uſed all thoſe Expreſſions which were in the Speech, though it may be not all together. Upon which They entered into a high Combat of reproachful Words againſt (71) each other, to the no ſmall Delight of the Earl, who had brought them together, and of the reſt of the Standers by.

THE

THE King was no ſooner ſettled in his Winter Quarters, after his Retreat from *Brentford* to *Oxford*, but the Parliament ſent to him for a Safe-Conduct, for Commiſſioners to be ſent from them to treat of Peace; which was ſent to them. And at this Time there was a Change in Mr. *Hyde*'s Fortune, by a Preferment the King conferred upon him. Every Body knew that He was truſted by the King in his moſt ſecret Tranſactions; but He was under no Character in his Service. When the Commiſſioners who were ſent for the Safe-Conduct came to *Oxford*, ſome who came in their Company, amongſt other Matters of Intelligence brought the King a Letter of his own to the Queen, printed, that had been intercepted and printed by the Licence, if not Order, of the Parliament. In this Letter, of the ſafe Conveyance whereof his Majeſty had no Apprehenſion, the King had lamented the Uneaſineſs of his own Condition, in reſpect of the daily Importunity which was made to him by the Lords and others, for Honours, Offices, and Preferments; and named ſeveral Lords, who were ſolicitous by themſelves, or their Friends, for this, and that Place; in all which He deſired to receive the Queen's Advice, being reſolved to do Nothing with Reference to thoſe Pretences, till He ſhould receive it. But He ſaid there were ſome Places, which He muſt diſpoſe of without ſtaying for her Anſwer, the Neceſſity of his Service requiring it; which were the Maſterſhip of the Wards; Application being ſtill made to the Lord *Say* in thoſe Affairs, and ſo that Revenue was diverted from him: And therefore as He had revoked his Patent, ſo He was reſolved to make Secretary *Nicholas* Maſter of the Wards, *and then* (theſe were his Majeſty's own Words) *I muſt make* Ned Hyde *Secretary of State, for the Truth is, I can truſt no Body elſe.* Which was a very envious Expreſſion, and extended by the ill Interpretation of ſome Men, to a more general Comprehenſion than could be intended. This was quickly made Publick, for there were ſeveral Prints of it in many Hands; and ſome Men had Reaſon to be troubled to find their Names mentioned in that Manner, and others were glad that theirs were there, as having the Pretence to purſue their Importunities the more vehemently, being, as the Phraſe was, brought upon the Stage, and ſhould ſuffer much in their Honour if They

(71)

ſhould

ſhould be now rejected; which Kind of Argumentation was very unagreeable and grievous to the King.

Mr. Hyde *declines the Office of Secretary of State.*

ONE Morning, when the King was walking in the Garden, as He uſed to do, Mr. *Hyde* being then in his View, his Majeſty called him, and diſcourſed of the Trouble He was in at the intercepting that Letter; and finding by his Countenance that He underſtood not the Meaning, He aſked him, "whether He had not heard a "Letter of his, which He writ to the Queen, had been "intercepted and printed." And He anſwering, that "He had not heard of it," as in Truth He had not; the King gave him the printed Letter to read, and then ſaid, that "He wiſhed it were as much in his Power "to make every Body elſe Amends, as He could Him; "for, *He ſaid*, He was reſolved that Afternoon to ſwear "him Secretary of State, in the Place of *Nicholas*; whom "He would likewiſe then make Maſter of the Wards." Mr. *Hyde* told him, "He was indeed much ſurprized "with the Sight of the Letter; which He wiſhed had "not been communicated in that Manner: But that He "was much more ſurprized to find his own Name in it, "and his Majeſty's Reſolution upon it, which He be-"ſought him to change; for as He never had the Am-(72) "bition to hope, or wiſh for that Place, ſo He knew He "was very unfit for it, and unable to diſcharge it." To which the King with a little Anger replied, that "He "did the greateſt Part of the Buſineſs now:" and He anſwered, that "what He did now, would be no Part "of the Buſineſs, if the Rebellion were ended; and that "his Unſkilfulneſs in Languages, and his not under-"ſtanding foreign Affairs, rendered him very incapable "of that Truſt." The King ſaid, "He would learn as "much as was neceſſary of that Kind very quickly." He continued his Deſire, that his Majeſty would lay aſide that Thought; and ſaid, "that He had great Friend-"ſhip for Secretary *Nicholas*, who would be undone by "the Change; for He would find that his Majeſty would "receive very little, and He Nothing, by that Office, "till the Troubles were compoſed." The King ſaid, "*Nicholas* was an honeſt Man, and that his Change "was by his Deſire;" and bade him ſpeak with him of it; which He went preſently to do, leaving his Majeſty unſatisfied with the Scruples He had made.

WHEN

WHEN He came to the Secretary's Lodging, He found him with a cheerful Countenance, and embracing him, called him his Son. Mr. *Hyde* anſwered him, that "it was not the Part of a good Son to undo his Father, "or to become his Son that He might undo him:" And ſo They entered upon the Diſcourſe; the one telling him what the King had reſolved, and how grateful the Reſolution was to him; and the Other informing him of the Conference He had then had with the King, and that for his Sake as well as his own, He would not ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure in it. And ſo He debated the whole Matter with him; and made it evident to him, that He would be diſappointed in any Expectation He ſhould entertain of Profit from the Wards, as the State of Affairs then ſtood: So that He ſhould relinquiſh an honourable Employment, which He was well acquainted with, for an empty Title with which He would have Nothing to do: And ſo adviſed him to conſider well of it, and of all the Conſequences of it, before He expoſed himſelf to ſuch an Inconvenience.

WHILST this was in Suſpenſe, Sir *Charles Cæſar*, who with great Prejudice to the King, and more Reproach to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, had been (72) made Maſter of the Rolls, died: And Sir *John Colepepper* had long had a Promiſe from the King of that Place, when it ſhould become void, and now preſſed the Performance of it: Which was violently oppoſed by Many, partly out of ill Will to him (for He had not the Faculty of getting himſelf much loved) and as much out of good Huſbandry, and to ſupply the King's Neceſſities with a good Sum of Money, which Dr. *Duck* was ready to lay down for the Office. And the King was ſo far wrought upon, that He paid down three thouſand Pounds in Part of what He was to give; but his Majeſty cauſed the Money to be repaid, and reſolved to make good his Promiſe to Sir *John Colepepper*, who would by no means releaſe him. This was no ſooner declared, than the Lord *Falkland* (who was much more ſolicitous to have Mr. *Hyde* of the Council, than He was himſelf for the Honour) took an Opportunity to tell the King, that He had now a good Opportunity to prefer Mr. *Hyde*, by making him Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Place of Sir *John Colepepper*; which the King ſaid, He had reſolved to do, and bid him take no Notice of it, until He had told him ſo him-

himſelf. And ſhortly after ſent for him, and ſaid, "that "He had now found an Office for him, which He hoped "He would not refuſe: That the Chancellorſhip of the (73) "Exchequer was void by the Promotion of *Colepepper*; "and that He reſolved to confer it upon him;" with many gracious Expreſſions of the Satisfaction He had in his Service. The other anſwered, "that though it was "an Office much above his Merit, yet He did not deſpair "of enabling himſelf by Induſtry to execute it, which He "would do with all Fidelity."

But accepts that of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

As ſoon as this was known, no Man was ſo much troubled at it as Sir *John Colepepper*, who had in Truth an Intention to have kept both Places, until He ſhould get into the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Rolls. And though He profeſſed much Friendſhip to the other, He had no Mind He ſhould be upon the ſame Level with him; and believed He would have too much Credit in the Council. And ſo delayed, after his Patent for the Rolls was paſſed, to ſurrender that of the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, until the Lord *Falkland*, and the Lord *Digby* expoſtulated very warmly with him upon it, and until the King took Notice of it; and then, ſeeming very much troubled that any Body ſhould doubt the Integrity of his Friendſhip to Mr. *Hyde*, to whom He made all the Profeſſions imaginable, He ſurrendered his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: And the next Day Mr. *Hyde* was ſworn of the Privy-Council, and Knighted, and had his Patents ſealed for that Office. And the King, after He roſe from the Council, and after many Expreſſions of the Content He took himſelf in the Obligation He had laid upon him, with much Grace, that was not natural in him upon ſuch Occaſions, told him, that "He was very fortunate, be- "cauſe He verily believed no Body was angry at his Pre- "ferment; for beſides that the Earl of *Dorſet* and others, "who He knew loved him, had expreſſed much Satiſ- "faction in the King's Purpoſe; *He ſaid*, the Lord *Mal-* "*trevers*, and the Lord *Dunſmore*, who He did not think "had any Acquaintance with him, ſeemed very much "pleaſed with him; and therefore He thought no Body "would envy him; which was a rare Felicity." But his Majeſty was therein miſtaken; for He had great Enviers, of many who thought He had run too faſt; eſpecially of thoſe of his own Profeſſion, who looked upon themſelves as his Superiors in all Reſpects, and did not think that his

He is ſworn of the Privy Council, and Knighted.

his Age (which was not then above thirty three) or his other Parts, did entitle him to ſuch a Preference before them. And the News of it at *Weſtminſter*, exceedingly offended Thoſe who governed in the Parliament; to ſee the Man whom They moſt hated, and whom They had voted to be incapable of Pardon, to be now preferred to an Office the Chief of them looked for. Beſides, there was another unuſual Circumſtance accompanied his Preferment, that it was without the Interpoſition or Privity of the Queen, which was not like to make it the more eaſy, and advantageous; and it was not the more unwelcome to him from that Circumſtance.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Diſcourſe of, and Inclination to a Treaty, the Armies were not quiet on either Side. The King's Quarters were enlarged by the taking of *Marlborough* in *Wiltſhire*, and of *Cirenceſter* in *Gloceſterſhire*; which though untenable by their Situation and weak Fortifications, were garriſoned by the Parliament with great Numbers of Men, who were all killed, or taken Priſoners. And the Parliament Forces were not without Succeſs too; and after the Loſs of *Marlborough*, ſurprized the Regiment of Horſe, that was commanded by the Lord *Grandiſon*, a gallant Gentleman, who if not betrayed, was unhappily invited to *Wincheſter*, with Promiſe of Forces ready to defend the Place; which being
(74) in no Degree performed, He was the next Day after He came, encloſed in the Caſtle of *Wincheſter*, and compelled to become, all, Officers and Soldiers, Priſoners of War: Though He and ſome other of the principal Officers, by the Negligence or Corruption of their Guard, made their Eſcape in the Night, and returned to *Oxford*.

THIS was the State of the Kingdom, of the King, and of the Parliament, in the Beginning of the Year 1643, at the Time when Mr. *Hyde* was made of the Privy Council, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: Which was between the Return of the Commiſſioners, who had been ſent to the King to propoſe a Treaty, and the coming of thoſe Commiſſioners to *Oxford*, who were afterwards ſent from the Parliament to treat with the King; which being about the End of the Year 1642, this Part ſhall be cloſed here.

Pezenas, the 24th
of *July*, 1669.

The LIFE of

EDWARD EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the THIRD.

(75) IT was about the Beginning of *March* (which by that Account was about the End of the Year 1642, and about the Beginning of the Year 1643) that the Commiſſioners of the Parliament came to *Oxford*, to treat with his Majeſty; and were received graciouſly by him; and by his Order lodged conveniently, and well accommodated in all Reſpects.

THE Parliament had bound up their Commiſſioners to the ſtricteſt Letter of their Propoſitions; nor did their Inſtructions at this Time (which They preſented to the King) admit the leaſt Latitude to them to interpret a Word or Expreſſion, that admitted a doubtful Interpretation. Inſomuch as the King told them, "that He was "ſorry that They had no more Truſt repoſed in them; "and that the Parliament might as well have ſent their "Demands to him by the common Carrier, as by Com-"miſſioners ſo reſtrained." They had only twenty Days allowed them to finiſh the whole Treaty; whereof They might employ ſix Days in adjuſting a Ceſſation, if They found it probable to effect it in that Time: Otherwiſe They were to decline the Ceſſation, and enter upon the Conditions of the Peace; which if not concluded before the End of the twenty Days, They were to give it over, and to return to the Parliament.

THESE Propoſitions and Reſtrictions much abated the Hopes of a good Iſſue of the Treaty. Yet every Body believed, and the Commiſſioners themſelves did not doubt, that if ſuch a Progreſs ſhould be made in the Treaty, that a Peace was like to enſue, there would be no Difficulty in the Enlargement of the Time: And therefore the Articles for a Ceſſation were the ſooner declined, that They might proceed in the main Buſineſs. For though what was propoſed by them in Order to it, was agreeable enough to the Nature of ſuch an Affair; yet the Time allowed for it was ſo ſhort, that it was impoſſible to make it practicable; nor could Notice be timely given to all the Quarters on either Side to obſerve it.

BESIDES that, there were many Particulars in it, which the Officers on the King's Side (who had no Mind to a Ceſſation) formalized much upon: And (I know not from (76) what unhappy Root, but) there was ſprung up a wonderful Averſion in the Town againſt a Ceſſation. Inſomuch as many Perſons of Quality of ſeveral Counties, whereof the Town was full, applied themſelves in a Body to the King, not to conſent to a Ceſſation, till a Peace might be concluded; alledging, that They had ſeveral Agitations in their Countries, for his Majeſty's and their own Conveniencies, which would be interrupted by the Ceſſation; and if a Peace ſhould not afterwards enſue, would be very miſchievous. Which Suggeſtion, if it had been well weighed, would not have been found to be of Importance. But the Truth is, the King himſelf had no Mind to the Ceſſation, for a Reaſon which ſhall be mentioned anon, though it was never owned: And ſo They waved all farther Mention of the Ceſſation, and betook themſelves to the Treaty; it being reaſonable enough to believe, that if both Sides were heartily diſpoſed to it, a Peace might as ſoon have been agreed upon, as a Ceſſation could be. All the Tranſactions of that Treaty having been long ſince publiſhed, and being fit only to be digeſted into the Hiſtory of that Time, are to be omitted here. Only what paſſed in Secret, and was never communicated, nor can otherwiſe be known, ſince at this Time, no Man elſe is living who was privy to that Negociation, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will have a proper Place in this Diſcourſe.

The Secret Tranſactions in the Treaty of Oxford.

THE

THE Propoſitions brought by the Commiſſioners in the Treaty were ſo unreaſonable, that They well knew that the King would never conſent to them: But ſome Perſons amongſt them, who were known to wiſh well to the King, endeavoured underhand to bring it to paſs. And They did therefore, whilſt They publickly purſued their Inſtructions, and delivered and received Papers upon their Propoſitions, privately uſe all the Means They could, eſpecially in Conferences with the Lord *Falkland* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the King might be prevailed with, in ſome Degree to comply with their unreaſonable Demands.

IN all Matters which related to the Church, They did not only deſpair of the King's Concurrence, but did not in their own Judgments wiſh it; and believed, that the Strength of the Party which deſired the Continuance of the War, was made up of thoſe, who were very indifferent in that Point; and that, if They might return with Satisfaction in other Particulars, They ſhould have Power enough in the two Houſes, to oblige the more violent People to accept, or ſubmit to the Conditions. They wiſhed therefore that the King would make ſome Condeſcenſions in the Point of the Militia; which They looked upon as the only ſubſtantial Security They could have, not to be called in Queſtion for what They had done amiſs. And when They ſaw Nothing could be digeſted of that Kind, which would not reflect both upon the King's Authority, and his Honour, They gave over inſiſting upon the General: And then Mr. *Pierrepoint* (who was of the beſt Parts, and moſt intimate with the Earl of *Northumberland*) rather deſired than propoſed, that the King would offer to grant his Commiſſion to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to be Lord High Admiral of *England*. By which Condeſcenſion He would be reſtored to his Office, which He had loſt for their Sakes; and ſo their Honour would be likewiſe repaired, without any ſignal Prejudice to the King; ſince He ſhould hold it only by his Majeſty's Commiſſion, and not by any Ordinance of Parliament; and He ſaid, if the King would be induced to gratify them in this Particular, He could not be confident, that They ſhould be able to prevail with both Houſes to be ſatisfied therewith, ſo that a Peace might ſuddenly be concluded; but as He did not deſpair even of (77) that, He did believe, that ſo many would be ſatisfied with

Mr. Pierrepoint's *Propoſition.*

with it, that They would from thence take the Occaſion to ſeparate themſelves from them, as Men who would rather deſtroy their Country, than reſtore it to Peace.

And the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf took ſo much Notice of this Diſcourſe to Secretary *Nicholas* (with whom He had as much Freedom, as his reſerved Nature was capable of) as to proteſt to him, that He deſired only to receive that Honour, and Truſt from the King, that He might be able to do him Service; and thereby to recover the Credit He had unhappily loſt with him. In which He uſed very decent Expreſſions towards his Majeſty; not without ſuch Reflections upon his own Behaviour, as implied that He was not proud of it; and concluded, that if his Majeſty would do him that Honour, as to make that Offer to the Houſes, upon the Propoſition of the Militia, He would do all He could that it might be effectual towards a Peace; and if it had not Succeſs, He would paſs his Word and Honour to the King, that as ſoon, or whenſoever, his Majeſty would pleaſe to require it, He would deliver up his Commiſſion again into his Hands: He having no other Ambition, or Deſire, than by this Means to re-deliver up the Royal Navy to his Majeſty's as abſolute Diſpoſal, as it was, when his Majeſty firſt put it into his Hands; and which He doubted would hardly be done by any other Expedient, at leaſt not ſo ſoon.

When this Propoſition (which from the Intereſt, and Perſons who propoſed it, ſeemed to carry with it ſome Probability of Succeſs, if it ſhould be accepted) was communicated with thoſe who were like with moſt Secrecy to conſult it; Secretary *Nicholas* having already made ſome Approach towards the King upon the Subject, and found his Majeſty without Inclination to hear more of it; it was agreed and reſolved by them, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhould preſume to make the Propoſition plainly to the King, and to perſuade his Majeſty to hear it debated in his Preſence; at leaſt, if that might not be, to enlarge upon it himſelf, as much as the Argument required: And He was not unwilling to embark himſelf in the Affair.

Which the Chancellor of the Exchequer adviſes the King to comply with.

When He found a fit Opportunity for the Repreſentation, and his Majeſty at good Leiſure, in his Morning's Walk, when He was always moſt willing to be entertained, the Chancellor related ingenuouſly to him the whole Diſcourſe, which had been made by Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and

and to whom; and what the Earl himſelf had ſaid to Secretary *Nicholas*; and what Conference They, to whom his Majeſty gave Leave to conſult together upon his Affairs, had between themſelves upon the Argument, and what occurred to them upon it: In which He mentioned the Earl's Demerit towards his Majeſty, with Severity enough, and what Reaſon He had, not to be willing to reſtore a Man to his Favour, who had forfeited it ſo unworthily. Yet He deſired him to conſider his own ill Condition; and how unlike it was, that it ſhould be improved by the Continuance of the War; and whether He could ever imagine a Poſſibility of getting out of it upon more eaſy Conditions, than what was now propoſed; the Offer of which to the Parliament could do him no ſignal Prejudice, and could not but bring him very notable Advantages: For if the Peace did not enſue upon it, ſuch a Rupture infallibly would, as might in a little Time facilitate the other. And then He ſaid as much to leſſen the Malignity of the Earl as He could, by remembring, how dutifully He had reſigned his Commiſſion of Admiral, upon his Majeſty's Demand; and his Refuſal to accept the Commiſſion the Parliament would have given him: And obſerved ſome Vices in his Nature, which
(78) would ſtand in the Place of Virtues, towards the Support of his Fidelity to his Majeſty, and his Animoſity againſt the Parliament; if He were once re-ingratiated to his Majeſty's Truſt.

THE King heard him very quietly without the leaſt Interruption, which He uſed not to do upon Subjects which were not grateful to him, for He knew well, that He was not ſwayed by any Affection to the Man; to whom He was more a Stranger, than He was to moſt of that Condition: And He upon Occaſions, had often made ſharp Reflections upon his Ingratitude to the King. His Majeſty ſeemed at the firſt to inſiſt upon the Improbability, that any ſuch Conceſſion by him, would be attended with any Succeſs; that not only the Earl had not Intereſt in the Houſes to lead them into a Reſolution, that was only for his particular Benefit; but that the Parliament itſelf was not able to make a Peace, without ſuch Conditions, as the Army would require: And then He ſhould ſuffer exceedingly in his Honour, for having ſhewn an Inclination to a Perſon, who had requited his former Graces ſo unworthily: And this led him into more Warmth, than

The King's Answer.

He uſed to be affected with. He ſaid, "indeed He had "been very unfortunate in conferring his Favours upon "many very ungrateful Perſons; but no Man was ſo in-"excuſable as the Earl of *Northumberland.*" He ſaid, "He knew that the Earl of *Holland* was generally looked "upon as the Man of the greateſt Ingratitude; but (He "ſaid) He could better excuſe Him than the other: That "it was true, He owed all He had to his Father's, and "His Bounties; and that himſelf had conferred great Fa-"vours upon him; but that it was as true, He had fre-"quently given him many Mortifications, which though "He had deſerved, He knew had troubled him very "much; that He had oftener denied him, than any "other Man of his Condition; and that He had but "lately refuſed to gratify him in a Suit He had made to "him, of which He had been very confident; and ſo "might have ſome Excuſe (how ill ſoever) for being out "of Humour, which led him from one Ill to another: "But that He had lived always without Intermiſſion, "with the Earl of *Northumberland* as his Friend, and "courted him as his Miſtreſs; that He had never denied "any Thing He had ever aſked, and therefore his Car-"riage to him was never to be forgotten."

And this Diſcourſe He continued with more Commotion, and in a more pathetical Style, than ever He uſed upon any other Argument. And though at that Time it was not fit to preſs the Matter farther, it was afterwards reſumed by the ſame Perſon more than once; but without any other Effect, than that his Majeſty was contented, that the Earl ſhould not deſpair of being reſtored to that Office, when the Peace ſhould be made; or upon any eminent Service performed by him, when the Peace ſhould be deſpaired of. The King was very willing and deſirous that the Treaty ſhould be drawn out in Length; to which Purpoſe a Propoſition was made to the Commiſſioners for an Addition of Ten Days, which They ſent to the Parliament, without the leaſt Apprehenſion that it would be denied. But They were deceived; and for Anſwer received an Order upon the laſt Day but one of the Time before limited, by which They were expreſly required to leave *Oxford* the next Day. From that Time, all Intercourſe and Commerce between *Oxford* and *London*, which had been permitted before, was abſolutely

abſolutely interdicted under the higheſt Penalties by the Parliament.

IF this ſecret underhand Propoſition had ſucceeded, and received that Encouragement from the King, that (79) was deſired; and more Application of the ſame Remedies had been then made to other Perſons (for alone it could never have proved effectual) it is probable that thoſe violent and abominable Counſels, which were but then in Projection between very few Men of any Intereſt, and which were afterwards miſerably put in Practice, had been prevented. And it was exceedingly wondered at, by thoſe who were then privy to this Overture, and by all who afterwards came to hear of it, that the King ſhould in that Conjuncture decline ſo advantageous a Propoſition; ſince He did already diſcern many ill Humours and Factions, growing and nouriſhed, both in his Court and Army, which would every Day be uneaſy to him; and did with all his Soul deſire an End of the War. And there was Nothing more ſuitable and agreeable to his magnanimous Nature, than to forgive thoſe who had in the higheſt Degree offended him: Which Temper was notorious throughout his whole Life. It will not be therefore amiſs in this Diſcourſe, to enlarge upon this fatal Rejection, and the true Cauſe and Ground thereof.

The true Cauſe of the King's rejecting it.

THE King's Affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary Alloy; a Compoſition of Conſcience, and Love, and Generoſity, and Gratitude, and all thoſe noble Affections, which raiſe the Paſſion to the greateſt Height; inſomuch as He ſaw with her Eyes, and determined by her Judgment. And did not only pay her this Adoration, but deſired that all Men ſhould know that He was ſwayed by her; which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a Lady of great Beauty, excellent Wit and Humour, and made him a juſt Return of nobleſt Affections; ſo that They were the true Idea of conjugal Affection, in the Age in which They lived. When She was admitted to the Knowledge and Participation of the moſt ſecret Affairs (from which She had been carefully reſtrained by the Duke of *Buckingham*, whilſt He lived) She took Delight in the examining and diſcuſſing them, and from thence in making Judgment of them; in which, her Paſſions were always ſtrong.

SHE had felt ſo much Pain in knowing Nothing, and meddling with Nothing, during the Time of that great Favourite,

Favourite, that now She took Pleaſure in Nothing but knowing all Things, and diſpoſing all Things: And thought it but juſt, that She ſhould diſpoſe of all Favours and Preferments, as He had done; at leaſt, that Nothing of that Kind might be done, without her Privity: Not conſidering, that the univerſal Prejudice that great Man had undergone, was not with Reference to his Perſon, but his Power; and that the ſame Power would be equally obnoxious to Murmur and Complaint, if it reſided in any other Perſon, than the King himſelf. And She ſo far concurred with the King's Inclination, that She did not more deſire to be poſſeſſed of this unlimited Power, than that all the World ſhould take Notice, that She was the entire Miſtreſs of it: Which in Truth (what other unhappy Circumſtances ſoever concurred in the Miſchief) was the Foundation upon which, the firſt, and the utmoſt Prejudices to the King and his Government, were raiſed, and proſecuted. And it was her Majeſty's, and the Kingdom's Misfortune, that She had not any Perſon about her who had either Ability, or Affection, to inform and adviſe her, of the Temper of the Kingdom, or Humour of the People; or who thought either worth the caring for.

When the Diſturbances grew ſo rude, as to interrupt this Harmony; and the Queen's Fears, and Indiſpoſition, which proceeded from thoſe Fears, diſpoſed her to leave the Kingdom, which the King to comply with her, conſented to (and if that Fear had not been predominant in her, her Jealouſy, and Apprehenſion that the King would, at ſome Time, be prevailed with to yield to ſome unrea- (80)
ſonable Conditions, would have diſſuaded her from that Voyage); to make all Things therefore as ſure as might be, that her Abſence ſhould not be attended with any ſuch Inconvenience, his Majeſty made a ſolemn Promiſe to her at parting, that He would receive no Perſon into any Favour or Truſt, who had diſſerved him, without her Privity and Conſent; and that, as She had undergone ſo many Reproaches and Calumnies at the Entrance into the War, ſo He would never make any Peace, but by her Interpoſition and Mediation, that the Kingdom might receive that Bleſſing only from Her.

This Promiſe (of which his Majeſty was too religious an Obſerver) was the Cauſe of his Majeſty's Rejection, or not entertaining this laſt Overture. And this was the Reaſon

Reaſon that He had that Averſion to the Ceſſation, which He thought would inevitably oblige him to conſent to the Peace, as it ſhould be propoſed; and therefore He had countenanced an Addreſs, that had been made to him againſt it, by the Gentlemen of ſeveral Counties attending the Court: And in Truth They were put upon that Addreſs by the King's own private Direction. Upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him, when the Buſineſs was over, that He had raiſed a Spirit He would not be able to conjure down: And that thoſe Petitioners had now appeared in a Buſineſs that pleaſed him, but would be as ready to appear at another Time, to croſs what He deſired; which proved True. For He was afterwards more troubled with Application and Importunity of that Kind, and the Murmurs that aroſe from that Liberty, when all Men would be Counſellors, and cenſure all that the Council did, than with the Power of the Enemy.

ABOUT the Time that the Treaty began, the Queen landed in the North: And She reſolved with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Arms, to make what Haſte She could to the King; having at her firſt landing, expreſſed by a Letter to his Majeſty, her Apprehenſion of an ill Peace by that Treaty; and declared, that She would never live in *England*, if She might not have a Guard for the Security of her Perſon: Which Letter came accidentally afterwards into the Hands of the Parliament, of which They made Uſe to the Queen's Diſadvantage. And the Expectation of her Majeſty's Arrival at *Oxford*, was the Reaſon that the King ſo much deſired the Prolongation of the Treaty. And if it had pleaſed God that She had come thither Time enough, as She did ſhortly after, She would have probably condeſcended to many Propoſitions for the gratifying particular Perſons, as appeared afterwards, if thereby a reaſonable Peace might have been obtained.

WHEN the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners attended the King at *Oxford*, and deſired his Leave, that there might be a Parliament called in *Scotland*, which his Majeſty denied them (well knowing, that They would, againſt all the Proteſtations and Oaths They had made to him, at his being in that Country, join with thoſe at *Weſtminſter*) They preſented a long Paper to the King, containing a bitter Invective againſt Biſhops, and the whole Government

The Scotiſh *Commiſſioners preſent to the King their Requeſt for the Abolition of Epiſcopacy.*

ment of the Church; as being contrary to the Word of God, and to the Advancement of true Religion: And concluded with a very paſſionate Deſire for the Alteration of that Government, as the only Means to ſettle Peace throughout his Majeſty's Dominions. In all their other Demands, concerning the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and calling a Parliament there, the King had only conferred with two or three of thoſe He moſt truſted, whereof the Chancellor of the Exchequer was always one, and drew the Anſwers He gave: But this laſt Paper which only concerned *England*, He brought to the Coun- (81)
cil Board, and required their Advice, what Anſwer He ſhould give to it. The King himſelf was very deſirous to take this Occaſion, to ſhew his Affection and Zeal for the Church; and that other Men's Mouths might be hereafter ſtopped in that Argument, and that no Body might ever make the ſame Propoſition to him again, He had a great Mind to have made an Anſwer to every Expreſſion in their Paper; and to have ſet out the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy; and how impoſſible it was ever for him in Conſcience to conſent to any Thing, to the Prejudice of that Order and Function, or to the alienating their Lands: Enlarging himſelf more in the Debate, than He uſed to do upon any other Argument; mentioning thoſe Reaſons which the ableſt Prelate could do upon that Occaſion; and wiſhed that all thoſe, and ſuch others as might occur, ſhould be contained in his Anſwer.

MANY of the Lords were of Opinion, that a ſhort Anſwer would be beſt, that ſhould contain Nothing but a Rejection of the Propoſition, without giving any Reaſon: No Man ſeeming to concur with his Majeſty, with which He was not ſatisfied; and replied with ſome Sharpneſs upon what had been ſaid. Upon which the Lord *Falkland* replied, having been before of that Mind, deſiring that no Reaſons might be given; and upon that Occaſion anſwered many of thoſe Reaſons the King had urged, as not valid to ſupport the Subject, with a little Quickneſs of Wit (as his Notions were always ſharp, and expreſſed with notable Vivacity) which made the King warmer than He uſed to be; reproaching all who were of that Mind, with Want of Affection for the Church; and declaring that He would have the Subſtance of what He had ſaid, or of the like Nature, digeſted into his Anſwer; with which Reprehenſion All ſat very ſilent, having never undergone

dergone the like before. Whereupon the King recollecting himſelf, and obſerving that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not yet ſpoke, called upon him to deliver his Opinion, adding, that He was ſure He was of his Majeſty's Mind, with Reference to Religion and the Church.

The King calls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to deliver his Opinion thereon.

THE Chancellor ſtood up, and ſaid, that He would have been glad to have ſaid Nothing that Day, having obſerved more Warmth, than had ever been at that Board, ſince He had the Honour to ſit there (which was not many Days before); that in Truth He was not of the Opinion of any one who had ſpoken; He did not think that the Anſwer ought to be very ſhort, or without any Reaſons; and He did as little think, that the Reaſons mentioned by his Majeſty, ought to be applied to the Paper, which the *Scots* had been ſo bold as to preſent to the King. He ſaid, all thoſe Reaſons were fit to be offered in a Synod, or in any other Place, where that Subject could be lawfully ventilated; and He believed them all to be of that Weight, that Mr. *Henderſon* and all his Aſſembly of Divines could never anſwer; but He ſhould be very ſorry that his Majeſty ſhould ſo far condeſcend to their Preſumption, as to give thoſe Reaſons; as if He admitted the Matter to be diſputed. He aſked his Majeſty, what Anſwer He would give to the King of *France*, if He ſhould ſend to him, to alter the Government of the City of *London*, or any other City, and that He would ſubſtitute other Magiſtrates in the Place of thoſe, who are; which, as a King, He might more reaſonably demand, than theſe Gentlemen of *Scotland* could do what They propoſe; whether his Majeſty would think it more agreeable to his Honour, to make a reaſonable Diſcourſe of the Antiquity of the Lord Mayor of *London*, and of the Dependance the preſent Magiſtrates had upon the Law,
(82) and the Frame of the Government; or whether, He would only ſend him Word, that He ſhould meddle with what He had to do. He did think, that it was very fit that his Majeſty's Anſwer to this Paper ſhould contain a very ſevere, and ſharp Reprehenſion for their Preſumption; and take Notice, how ſolicitous They were for the Preſervation of what They called the Right and Privilege of their Country, that his Majeſty might not bring any Thing into Debate at his Council Board here, that concerned the Kingdom of *Scotland*, though it had often too much

much Relation to the Affairs and Government of *England*; yet that They would take upon them to demand from his Majeſty, at leaſt to adviſe him to make, an Alteration in the Government of *England*, which would quite alter the Frame of it, and make ſuch a Confuſion in the Laws; which They could no more comprehend, than They could any of the ſame Kind, that related to any other foreign Kingdom; and therefore, that for the Future They ſhould not practiſe the like Preſumption.

With which the King is well ſatisfied.

THE King diſcovered himſelf to be very well pleaſed, all the Time He was ſpeaking; and when He had done, his Majeſty ſaid again, He was ſure the Chancellor was entirely of his Mind, with Reference to the Church; and that He had ſatisfied him, that this was not the Seaſon, nor the Occaſion, in which thoſe Arguments, which He had uſed, were to be inſiſted on; and that He was willing to depart from his own Senſe; and was in Truth ſo well pleaſed, that He vouchſafed to make ſome kind of Excuſe for the Paſſion He had ſpoken with; and all the Lords were very well ſatisfied with the Expedient propoſed; and all commended the Chancellor: And the Anſwer was given to the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners accordingly: Who had too good Intelligence not to know all that had paſſed; and upon their long Diſcourſes with the King (who was always forward to enlarge upon that Subject, in which He was ſo well verſed) expected ſuch an Anſwer as might give them Opportunity to bring the whole Matter of Epiſcopacy upon the Stage, and into publick Diſputation. And ſo They returned to *London*, with manifeſt Diſſatisfaction, before the Commiſſioners of the Parliament; and with avowed Deteſtation of a Perſon, againſt whom They were known always to have an inveterate, and an implacable Diſpleaſure.

THE King was much troubled at *the Diſunion between the Princes* Rupert, *and* Maurice, *and the Marquis of* Hertford, *after the taking of* Briſtol; which He knew muſt exceedingly diſorder and divide that Army: For compoſing whereof, his Majeſty reſolved the next Day after the News, to go himſelf to *Briſtol*; which was very neceſſary in many Reſpects. The Settlement of the Port, which was of infinite Importance to the King in Point of Trade, and his Cuſtoms, with Reference to *Ireland*; and the applying the Army to ſome new Enterprize, without Loſs of Time, could not be done without his Majeſty's

jeſty's Preſence. But there was Nothing more diſpoſed his Majeſty to that Reſolution, than to be abſent from his Council at *Oxford*, when He ſhould ſettle the Differences between the Princes, and the Marquis; for as He was always ſwayed by his Affection to his Nephews, which He did not think Partiality; ſo the Lords, towards whom the Princes did not live with any Condeſcenſion, were very ſolicitous, that the Marquis might receive no Injuſtice, or Diſobligation. And the King, to avoid all Counſel in this Particular, reſolved to declare no Reſolution, till He ſhould come himſelf to *Briſtol*; and ſo went from *Oxford* thither; taking with him, of the Council, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and
(83) the Chancellor of the Exchequer: The King lodging the firſt Night at *Malmſbury*; and the Lord *Falkland*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome other Gentlemen lodging that Night with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at his Houſe at *Pirton*, which lay in the Way to *Briſtol*; where They were the next Day within an Hour after the King.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office invaded by Mr. Aſhburnham.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer had undergone ſome Mortification, during the ſhort Abode at *Briſtol*, which was the only Port of Trade within the King's Quarters, which was like to yield a conſiderable Benefit to the King, if it were well managed; and the Direction thereof belonged entirely to his Office; but when He ſent to the Officers of the Cuſtoms, to be informed of the preſent State of Trade, He found that ſome Treaty was made, and Order given in it by Mr. *Aſhburnham*, a Groom of the Bedchamber; who, with the Aſſiſtance and Advice of Sir *John Colepepper*, had prevailed with the King, to aſſign that Province to him, as a Means to raiſe a preſent Sum of Money for the Supply of the Army: Which the Chancellor took very heavily, and the Lord *Falkland* out of his Friendſhip to him, more tenderly; and expoſtulated it with the King with ſome Warmth; and more paſſionately with Sir *John Colepepper* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* as a Violation of the Friendſhip They profeſſed to the Chancellor, and an Invaſion of his Office; which no Man bears eaſily.

THEY were both aſhamed of it, and made ſome weak Excuſes of Incogitance and Inadvertence; and the King himſelf, who diſcerned the Miſchief that would enſue, if there ſhould be an apparent Schiſm amongſt thoſe He ſo

— entirely

The King interpoſes therein.

entirely truſted, was pleaſed to take Notice of it to the Chancellor, with many gracious Expreſſions; and ſaid, "that Mr. *Aſhburnham* being Treaſurer and Paymaſter of "the Army, He did believe ſome Money might have "been raiſed for the preſent Occaſion; and only intended "it for the Preſent, without conſidering, it would be an "Invaſion of his Right; and therefore directed, that an "Account ſhould be given to him of all that had been "done, and He ſhould do as He thought fit." But when He underſtood all that had been done, He would make no Alteration in it, that his Majeſty might be convinced, that his Service was not looked after in the Deſign. And it was diſcernable enough, that Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who uſually looked very far before him, had not ſo much intended to diſoblige the Chancellor, as by introducing himſelf this Way into the Cuſtoms, to continue one of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, when the War ſhould be at an End; of which He got a Promiſe from the King at the ſame Time; who had great Affection for him, and an extraordinary Opinion of his Managery. If there remained after this any Jealouſy or Coldneſs between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the other Two, as the Diſparity between their Natures and Humours made ſome believe there did, it never brake out or appeared, to the Diſturbance, or Prejudice of the King's Service; but all poſſible Concurrence in the carrying it on was obſerved between them.

THE March of the Earl of *Eſſex* from *London* to *Gloceſter*, over as large a Campania as any in *England*, when the King had an Army of above eight thouſand Horſe, reputed victorious, without being put to ſtrike one Stroke — the Circumſtances of that Siege; and the raiſing it — the Earl's March, after He had performed that great Work; and when the King's Army watched only to engage him in a Battle; and paſſing over a large and open Campania, three Days before the King had Notice that He was come out of *Gloceſter* — the overtaking the Army; and the Battle by *Newbury* — and his Retreat afterwards to *London*; contained ſo many particular Ac-(84) tions of Courage, and Conduct, that They all deſerve a very punctual and juſt Relation; and are much above the Level of this plain and foreign Diſcourſe.

IN this Battle of *Newbury*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer loſt the Joy and Comfort of his Life; which He lamented

lamented ſo paſſionately, that He could not in many Days compoſe himſelf to any Thoughts of Buſineſs. His dear Friend the Lord *Falkland*, hurried by his Fate, in the Morning of the Battle, as He was naturally inquiſitive after Danger, put himſelf into the Head of Sir *John Byron*'s Regiment, which He believed was like to be in the hotteſt Service, and was then appointed to charge a Body of Foot; and in that Charge was ſhot with a Muſket Bullet, ſo that He fell dead from his Horſe. The ſame Day that the News came to *Oxford* of his Death, which was the next after He was killed, the Chancellor received a Letter from him, written at the Time when the Army roſe from *Gloceſter*; but the Meſſenger had been employed in other Service, ſo that He came not to *Oxford* till that Day. The Letter was an Anſwer to one the Chancellor had then ſent to him; in which He had told him, how much He ſuffered in his Reputation with all diſcreet Men, by engaging himſelf unneceſſarily in all Places of Danger: And that it was not the Office of a Privy Counſellor, and a Secretary of State, to viſit the Trenches, as He uſually did; and conjured him, out of the Conſcience of his Duty to the King, and to free his Friends from thoſe continual uneaſy Apprehenſions, not to engage his Perſon to thoſe Dangers, which were not incumbent to him. His Anſwer was, that the Trenches were now at an End; there would be no more Danger there: That His Caſe was different from other Men's; that He was ſo much taken Notice of for an impatient Deſire of Peace, that it was neceſſary that He ſhould likewiſe make it appear, that it was not out of Fear of the utmoſt Hazard of War: He ſaid ſome melancholick Things of the Time; and concluded, that in few Days They ſhould come to a Battle, the Iſſue whereof, He hoped, would put an End to the Miſery of the Kingdom. *The Death of the Lord* Falkland.

MUCH hath been ſaid of this excellent Perſon before; but not ſo much, or ſo well, as his wonderful Parts and Virtues deſerved. He died as much of the Time as of the Bullet: For from the very beginning of the War, He contracted ſo deep a Sadneſs and Melancholy, that his Life was not pleaſant to him; and ſure He was too weary of it. Thoſe who did not know him very well, imputed, very unjuſtly, much of it to a violent Paſſion He had for a Noble Lady: And it was the more ſpoken of, becauſe She died the ſame Day, and as ſome computed it, in the

ſame Hour that He was killed; but They who knew either the Lord, or the Lady, knew well, that neither of them was capable of an ill Imagination. She was of the moſt unſpotted, unblemiſhed Virtue, never married, of an extraordinary Talent of Mind, but of no alluring Beauty, nor of a Conſtitution of tolerable Health, being in a deep Conſumption, and not like to have lived ſo long by many Months. It is very true, the Lord *Falkland* had an extraordinary Eſteem of her, and exceedingly loved her Converſation, as moſt of the Perſons of eminent Parts of that Time did; for She was in her Underſtanding, and Diſcretion, and Wit, and Modeſty, above moſt Women; the beſt of which had always a Friendſhip with her. But He was withal ſo kind to his Wife, whom He knew to be an excellent Perſon, that, though He loved his Children with more Affection and Fondneſs than moſt Fathers uſe to do, He left by his Will all He had to his Wife; and committed his three Sons, who were all the Children He (85) had, to her ſole Care and Bounty.

He was little more than thirty Years of Age when He was killed; in which Time He was very accompliſhed in all thoſe Parts of Learning and Knowledge, which moſt Men labour to attain, till They are very Old; and in Wiſdom, and the Practice of Virtue, to a wonderful Perfection. From his Age of twenty Years, He had lived in an entire Friendſhip with the Chancellor, who was about ſix Months elder; and who never ſpake of him afterwards, but with a Love, and a Grief, which ſtill raiſed ſome Commotion in him. And He very often uſed to lament him, in the Words of *Cicero* concerning *Hortenſius*, *Quod magnâ Sapientium & Civium bonorum Penuriâ, Vir egregius, conjunctiſſimuſque mecum Conſiliorum omnium Societate, alieniſſimo Reipublicæ Tempore extinctus, & Auctoritatis, & Prudentiæ ſuæ, triſte nobis Deſiderium reliquerat.* And without Doubt, it was in a Conjuncture of Time, when the Death of every honeſt and diſcreet Perſon was a very ſenſible and terrible Loſs, in the Judgment of all good Men.

After the unhappy Death of the Lord *Falkland*, the King much deſired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhould be Secretary of State in his Place; which the Queen did not oppoſe, though She rather wiſhed that the Lord *Digby* might have it; who had ſo much Kindneſs and Friendſhip for the Chancellor (which was at that Time,

Time, and long after, as Sincere as could receive Harbour in his Breaſt) that He profeſſed, He would not have it, if the other would receive it: But the Chancellor gratified his Civility, and refuſed the Office, the ſecond Time, as He had once before. And He had ſo much more Reaſon now, by the coming of a very ſpecious Embaſſy from *France*, in the Perſon of the Count of *Harcourt*, who was already arrived in *London*; in which the Chancellor knew his own Want of Ability, to act that Part, the Office of Secretary would have obliged him to; and for which, as far as the Perfection of the *French* Tongue could qualify him, the Lord *Digby* was very proper; and ſo He was made Secretary of State; profeſſing to every Body, that as He had the Office by the Chancellor's Refuſal of it, ſo He would wholly adviſe with him in all Things pertaining to it, which He always did; and the Confidence and Friendſhip between them was mutual, and very notorious, until that Lord changed his Religion. And He was no ſooner admitted and ſworn Secretary of State, and Privy-Councellor, and conſequently made of the *Junto*, which the King at that Time created, conſiſting of the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord *Cottington*, the two Secretaries of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was likewiſe added; to the Trouble, at leaſt the Surprize, of the Maſter of the Rolls; who could have been contented, that He ſhould have been excluded from that near Truſt, where all Matters were to be conſulted, before they ſhould be brought to the Council Board. And this Committee was appointed to treat with the Count of *Harcourt*; whom the King believed to be ſent from *France*, to demand any Thing from the Parliament in that King's Name, as his Majeſty ſhould direct; and therefore They were appointed to conſider well, what He ſhould be directed to propoſe.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer refuſes the Office of Secretary of State a ſecond Time.

He is added to the Junto.

BUT the Ambaſſadour no ſooner came to the Town in great State and Luſtre, but He quickly ſaved them any farther Labour, by declaring, that He would treat with no Body but the King himſelf; his Buſineſs being only to ſerve the King, with Reference to the Differences between his Majeſty, and the Parliament; and pretended that in (86) his ſhort Stay at *London*, He had already diſcovered that his Majeſty was betrayed; and that his moſt ſecret Counſels were diſcovered: And ſo there was never any Communication between him, and the King's Council; but all

Matters were tranſacted with the King himſelf, and Queen, and Lord *Jermyn*, who was not of the Council, and the Lord *Digby*; the Queen promiſing herſelf very much from his Negotiation; the Ambaſſadour being then of great Reputation, having been General of the *French* Army in two or three great Actions, in which his Succeſs had been very notable; and the Queen looked upon him as a Perſon particularly devoted to her Service; and being of the Houſe of *Lorrain* (the younger Son of the Duke *d' Elboeuf*) He was not without ſome Alliance to the King; and ſo He returned to *London* with ſuch Inſtructions, and Advice as They thought fit to entruſt him with; which were too Particular; and with the Privity only of the two other Perſons mentioned before.

BUT it quickly appeared after, that He was not ſent with any Purpoſe to do the King Service; but that Cardinal *Mazarin* (who was newly entered upon the Miniſtry, after the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*) might take ſuch a View of the Affairs of *England*, as the better to judge what He was to do; and that an Accommodation there might not break his Meaſures, with Reference to his other Deſigns; which the Ambaſſadour was eaſily ſatisfied it was not like to do. And ſo, after three or four Months ſpent between *Oxford* and *London*, He returned to *France*; leaving the King's Affairs ſo much worſe than He found them, by having communicated ſome Inſtructions, which had been given him at *Oxford*, with over much Confidence, and which leſs diſpoſed ſome Perſons to Peace than They had been, at *London*.

The King directs the Chancellor of the Exchequer to prepare a Proclamation for diſſolving the Parliament at Weſtminſter.

THE King called the Chancellor one Day to him, and told him, "that He thought there was too much Honour "done to thoſe Rebels at *Weſtminſter* in all his Declara- "tions, by his mentioning them as Part of the Parlia- "ment; which as long as They ſhould be thought to be, "They would have more Authority by their continuing "their Sitting in the Place, whither They were firſt "called, than all the other Members, though ſo much "more numerous, would have, when They ſhould be "convened any where elſe (there being a Thought of "convening them to *Oxford*); therefore He knew no Rea- "ſon why He ſhould not poſitively declare them to be "diſſolved; and ſo forbid them to Sit or meet any more "there." He ſaid, "that He knew learned Men of an Opi- "nion, that that Act for the continuance of the Parlia- "ment

"ment was void from the Beginning; and that it is not "in the Power of the King, to bar himſelf from the "Power of diſſolving it; which is to be deprived of an "eſſential Part of his Sovereignty: But if the Act were "good and valid in Law, They had diſſolved themſelves, "by their Force, in driving ſo many Members, and even "his Majeſty himſelf, who was their Head, from the "Parliament; and had forfeited their Right of Sitting "there, and all that the Act had given them, by their "Treaſon and Rebellion; which the very being a Par-"liament could not ſupport: And therefore He wiſhed, "that a Proclamation might be prepared, to declare them "actually diſſolved; and expreſly forbidding them to "meet, or any Body to own them, or ſubmit to them, as "a Parliament."

His Advice to the King on that Subject.

THE Chancellor told him, that "He perceived by his "Majeſty's Diſcourſe, that He had very much conſidered "the Argument, and was well prepared in it; which for "his Part He was not. But He beſought him to think "it worth a very ſtrict Reflection; and to hear the Opi-(87)"nion of learned Men, before He reſolved upon it. That "it was of a very nice and delicate Nature, at which not "only the People in general, but thoſe of his own Party, "and even of his Council, would take more Umbrage, "than upon any one Particular, that had happened ſince "the Beginning of the War. That He could not imagine "that his forbidding them to meet any more at *Weſtmin-"ſter*, would make one Man the leſs to meet there; but "He might forbid them upon ſuch Grounds and Rea-"ſons, as might bring more to them: And that They "who had ſevered themſelves from them, upon the Guilt "of their Actions, might return, and be reconciled to "them, upon their Unity of Opinion. That it had been the "firſt powerful Reproach They had corrupted the People "with, towards his Majeſty, that He intended to diſſolve "this Parliament, notwithſtanding the Act for Conti-"nuance thereof; and if He had Power to do that, He "might likewiſe by the ſame Power, repeal all the other "Acts made this Parliament; whereof ſome were very "precious to the People: And as his Majeſty had al-"ways diſclaimed any ſuch Thought, ſo ſuch a Procla-"mation as He now mentioned, would confirm all the "Fears and Jealouſies, which had been infuſed into them; "and would trouble many of his own true Subjects."

"THAT for the Invalidity of the Act from the Begin-
"ning, He was in his own Opinion inclined to hope, that
"it might be originally void, for the Reaſons and
"Grounds his Majeſty had mentioned; and that the Par-
"liament itſelf, if this Rebellion was ſuppreſſed, might
"be of the ſame Judgment, and declare it accordingly,
"which would enable him quickly to diſſolve it: But till
"then, He thought all the Judges together, even thoſe
"who were in his own Quarters, and of unqueſtionable
"Affection to his Majeſty, would not declare any ſuch
"Invalidity; and much leſs, that any private Man, how
"learned ſoever, would avow that Judgment: In which
"his Majeſty might eaſily ſatisfy himſelf, having ſo many
"of the Judges, and many other excellent Men of the
"Robe then at *Oxford*. For their having diſſolved them-
"ſelves, or forfeited their Right of Sitting there, by their
"Treaſon and Rebellion, *He ſaid*, He could leſs under-
"ſtand it, than the other Argument of Invalidity: For
"that the Treaſon and Rebellion could only concern,
"and be penal to the Perſons who committed them; it
"was poſſible many might Sit there, He was ſure many
"had a Right to Sit there, who had always oppoſed every
"Illegal, and every Rebellious Act; and therefore the
"Faults of the others, could never forfeit any Right of
"theirs, who had committed no Fault. And upon the
"whole Matter, concluded as He had begun, that his
"Majeſty would very throughly conſult it, before He did
"ſo much as incline in his own Wiſhes."

HIS Majeſty ſaid, He had ſpoken more Reaſon a-
gainſt it, than He had thought could have been alledged:
However, He bade him confer with his Attorney Gene-
ral, who, He believed, was of another Opinion. The
Chancellor moved his Majeſty, that ſince the Ground of
what ſhould be reſolved on in this Point muſt be ex-
preſſed in the Proclamation, the Attorney might put his
own Conceptions in Writing, and then his Majeſty would
the better judge of them. The King ſaid, it ſeemed rea-
ſonable to him, and He had propoſed it to him; but He
had declined it, and commended the Pen his Majeſty had
uſed to employ, as very clear and ſignificant; and ſaid,
if He had an Hour's Conference with that Perſon, the
Buſineſs would be done. Whereupon the Chancellor
went immediately to his Lodging, chuſing rather to uſe
that Civility towards him, than to ſend for him; who did (88)

not

not love him ſo well as He had done, before He was his ſuperior Officer.

AFTER a long Conference together, and many Circumlocutions (which was his natural Way of Diſcourſe) and aſking Queſtions, *why not this?* and *why not that?* without expreſſing his own Opinion; at laſt He confeſſed, that there muſt be no Attempt to diſſolve them, "though "it might be even that might be lawful in many Re- "ſpects," but that it would be ſufficient to declare the Force which had been, and ſtill was upon them, that rendered them not Free; and ſo They ought not to be looked upon as a Parliament: And that They might be required, to adjourn from Time to Time, till all the Members might with Safety repair to, and Sit with them; in all which the other agreed with him, and ſo They parted: The Chancellor promiſing that, againſt the next Morning, He would prepare a Proclamation agreeable to that, which He thought to be their joint Meaning; for He did not obſerve any Difference to be between them. The next Morning the Attorney came to his Lodging, where He found the Draught prepared, which as ſoon as He had read, He ſaid did in no Degree expreſs, or comprehend the Senſe that had been agreed between them: And thereupon, He entered again into the ſame Diſcourſe He had made before, and more perplexed than before; being moſt offended with the Preamble, wherein it was declared, that the King neither could, or intended to break the Parliament: Which was ſo contrary to what He had infuſed into the King; and which the Chancellor thought moſt neceſſary to contradict that Reproach, which naturally would be caſt upon his Majeſty. In the End, when He had wearied himſelf with the Debate, They came both again to mean the ſame Thing; which was no other than was agreed before, though as the Attorney ſaid, it was not expreſſed in the Draught before them: Whereupon it was agreed between them, that againſt the next Morning, either of them ſhould make a Draught apart; and then, when They came together, it would eaſily be adjuſted.

His Conferences with the Attorney General thereon.

BUT the next Morning They were as far aſunder as before, and the Attorney had prepared no Paper, and ſaid, it needed not, the Difference being very ſmall, and would be rectified with changing, or leaving out a Word or two; which the Chancellor deſired him to do, and to leave out,

or put in, what He pleaſed: Which when He went about to do, twenty other Things occurred to him; and ſo He entered upon new Diſcourſes, without concluding any Thing; and every Day entertained the King with an Account, as if all were agreed; but upon Conference with the Chancellor, his Majeſty wondered at the Delay, and told him, He wondered at it, for the Attorney ſpake ſtill as clearly to him, as it was poſſible for any Man to do, and therefore the putting it in Writing could not be hard. The other anſwered him, that it would never be done any other Way, than that, which He had firſt propoſed to him; and therefore beſought his Majeſty, that He would oblige the Attorney to put his own Conceptions, which He made ſo clear to him, into Writing; and then, his Majeſty having likewiſe what the Chancellor prepared in his Hands, He would eaſily conclude which ſhould ſtand; and otherwiſe there would never be any Concluſion.

Moſe Draught of a Proclamation the King ſhews to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

About two Days after, the Chancellor came into the Garden where the King was walking; and calling him ſhortly to him, in ſome Diſorder, his Majeſty told him, "He was never in that Amazement in his Life; that "He had at laſt, not without a very poſitive Command, "obliged the Attorney to bring him ſuch a Draught in "Writing, as was agreeable to his own Senſe; and that (89) "He had now done it; but in ſuch a Manner, that "He no more underſtood what the Meaning of it was, "than if it were in *Welch*," which was the Language of the Attorney's Country: Only, He ſaid, "He was "very ſure it contained nothing of the Senſe He had "ever expreſſed to him;" and ſo bade him follow him into a little Room at the End of the Garden; where as ſoon as He was entered He ſhut the Door, becauſe there were many People in the Garden; and then pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, and bade him read it; which when he had done, it being all in the Attorney's own Hand, He ſaid, "it deſerved Wonder indeed;" and it was ſo rough, perplexed, and inſignificant, that no Man could judge by it, or out of it, what the Writer propoſed to himſelf. And it made ſo great an Impreſſion upon the King (who had before thought him a Man of a Maſter Reaſon, and that no Man had ſo clear Notions) that He never after had any Eſteem of him.

The

THE Truth is, He was a Man very unlike any other Man; of a very good natural Wit, improved by Converſation with learned Men, but not at all by Study and Induſtry: And then his Converſation was moſt with Men, though much ſuperior to him in Parts, who rather admired, than informed him, of which his Nature (being the proudeſt Man living) made him not capable, becauſe not deſirous. His greateſt Faculty was, and in which He was a Maſter, to make difficult Matters more intricate and perplexed; and very eaſy Things to ſeem more hard than they were. The King conſidered the Matter and Subject of that Proclamation, at the Council; where that Draught the Chancellor had provided, was agreed to; and the Attorney ſeemed to be ſatisfied in it; and was content to have it believed, that it had been conſulted with him; though He never forgave the Chancellor for expoſing him in that Manner; by which He found He had loſt much Ground.

Character of the Attorney General.

AFTER the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, moſt of the Commiſſioners had given ſo good a Teſtimony of the Chancellor's Diligence and Induſtry, that the King, ſhortly after his Return, very graciouſly took Notice of it to him; and above all, of his Affection to the Church, of which, He ſaid, Dr. *Steward* had ſo fully informed him, that He looked upon Him as one of the few, who was to be relied upon in that Particular: At which He ſaid, himſelf was not at all ſurprized, having long known his Affection, and Judgment in that Point; but confeſſed He was ſurprized with the Carriage of ſome others, from whom He had expected another Kind of Behaviour, in Matters of the Church; and named Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, upon whom He ſaid, He had always looked, being the Son of a Biſhop, as ſo firm, that He could not be ſhaken; and therefore He was the more amazed to hear what Condeſcenſions He had been willing to have made, in what concerned Religion; and preſſed the Chancellor to anſwer ſome Queſtions He aſked him about that Tranſaction; to the Particulars whereof He excuſed himſelf from anſwering, by the Proteſtation, They had all taken before the Treaty, with his Majeſty's Approbation: Though indeed himſelf had been very much ſurpriſed with the firſt Diſcovery of that Temper in that Gentleman, which He had never before ſuſpected: And ever after ſaid, that "He was a Man of excellent Parts, and honeſtly in-

"clined;

The King's Approbation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Behaviour in the Treaty of Uxbridge.

"clined; and would chuſe much rather to do well than "ill; but if it were not ſafe for him to be ſteady in thoſe "Reſolutions, He was ſo much given to find out Expe-"dients to ſatisfy unreaſonable Men, that He would at "laſt be drawn to yield to any Thing, He ſhould be pow-"erfully preſſed to do."

THE *King at that Time having reſolved to ſeparate the* (90) *Prince his Son from himſelf, by ſending him into the* Weſt, the Chancellor had a great Deſire to excuſe himſelf from attending upon the Prince in that Journey; and repreſented to his Majeſty, that his Office made it more proper for him to be near his Majeſty's Perſon; and therefore renewed his Suit again to him, that his Service might be ſpared in that Employment; which He was the leſs inclined to, becauſe He had diſcovered, that neither the Duke of *Richmond*, or the Earl of *Southampton* did intend to wait upon his Highneſs in that Expedition: But the King told him poſitively, and with ſome Warmth, that if He would not go, He would not ſend his Son: Whereupon He ſubmitted to do any Thing which His Majeſty ſhould judge fit for his Service.

THE Chancellor ſpeaking one Day with the Duke of *Richmond*, who was exceedingly kind to him, of the ill State of the King's Affairs, and of the Prince's Journey into the *Weſt*, the Duke aſked him, whether He was well reſolved to carry the Prince into *France*, when He ſhould be required. He anſwered, that there had been no ſuch Thing mentioned to him, nor could He ever be made inſtrumental in it, but in one Caſe, which was, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Parliament; and in that Caſe, He did believe every honeſt Man would rather adviſe his going any whither, than being taken by them: Yet even in that Caſe, He ſhould prefer many Places before *France*. The Duke wiſhed He might ſtay till then, implying that He doubted it was the preſent Deſign; but there was never any Thing diſcovered to make it believed, that there was a Deſign at that Time formed to ſuch a Purpoſe: Yet the Lord *Digby*, who had all Familiarity and Confidence with the Chancellor, ſhortly after gave him Occaſion to apprehend, that there might even then be ſome ſuch Intention.

AFTER a long Diſcourſe, of the great Satisfaction the King had in his (the Chancellor's) Service; and how much He was pleaſed with his Behaviour in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*;

bridge; and that He had not a greater Confidence in any Man's Affection, and Fidelity; He ſaid, his Majeſty had a great Mind to confer with him upon a Point of the laſt Importance; but that He was kept from it, by an Apprehenſion, that He was of a different Judgment from his Majeſty in that Particular. The other anſwered, that He was very ſorry that the King was reſerved for ſuch a Reaſon; for though He knew, the Chancellor did never pretend to think one Thing, when He did think another, and ſo might take the Boldneſs to differ from his Majeſty in his Judgment; yet the King could not believe, that He would diſcover the Secret, or refuſe to do any Thing that became an honeſt Man, upon his Command, though He did not believe it counſellable. Whereupon, He entered upon a very reaſonable Conſideration, of the low Condition of the King; of the Diſcontent and Murmur of the Court, and of the Camp; how very difficult a Thing it was like to be, to raiſe ſuch an Army as would be fit to take the Field; and how much more unfit it would be, for the King to ſuffer himſelf to be encloſed in any Garriſon; which He muſt be, if there were no Army for him to be in. If the firſt Difficulty ſhould be maſtered, and an Army made ready to march, there could be little Doubt, how great ſoever their Diſtractions were at *London*, but that the Parliament would be able to ſend another more numerous, and much better ſupplied than the King's could be; and then, if the King's Army was beaten, He could have no Hope ever to raiſe another; his Quarters already being very ſtreight; and after a Defeat, the victorious Army would find no Oppoſition; (91) nor was there any Garriſon that could oppoſe them any conſiderable Time; *London* would pour out more Forces; that all the *Weſt* would be ſwallowed up in an Inſtant; and in ſuch a Caſe He aſked him, whether He would not think it fit, and aſſiſt to the carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom.

Lord Digby's *Diſcourſe with the Chancellor concerning the Prince's going to* France.

THE Chancellor told him, He would deliver his Opinion freely to him, and was willing He ſhould let the King know it. That ſuch a Proſpect as He had ſuppoſed, might, and ought to be prudently conſidered; but that it muſt be with great Secreſy, for that there were already to his Knowledge ſome Whiſpers of ſuch a Purpoſe; and that it was the true End of ſending the Prince into the *Weſt*; which, if it ſhould be believed, it would never be in

The Chancellor's Reply.

in their Power to execute, though the Occaſion ſhould be moſt preſſing; therefore deſired there might not be the leaſt Whiſper of any Contingency, that might make it fit. For the Matter itſelf, it muſt never be done, upon any Suppoſition of a Neceſſity; but when the Neceſſity ſhould be real, and in View, it ought to be reſolved, and executed at once: And He would make no Scruple of carrying him rather into *Turkey*, than ſuffering him to be made a Priſoner to the Parliament.

The Lord *Digby* replied, that though the King would be very well pleaſed with this Opinion of his, yet He would not be ſurprized with it; ſince He knew his Affection and Wiſdom to be ſuch, that in ſuch an Extremity, He could not but have that Reſolution: Therefore that was not the Point that the King doubted He would differ with him in. Then He continued the Diſcourſe, that He hoped there would not ſuch an Occaſion fall out; and that the Diviſions at *London* would yet open ſome Door for a good Peace to enter at; but if They ſhould unite, and ſhould ſend out a ſtrong Army, and likewiſe appoint the *Scots* to march towards them; how the King would do between two ſuch Armies, was a terrible Proſpect: And then the leaſt Blow would raiſe ſo general a Conſternation, that the King would be more diſquieted by his Friends and Servants, than by the Enemy: That his Council was ſo conſtituted, that They would look upon the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, as leſs adviſeable, than giving himſelf up to the Parliament; and that many Men were yet ſo weak, as to believe, that the beſt Way the King could take for his Security, and Preſervation of his Poſterity, was, to deliver up both Himſelf, and all his Children, into the Hands of the Parliament; and that They would then give him better Conditions, than They had offered in their Treaties; having it then in their Power to keep all ſuch Perſons from him, as They were diſſatisfied with.

If this Opinion ſhould once ſpread itſelf, as upon any ſignal Defeat it would undoubtedly do, it muſt be expected, that the Council, and moſt of the Lords, who looked upon themſelves as ruined for their Loyalty, out of their natural Apprehenſion, would imagine, that the Prince being then in the *Weſt*, and at Liberty to do what ſhould be thought fit, would be directed by the King to tranſport himſelf into Parts beyond the Sea; and the

the Queen his Mother being then in *France*, moſt probably thither: Which was a Circumſtance that would likewiſe make his Tranſportation more univerſally odious. So that upon this Reflection, and erroneous Animadverſion, the King would be, in the firſt unfortunate Conjuncture, importuned by all about him, to ſend for the Prince; or at leaſt to ſend ſuch Orders to thoſe to whoſe Care He was entruſted, that They ſhould not preſume to tranſport him beyond the Seas, in what Exigent ſoever. Moſt Men would believe, that They ſhould merit of the Parliament by this Advice, and would proſecute it with
(92) the more Earneſtneſs and Importunity; whilſt thoſe Few who diſcerned the Miſchief and Ruin that muſt flow from it, would not have the Courage to deliver their Opinions in Publick, for Fear of being accuſed of the Counſel; and by this Means the King might be ſo wearied and tired with Importunity, that againſt his Judgment, He might be prevailed with to ſign ſuch a Direction and Order, as is before mentioned; though his Majeſty was clearly ſatisfied in his Underſtanding, that if both Himſelf and the Prince were in their Hands together, the beſt that could happen, would be Murdering Him, and Crowning his Son; whereas if his Son were at Liberty, and out of their Reach, They would get Nothing by his Death, and conſequently would not attempt it.

THIS He ſaid, was the fatal Conjuncture the King apprehended; and He then aſked the Chancellor, what He would do. To which He anſwered, without pauſing, that He hoped the King had made up a firm Reſolution never to depart from his own Virtue, upon which his Fate depended: And that if He forſook himſelf, He had no Reaſon to depend upon the Conſtancy of any other Man, who had Nothing to ſupport that Confidence, but the Conſcience of doing what was juſt: That no Man could doubt the Lawfulneſs of obeying him, in carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the Rebels; and He was not only ready to obey in that Caſe, but would confidently adviſe it, as a Thing in Policy and Prudence neceſſary to be done. But if the King, being at Liberty, and with his own Counſellors and Servants, ſhould under his Hand forbid the Prince to tranſport himſelf, and forbid all about him to ſuffer it to be done, He would never be guilty of diſobeying that expreſs Command; though He ſhould be very ſorry to receive it.

it. He wiſhed the King would ſpeak with him of it, that He might take the Boldneſs to conjure him, never to put an honeſt and a faithful Servant to that unjuſt Streight, to do any Thing expreſly contrary to his plain and poſitive Command, upon Pretence of knowing his ſecret Pleaſure; which is expoſing him to publick Juſtice, and Reproach, which can never be wiped out by the Conſcience of the other; and that the Artifice was not worthy the Royal Breaſt of a great Monarch. This, He ſaid, was ſtill upon the Suppoſition of the King's Liberty; but if He were a Priſoner in the Hands of his Enemies (though that ſhould not ſhake his Reſolution, or make him ſay Things He doth not intend, upon Imagination that others will know his Meaning) the Caſe would be different; and honeſt Men would purſue former Reſolutions, though They ſhould be countermanded, according to Circumſtances.

THE Conference ended; and was never after reſumed: Nor did the King ever in the leaſt Degree, enter upon the Argument with the Chancellor, though He had many private Conferences with him upon all that occurred to him with Reference to what the Prince ſhould do in the *Weſt*; and of all the melancholick Contingencies, which might fall out in his own Fortune. And it was generally believed, that his Majeſty had a much greater Confidence in the Chancellor, than in the Other, whoſe Judgment He had no Reverence for; and this made the Chancellor afterwards believe, that all the other Diſcourſe from the Lord *Digby*, proceeded rather from ſome Communication of Counſels He had with the Queen, than any Directions from the King. And He did upon concurrent Circumſtances ever think, that the Queen did from the firſt Minute of the Separation of the Prince from the King, intend to draw his Highneſs into *France*, that He might be near her, and under her Tuition, before any Thing in the Declenſion of the King's Fortune required it, or made it counſellable; and therefore had appointed (93) the Lord *Digby*, her Creature, who She knew had great Friendſhip with the Chancellor, to feel his Pulſe, and diſcover, whether He (in whom She had never Confidence) might be applicable to her Purpoſes. But He often declared, that the King himſelf never intimated the leaſt Thought of the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, till after the Battle of *Naſeby*, and when *Fairfax* was marched with

with his Army into the *Weſt*, and himſelf was in Deſpair of being able to raiſe another Army; and even then, when He ſignified his Pleaſure to that Purpoſe, He left the Time, and the Manner, and the Place to Them, who were eſpecially truſted by him, about the Prince; as will appear by the particular Papers which are preſerved of that Affair; and wherein it will likewiſe appear, that his Majeſty received infinite Satisfaction and Content in the whole Management of that Affair, and the happy and ſecure Tranſportation of the Prince, in the juſt and proper Seaſon, and when all the Kingdom was right glad that it was done.

As his Majeſty was more particularly gracious to the Chancellor from the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; ſo there was no Day paſſed, without his conferring with him in private upon his moſt ſecret Conſiderations, and Apprehenſions, before his Departure with the Prince for the *Weſt*. One Day He told him, He was very glad of what the Duke of *Richmond* had done the Day before; and indeed He had done ſomewhat the Day before, which very much ſurprized the Chancellor. When his Majeſty aroſe from Council, the Duke of *Richmond* whiſpered ſomewhat privately to him, upon which the King went into his Bedchamber; and the Duke called the Chancellor, and told him, the King would ſpeak with him, and ſo took him by the Hand, and led him into the Bedchamber; the Privilege, and Dignity of which Room was then ſo punctually preſerved, that the King very rarely called any Privy Counſellor to confer with them there, who was not of the Bedchamber; which maintained a juſt Reverence to the Place, and an Eſteem of thoſe who were admitted to attend there.

The Chancellor, with the King's Approbation, forms a Friendſhip with the Duke of Richmond.

As ſoon as He came into the Room, before He ſaid any Thing to the King, who was there alone, the Duke ſpake to the Chancellor, and told him, that He had been brought up from his Childhood by the Crown, and had always paid it the Obedience of a Child; that as He had taken a Wife with the Approbation and Advice of the Crown, ſo He had never made a Friendſhip, which He took to be a Kind of Marriage, without the King's Privity and particular Approbation; that He had long had a Kindneſs for him, but had taken Time to know him well, which He thought He now did; and therefore had aſked his Majeſty's Conſent, that He might make a Friendſhip

Friendſhip with him: And then ſaid to the King, "Sir, "have I not your Approbation to this Conjunction?" to which his Majeſty ſaid, "yes, my Lord, I am very glad "of it; and I will paſs my Word to you for the Chan-"cellor, that you will not repent it;" with many gracious Expreſſions to them both: And ſo the Duke led him out of the Room again, ſaying, "now, Mr. Chancellor, it is in your Power to deceive me." And to this it was, that his Majeſty's Diſcourſe related the next Day, when He told him, He was glad of what had paſſed, &c. and ſaid, He hoped He would give him good Counſel; for He had not of late lived towards him in the Manner He was uſed to do; that He knew well the Duke was a very honeſt and worthy Man, and had all the Kindneſs, as well as Duty for his Majeſty; but that He was grown ſullen, or diſcontented, and had not the ſame Countenance He uſed to have; for which He could imagine no other Reaſon, but that his Man *Webb* gave him ill Counſel: He ſaid, He (94) was well contented that He ſhould take Notice, that his Majeſty was not well ſatisfied; and aſked him ſuddenly, when the Duke was at *Oriel* College with them; *Oriel* College was the Lodging of the Lord Treaſurer, where that Committee for ſecret Affairs, of which the Duke was one, uſed to meet. The Chancellor anſwered, that indeed the Duke had not been there lately, which He thought had proceeded from his Attendance upon his Majeſty, or ſome other neceſſary Divertiſement. The King ſaid, it proceeded not from thence; and that He might take Occaſion from his Abſence from thence, to let himſelf into that Diſcourſe; and afterwards proceed as He thought fit.

Character of the Duke of Richmond.

THE Duke was a Perſon of a very good Underſtanding; and of ſo great Perfection and Punctuality in all Matters of Honeſty and Honour, that He was infinitely ſuperior to any Kind of Temptation. He had all the Warmth and Paſſions of a Subject, and a Servant, and a Friend for the King, and for his Perſon; but He was then a Man of a high Spirit; and valued his very Fidelity at the Rate it was worth; and not the leſs, for that it had almoſt ſtood ſingle for ſome Time. The Chancellor was very ſorry for this Diſcovery; and choſe to wait upon the Duke the ſame Day, near the Hour when the Meeting uſed to be at *Oriel* College: And when He had ſpent a ſhort Time with him, He ſaid, He thought it

was

was Time to go to *Oriel* College, and aſked his Grace, whether He would pleaſe to go thither; for which He making ſome Excuſe, the other preſſed him with ſome Earneſtneſs, and ſaid, it was obſerved that He had a good Time declined that Meeting, and if He ſhould not now go thither, He ſhould be doubtful there was ſome Reaſon for it.

THE Duke replied, that He had indeed been abſent from thence for ſome Time, and that He would deal clearly with him as his Friend, but deſired it ſhould not be known; that He was reſolved to be there no more. Then complained, that the King was not kind to him; at leaſt had not that Confidence in him, which He had uſed to have: And then ſpake of many Particulars looſely; and eſpecially, that before the Treaty, He had adviſed the King to uſe all the Means He could to draw them to a Treaty, for many Advantages which were like to be gotten by it; and to that Purpoſe, produced a Letter that He had newly received from the Counteſs of *Carliſle*, and read it to his Majeſty, who then ſeemed not to be moved with the Contents; but afterwards in ſeveral Diſcourſes reflected upon it in ſuch a Manner, as if He were jealous, that the Duke held too much Correſpondence with that People: Which He looked upon, as ſuch a Point of Diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be preſent, when the ſecret Part of his Affairs was tranſacted; and ſo He had, and would forbear to meet in that Place, till his Majeſty ſhould entertain a better Opinion of him: Yet He concealed the Trouble of Mind which He ſuſtained; and wiſhed, that no Notice might be taken of it.

Whom He endeavours to reconcile to the King;

THE Chancellor told him, it was too late for that Caution; that the Lords themſelves could not but obſerve his long Abſence, who before uſed to be the moſt punctual; and confeſſed to him, that the King himſelf had ſpoken to him of it with a Senſe of Wonder, and Diſlike; which, He ſaid, He was to blame himſelf for; ſince the Honour He had done him to the King, had likewiſe diſpoſed his Majeſty to truſt him ſo far, as to expreſs ſome Diſſatisfaction He had in his Grace's late Carriage and Behaviour. The Duke ſeemed not diſpleaſed with the Communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller, and warmer Diſcourſe than before; how much the King had withdrawn his Con-
(95) fidence from him, and truſted others much more than him.

Friendſhip with him: And then ſaid to the King, "Sir, "have I not your Approbation to this Conjunction?" to which his Majeſty ſaid, "yes, my Lord, I am very glad "of it; and I will paſs my Word to you for the Chan- "cellor, that you will not repent it;" with many gracious Expreſſions to them both: And ſo the Duke led him out of the Room again, ſaying, "now, Mr. Chancellor, it is in your Power to deceive me." And to this it was, that his Majeſty's Diſcourſe related the next Day, when He told him, He was glad of what had paſſed, &c. and ſaid, He hoped He would give him good Counſel; for He had not of late lived towards him in the Manner He was uſed to do; that He knew well the Duke was a very honeſt and worthy Man, and had all the Kindneſs, as well as Duty for his Majeſty; but that He was grown ſullen, or diſcontented, and had not the ſame Countenance He uſed to have; for which He could imagine no other Reaſon, but that his Man *Webb* gave him ill Counſel: He ſaid, He (94) was well contented that He ſhould take Notice, that his Majeſty was not well ſatisfied; and aſked him ſuddenly, when the Duke was at *Oriel* College with them; *Oriel* College was the Lodging of the Lord Treaſurer, where that Committee for ſecret Affairs, of which the Duke was one, uſed to meet. The Chancellor anſwered, that indeed the Duke had not been there lately, which He thought had proceeded from his Attendance upon his Majeſty, or ſome other neceſſary Divertiſement. The King ſaid, it proceeded not from thence; and that He might take Occaſion from his Abſence from thence, to let himſelf into that Diſcourſe; and afterwards proceed as He thought fit.

Character of the Duke of Richmond.

THE Duke was a Perſon of a very good Underſtanding; and of ſo great Perfection and Punctuality in all Matters of Honeſty and Honour, that He was infinitely ſuperior to any Kind of Temptation. He had all the Warmth and Paſſions of a Subject, and a Servant, and a Friend for the King, and for his Perſon; but He was then a Man of a high Spirit; and valued his very Fidelity at the Rate it was worth; and not the leſs, for that it had almoſt ſtood ſingle for ſome Time. The Chancellor was very ſorry for this Diſcovery; and choſe to wait upon the Duke the ſame Day, near the Hour when the Meeting uſed to be at *Oriel* College: And when He had ſpent a ſhort Time with him, He ſaid, He thought it

was

was Time to go to *Oriel* College, and aſked his Grace, whether He would pleaſe to go thither; for which He making ſome Excuſe, the other preſſed him with ſome Earneſtneſs, and ſaid, it was obſerved that He had a good Time declined that Meeting, and if He ſhould not now go thither, He ſhould be doubtful there was ſome Reaſon for it.

THE Duke replied, that He had indeed been abſent from thence for ſome Time, and that He would deal clearly with him as his Friend, but deſired it ſhould not be known; that He was reſolved to be there no more. Then complained, that the King was not kind to him; at leaſt had not that Confidence in him, which He had uſed to have: And then ſpake of many Particulars looſely; and eſpecially, that before the Treaty, He had adviſed the King to uſe all the Means He could to draw them to a Treaty, for many Advantages which were like to be gotten by it; and to that Purpoſe, produced a Letter that He had newly received from the Counteſs of *Carliſle*, and read it to his Majeſty, who then ſeemed not to be moved with the Contents; but afterwards in ſeveral Diſcourſes reflected upon it in ſuch a Manner, as if He were jealous, that the Duke held too much Correſpondence with that People: Which He looked upon, as ſuch a Point of Diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be preſent, when the ſecret Part of his Affairs was tranſacted; and ſo He had, and would forbear to meet in that Place, till his Majeſty ſhould entertain a better Opinion of him: Yet He concealed the Trouble of Mind which He ſuſtained; and wiſhed, that no Notice might be taken of it.

Whom He endeavours to reconcile to the King;

THE Chancellor told him, it was too late for that Caution; that the Lords themſelves could not but obſerve his long Abſence, who before uſed to be the moſt punctual; and confeſſed to him, that the King himſelf had ſpoken to him of it with a Senſe of Wonder, and Diſlike; which, He ſaid, He was to blame himſelf for; ſince the Honour He had done him to the King, had likewiſe diſpoſed his Majeſty to truſt him ſo far, as to expreſs ſome Diſſatisfaction He had in his Grace's late Carriage and Behaviour. The Duke ſeemed not diſpleaſed with the Communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller, and warmer Diſcourſe than before; how much the King had withdrawn his Con-
(95) fidence from him, and truſted others much more than him.

In Sum, it was eaſy to diſcern, that the Thing that troubled him, was the Power and Credit that *John Aſhburnham* had with the King; which his Vanity made him own to that Degree, that He was not content to enjoy the Benefit of it, except He made it publick, and to be taken Notice of by all Men; which could not but reflect upon his Honour: And when the Chancellor ſeemed to think it impoſſible, that himſelf could believe, that the King could prefer a Man of Mr. *Aſhburnham*'s Talent, before his Grace; He proceeded with many Inſtances, and inſiſted with moſt Indignation upon One.

That about a Year before, Sir *John Lucas*, who was well known to his Grace, having met him abroad in his Travels, and ever after paid a particular Reſpect to him, had applied himſelf to him, and deſired his Favour, that when there ſhould be any Opportunity offered, He would recommend him to the King, to whom He was not unknown; that his Affection to his Majeſty's Service was notorious enough, and that his Sufferings were ſo likewiſe; his Houſe being the firſt that was plundered in the Beginning of the War; by which, the Loſs He ſuſtained in Furniture, Plate, Money, and Stock, was very conſiderable; ſo that He might modeſtly hope, that when his Majeſty ſcattered his Favours upon others of his own Rank, his poor Service might likewiſe be remembered: But He had ſeen Men raiſed to Dignities, who He was ſure had not the Advantage over him in their Sufferings, whatever They might have in their Actings; and He deſired no more, but (ſince it was too evident that his Majeſty's Wants were great, and that Money would do him ſome Service) that He might receive that Degree of Honour which others had, and He would make ſuch a Preſent to him, as ſhould manifeſt his Gratitude; and He deſired to owe the Obligation to his Grace, and to receive it only by his Mediation.

He ſaid, He had moved this Matter, with the Relation of all the Circumſtances, to his Majeſty, who ſpake very graciouſly of the Gentleman, as a Perſon of Merit, but ſaid, He was reſolved to make no more Lords; which He received as a very good Anſwer, and looked upon as a good Reſolution, and commended it; deſiring only, that if at any Time his Majeſty found it neceſſary to vary from that Reſolution, He would remember his Propoſition, and gratify that Gentleman; which He promiſed to do;

do; and with all which He acquainted the Perſon concerned; thinking it could not but well ſatisfy him. But He told him, that He was ſorry that He could not receive the Honour, by his Grace's Recommendation; but for the Thing itſelf, He could have it when He would; and ſhortly after it was diſpatched by Mr. *Aſhburnham*. He aſked, whether this was not preferring Mr. *Aſhburnham* very much before him. The Chancellor told him, He was preferred as the better Market Man; and that He ought not to believe, that the King's Affection ſwayed him to that Preference, but an Opinion, that the other would make the better Bargain. He replied, his Majeſty was deceived in that, for He had told him what the other meant to give, without the leaſt Thought of reſerving any Thing for himſelf; whereas his Majeſty had now received five hundred Pounds leſs, and his Market Man had gotten ſo much for his Pains.

IN Concluſion, He prevailed ſo far with him, that They went that Afternoon together to the Committee to *Oriel* College; and the next Day the Chancellor ſpake with the King again, and told him, that the Duke had been in the Afternoon with the Committee, where many
(96) Things had been conſulted; and that He found, all his Trouble proceeded from an Apprehenſion, that his Majeſty had withdrawn his Affection from him; at leaſt that He, the Duke, had not the ſame Credit with his Majeſty, which He had formerly had; and that the Senſe, and Fear of that, could not but make an Impreſſion upon a good Servant, who loved his Maſter as well as He did. His Majeſty ſaid, They two ſhould not live as well together as They had done, as long as the Duke kept his Man *Webb*; who made him believe, that the King was wholly governed by *Aſhburnham*, and cared not for any Body elſe. He ſaid, no Body who knew him, could believe He could be governed by *Aſhburnham*; who, though an honeſt Man, and one that He believed loved him well, no Man thought was of an Underſtanding ſuperior to his Majeſty; and enlarged himſelf upon this Argument ſo much, that He ſeemed as it were glad of the Opportunity, to clear himſelf from that Aſperſion, or Imputation.

And the King to the Duke of Richmond;

IT is a very great Misfortune for any Prince to be ſuſpected to be governed by any Man; for as the Reproach is of all others the moſt grievous, ſo They think the

truſting weak Men, who are much ſhort of their own Vigour of Wit and Underſtanding, is a ſufficient Vindication from that Calumny; and ſo, before They are aware of it, They decline wiſer Men, who are fit to adviſe them, and give themſelves to weaker, upon an Imagination, that no Body will ever ſuſpect They can be governed by them. In Fine, He found the Work too hard for him; the King being ſo much incenſed againſt *Webb*, that He expected the Duke ſhould turn him away: And the Duke himſelf looked upon the King's Prejudice, as infuſed into him by *Aſhburnham*, upon particular Malice; having often deſired, that ſome Accuſer might charge *Webb*, and He be heard to anſwer for himſelf; which the King not being willing to admit, the other was unwilling to diſmiſs a Servant, his Secretary, who had ſerved him long, and was very uſeful to him; and who indeed was never ſuſpected for any Infidelity, or Want of Affection to his Maſter: And ſo the Chancellor, to his great Trouble, was not able to remove that Cloudineſs that remained in both their Countenances, which never produced the leaſt ill Effect in the View or Obſervation of any; the Duke's Duty being never in any Degree diminiſhed, and the King's Kindneſs to him continuing with many gracious Evidences, to his Death.

But without Succeſs.

The King's laſt Conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

THE laſt Conference his Majeſty had with the Chancellor, was the very Day the Prince began his Journey towards the *Weſt*, and indeed after He had received his Bleſſing; when his Majeſty ſent for him into his Bedchamber; and repeated ſome Things He had mentioned before. He told him, "there had been many Things "which had troubled him, with Reference to his Son's "Abſence from him; for all which, but one, He had ſa- "tisfied himſelf: The one was, the Inconvenience which "might ariſe from the Weakneſs and Folly of his Go- "vernour; againſt which He had provided, as well as He "could, by obliging the Prince to follow the Advice of "his Council in all Things; which He was well aſſured "He would do; and He had given them as much Au- "thority, as They could wiſh. Another was, that there "was one Servant about the Prince, who He thought had "too much Credit with him, which was *Elliot*; who He "did not intend ſhould be with him in the Journey; and "had therefore ſent him into *France* to the Queen, with "Direction to her Majeſty, to keep him there; and if "He

"He ſhould return whilſt the Prince remained in the "*Weſt*, that He ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty, and not "ſuffered to ſtay with his Highneſs; and that was all the (97) "Care He could take in thoſe two Particulars: But "there was a Third, in which He knew not what to do, "and that troubled him much more than the other two." When the Chancellor ſeemed full of Expectation to know what that might be, the King ſaid, "I have obſerved of "late ſome Kind of Sharpneſs, upon many Occaſions, be- "tween *Colepepper* and you; and though you are joined "with other honeſt Men, yet my great Confidence is "upon you two: I know not that the Fault is in you; "nay, I muſt confeſs, that it is very often in him; but "let it be where it will, any Difference and Unkindneſs "between you two muſt be at my Charge; and I muſt "tell you the Fear I have of it, gives me much Trou- "ble: I have ſpoken very plainly to him my Apprehen- "ſion in this Point, within this Hour; and He hath "made as fair Promiſes to me as I can wiſh; and upon "my Conſcience I think, He loves you, though He may "ſometimes provoke you to be angry."

THE King here making a Pauſe, the Chancellor, out of Countenance, ſaid, "He was very ſorry, that He had ever "given his Majeſty any Occaſion for ſuch an Apprehen- "ſion; but very glad, that He had vouchſafed to inform "him of it; becauſe He believed He ſhould give his Ma- "jeſty ſuch Aſſurance in that Particular, as would fully "ſatisfy him: He aſſured his Majeſty, that He had a "great Eſteem of the Lord *Colepepper*; and though He "might have at ſome Times Paſſions which were incon- "venient, He was ſo confident of himſelf, that they "ſhould not provoke or diſturb him, that He was well "content, that his Majeſty ſhould condemn, and think "Him in the Fault, if any Thing ſhould fall out, of Pre- "judice to his Service, from a Difference between them "two." With which his Majeſty appeared abundantly ſatisfied, and pleaſed; and embracing him, gave him his Hand to kiſs; and He immediately went to Horſe, and followed the Prince: And this was the laſt Time the Chancellor ever ſaw that gracious and excellent King.

The Chancellor attends the Prince into the Weſt; and is there firſt aſſaulted by the Gout.

IT was upon the 4th of *March*, in the Year 1644, that the Prince parted from the King his Father. He lodged that Night at *Farringdon*; having made his Journey thither, in one continued Storm of Rain, from the

Minute He left *Oxford:* And from thence went the next Day to the Garriſon of the *Devizes*; and the third to the City of *Bath*; which being a ſafe Place, and within ſeven or eight Miles of *Briſtol*, He ſtaid there two or three Days. And in this Journey the Chancellor was firſt aſſaulted with the Gout, having never had the leaſt Apprehenſion of it before; but from his coming to *Bath*, He was not able to ſtand; and ſo went by Coach to *Briſtol*; where in few Days He recovered that firſt Lameneſs, which ever after afflicted him too often. And ſo the Year 1644 ended, which ſhall conclude this Part.

Montpelier,
6th *November*, 1669.

The

The LIFE of

EDWARD EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the FOURTH.

(98) A Very particular Memorial of all material Affairs in the *Weſt*, during the ſubſequent Year of 1645, during the Prince's Reſidence in the *Weſt* — The State, and Temper of that Country, after the Defeat of his Majeſty's Army at *Naſeby* — The ſeveral Plots and Devices of the Lord *Goring*, to get the Prince into his Power — The Debauchery of that Army, and amongſt the Officers of it; and the Defeats it ſuffered from the Enemy, through that Debauchery — *Goring*'s Departure out of the Kingdom; and the Poſture He left his Army in — The beating up of their Quarters afterwards — The entering of *Fairfax* into the *Weſt* with his Army; and his ſudden taking the Towns there — The mutinous Behaviour of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and the Quarrels, and Conflicts between the Troops under his Command, with thoſe under the Lord *Goring* — The Prince's Retreat by Degrees backward into *Cornwall*, as *Fairfax* advanced — The ſeveral Meſſages, and Orders from the King, for the tranſporting the Prince out of *England*; and all the Directions, and Reſolutions thereupon; and the ſeveral Meſſages from the Queen, and the Earl of St. *Albans*; with the Aſſurance of a Supply of ſix thouſand Foot, under the Command of *Ruvignie*, promiſed confidently to be landed in *Cornwall*, within one Month; when there was

not any ſuch Thing in Nature, nor one Company raiſed, or Ship in Readineſs, or in View for ſuch an Expedition, &c. — The King's obliging the Lord *Hopton*, to take Charge of thoſe broken and diſſolute Troops — The Commitment of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, for not ſubmitting to be commanded by him; and for endeavouring to raiſe a Party in the Country, to treat with the Enemy, for the Security and Neutrality of *Cornwall*; and the Routing the Lord *Hopton*'s Troops at *Torrington* — The Prince's Retreat thereupon to *Pendennis*; and the Factions, and Conſpiracies between ſome of his own Servants and ſome Gentlemen of the Country, to hinder the Prince from going out of the Kingdom; and the Departure of his Highneſs from *Pendennis*, in the End of that Year 1645, and his Arrival in the Iſland of *Scilly*, is contained in Papers, orderly and methodically ſet down; which Papers and Relation are not now at Hand, but are ſafe; and will be eaſily found: Together with his Highneſs's Stay in the (99) Iſland of *Scilly*: From whence, the next Day the Lord *Colepepper* was diſpatched, with Letters to the Queen, to *Paris*, to give Notice of his Highneſs's being in that Iſland; and to deſire Money, Arms, and Ammunition for the Defence thereof: And at the ſame Time another Veſſel was ſent into *Ireland*, to give the Marquis of *Ormond* likewiſe Information of it; and to deſire that two Companies of Foot might be ſent thither, to encreaſe that Garriſon, and to defend it in caſe the Enemy ſhould attack it — His Highneſs's Stay in *Scilly*, near ſix Weeks; until the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came thither; after They had made Conditions for the diſbanding their Troops, with *Fairfax*; which *Goring*'s Troops made it neceſſary to do: They not only refuſing to obey all Orders, but mingling every Day with the Troops of the Enemy, and remaining quietly together in the ſame Quarters, drinking and making merry with each other — The Report of a Fleet deſigned from the Parliament for *Scilly*, and thoſe Lords viewing the *Iſland*, and not looking upon it as tenable, cauſed a new Conſultation to be held, whether it were fit for his Highneſs to remain there till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, or to remove ſooner; and whither He ſhould remove; the Frigate which brought the Prince from *Pendennis* being ſtill kept in a Readineſs at *Scilly*, upon the Foreſight that his Remove might come to be neceſſary — That upon this Conſultation it was reſolved,

ſolved, that it would not be ſafe for his Highneſs to remain there; but that He ſhould tranſport himſelf from thence into the Iſland of *Jerſey*; which was done accordingly — And his Highneſs's Arrival there about the beginning of *April*, 1645 — The Prince's Reception in *Jerſey*, by Sir *George Carteret*; and the univerſal Joy of the Iſland for his Arrival; with the Situation and Strength of the Iſland — The Lord *Digby*'s Arrival in *Jerſey*, with two Frigates from *Ireland*, and with two hundred Soldiers; having been at *Scilly*, and there heard of his Highneſs's Departure for *Jerſey* — His earneſt Advice for the Prince his going for *Ireland*; and, when He could not obtain his Highneſs's Conſent till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, His going to *Paris* to perſuade the Queen, and to proteſt againſt the Prince's going for *France*; againſt which He inveighed with more Paſſion than any Man — The Arrival of Mr. *Thomas Jermyn* from *Paris*, with very poſitive Orders for the Prince's repair thither, from the Queen — And ſhortly after, the Lord *Colepepper*'s Arrival, who had been diſpatched from her Majeſty to return to *Scilly*, before She knew of his Highneſs's Remove from thence; which Advertiſement overtook the Lord *Colepepper* at *Havre de Grace*, after He was embarked; and ſo He bent his Courſe thither, and had the ſame Orders for the Prince his going to *Paris*, as Mr. *Jermyn* had likewiſe brought.

THERE was none of the Council inclined that his Highneſs, being in a Place of unqueſtionable Safety, ſhould ſuddenly depart from thence; till the State and Condition in which his Majeſty was, and his Pleaſure, might be known: It was then underſtood, that his Majeſty had left *Oxford*, and was with the *Scotiſh* Army before *Newark*; which He had cauſed to be rendered, that the Army might retire; which it preſently did, and the King in it, to *Newcaſtle:* The Prince was yet in his Father's Dominions; ſome Places in *England* ſtill holding out, as *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, *Pendennis*, and other Places; that it would be eaſy, in a ſhort Time, to underſtand the King's Pleaſure; and that there could be no Inconvenience in expecting it, the Prince's Perſon being in no poſſible Danger: but that the Miſchief might be very
(100) great, if without the King's Direction it were done, whether his Majeſty ſhould be well or ill treated by the *Scots*; and that the Parliament might make it a new Matter of Reproach

Reproach againſt the King, that He had ſent the Heir Apparent of the Crown out of the Kingdom; which could be no otherwiſe excuſed, at leaſt by thoſe who attended him, than by evident and apparent Neceſſity: Thoſe Reaſons appeared of ſo much Weight to the Prince himſelf (who had not a natural Inclination to go into *France*) and to all the Council, that the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper* were deſired to go to *Paris*, to ſatisfy the Queen, why the Prince had deferred yielding a preſent Obedience to her Command.

The Treatment They received at *Paris*; and their Return again to *Jerſey*, together with the Lord *Jermyn*, and Lord *Digby*, and ſome other Perſons of Quality: The Lord *Digby* being to return to *Ireland*, with eight thouſand Piſtoles, which the Cardinal ſent towards the Supply of the King's Service there; and being by it, and the Cardinal, ſo throughly convinced of the Neceſſity of the Prince's going for *France*, that He was more poſitive for it, than any of the Reſt; and had promiſed the Queen, that He would convert the Chancellor, and make him conſent to it; with whom He had a great Friendſhip — The Debate at *Jerſey* upon their coming back — The Lord *Capel* adhering to his former Opinion, that We might firſt know the King's Opinion; towards the receiving of which, He had offered the Queen, and now offered again, to go himſelf to *Newcaſtle*, where the King ſtill was; no Body knowing what would be the Iſſue of the Controverſy between the *Scots*, and the Parliament; and if the King ſhould direct it, every Man would willingly attend his Highneſs; and punctually obſerve whatſoever the King commanded: And becauſe the Objection might be removed, of his being taken Priſoner by the Parliament, or his being not ſuffered by the *Scots* to ſpeak with the King; He did offer, and all who were of his Opinion conſented to it, that if He did not return to *Jerſey*, within one Month, the Prince ſhould purſue the Queen's Orders; and every Man would attend his Highneſs into *France*; and a Month's Delay could be of no ill Conſequence — The Prince's Reſolution to go preſently for *Paris*; — and the Reaſons which moved the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, to excuſe themſelves — and his Highneſs's Permiſſion to remain in *Jerſey*, from whence They would attend his Commands, when He had any Service for them — And the ſudden Reſervedneſs, and

and Strangeneſs that grew between thoſe, who adviſed the going, and thoſe who were for ſtaying — and the Prince's embarking himſelf for *France*, about *July*, in the Year 1646 —

ALL theſe Particulars are ſo exactly remembered in thoſe Papers remaining in a Cabinet eaſy to be found, that they will quickly be put into a Method; and contain enough to be inſerted in the Fourth Part of this Relation.

Montpelier,
9th *November*,
1669.

N. B. Theſe Materials were afterwards made Uſe of by the Author, when He compleated the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, where theſe Occurrences are treated of more at large.

The

The LIFE of

EDWARD EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the FIFTH.

(101) THE Prince having left *Jerſey*, about *July*, in the Year 1646; the Chancellor of the Exchequer remained there about two Years after; where He preſently betook himſelf to his Study; and enjoyed (as He was wont to ſay) the greateſt Tranquillity of Mind imaginable. Whilſt the Lords, *Capel* and *Hopton* ſtaid there, They lived and kept Houſe together in St. *Hillary*'s, which is the chief Town of the Iſland; where having a Chaplain of their own, They had Prayers every Day in the Church, at Eleven of the Clock in the Morning; till which Hour They enjoyed themſelves in their Chambers, according as They thought fit; the Chancellor betaking himſelf to the Continuance of the Hiſtory, which He had begun at *Scilly*, and ſpending moſt of his Time at that Exerciſe. The other two walked, or rode abroad, or read, as They were diſpoſed; but at the Hour of Prayers They always met; and then dined together at the Lord *Hopton*'s Lodging, which was the beſt Houſe; They being lodged at ſeveral Houſes, with Convenience enough. Their Table was maintained at their joint Expenſe, only for Dinners; They never uſing to ſup; but met always upon the Sands in the Evening to walk, often going to the Caſtle to Sir *George Carteret*; who treated them with extraordinary Kindneſs and Civility, and ſpent much Time with them; and

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Reſidence at Jerſey.

and in Truth, the whole Iſland ſhewed great Affection to them, and all the Perſons of Quality invited them to their Houſes, to very good Entertainments; and all other Ways expreſſed great Eſteem towards them.

He writes from thence to the King.

And from hence They writ a joint Letter to the King, which They ſent to him by Mr. *Fanſhaw*; in which They made great Profeſſion of their Duty to his Majeſty, and their Readineſs to proceed in his Service; and to wait upon the Prince upon the firſt Occaſion; with ſuch Reaſons for their not attending him into *France*, as They thought could not but be ſatisfactory to his Majeſty; declaring, that They had only deſired that He would ſtay ſo long in a Place of his own, of unqueſtionable Security, as that They might receive the Signification of his Majeſty's Pleaſure for his Remove; upon which They were all reſolved to have waited upon him: Though it was evident enough to them, that their Advice would be no longer hearkened unto, after his Highneſs ſhould arrive with the Queen. (102)

In *England*, Men's Hopes, and Fears, were raiſed according to their Tempers; for there was Argument for both Affections in the Tranſactions, and Occurrences of every Day; it being no eaſy Matter, to make a Judgment which Party would prevail; nor what They would do, if They did. The Lord *Capel* received Advice from his Friends in *England*, to remove from *Jerſey* into ſome Part of the *United Provinces*: That ſo being in a Place to which there could be no Prejudice, his Friends might the more hopefully ſolicit for Liberty for him to return into his own Country, and that He might live in his own Houſe; which They had Reaſon to hope would not be denied to a Perſon, who had many Friends, and could not be conceived to have any Enemies; his Perſon being worthily eſteemed by all. Whereupon, with the full Concurrence and Advice of his two Friends from whom He had great Tenderneſs to part, and with whom He renewed his Contract of Friendſhip at parting in a particular Manner, upon Foreſight of what might happen, He went from thence, and firſt waited upon the Prince at *Paris*, that He might have his Royal Highneſs's Approbation for his Return into *England*, if He might do it upon honourable Conditions: And from thence, with all poſſible Demonſtration of Grace from the Prince, He tranſported himſelf to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*; where He remained till his Friends procured

procured Liberty for him to return, and remain at his own Houſe. The worthy and noble Things He did after, deſerve to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, in ſome more illuſtrious Teſtimony, that may be worthy to be recorded.

THE Lord *Capel* thus leaving *Jerſey*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Chancellor remained ſtill there, in the ſame Conjunction, until, ſome few Months after, the Lord *Hopton* received the News of the Death of his Wife, and of the Arrival in *France* of his Unkle, Sir *Arthur Hopton*; who having been Ambaſſadour from the King in *Spain*, had left that Court, and retired to *Paris*; from whence He ſhortly after removed to *Roüen*, with a Purpoſe, as ſoon as He had at large conferred with his Nephew, to go into *England*, for the Good and Benefit of both their Fortunes: And upon this Occaſion, the Lord *Hopton* likewiſe left *Jerſey*, with all poſſible Profeſſion of an entire Friendſhip to the Chancellor, which was never violated in the leaſt Degree to his Death. And the Chancellor being thus left alone, He was, with great Civility and Friendſhip, invited by Sir *George Carteret* to remove from the Town (where He had lived with his Friends till then) and to live with him in the Caſtle *Elizabeth*; whither He went, the next Day after the Departure of the Lord *Hopton*, and remained there to his wonderful Contentment, in the very chearful Society of Sir *George Carteret* and his Lady; in whoſe Houſe He received all the Liberty, and Entertainment He could have expected in his own Family; of which He always retained ſo juſt a Memory, that there was never any Intermiſſion, or Decay of that Friendſhip He then made: And He remained there, till He was ſent for again to attend the Prince, which will be mentioned in its Time.

And removes to Sir George Carteret's.

HE built a Lodging in the Caſtle, of two or three convenient Rooms, to the Wall of the Church, which Sir *George Carteret* had repaired, and beautified; and over the Door of his Lodging He ſet up his Arms, with this Inſcription, *Bene Vixit, qui bene Latuit:* And He always took Pleaſure in relating, with what great Tranquillity of Spirit (though deprived of the Joy He took in his Wife and Children) He ſpent his Time here, amongſt his Books (which He got from *Paris*) and his Papers; between which He ſeldom ſpent leſs than ten Hours in the Day; and it can hardly be believed how much He read, and writ there; inſomuch as He did uſually compute, that during

Where He writes the Hiſtory of the Troubles.

during his whole Stay in *Jerſey*, which was ſome Months above two Years, He writ daily little leſs than one Sheet of large Paper, with his own Hand; moſt of which are ſtill to be ſeen amongſt his Papers.

FROM *Hampton Court*, his Majeſty writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with his own Hand; in which He took Notice that He was Writing the *Hiſtory of the late Troubles*, for which He thanked him, ſaying, that He knew no Man could do it ſo well; and that He would not do it the worſe, by the Helps that He would very ſpeedily ſend him (as his Majeſty ſhortly after did, in two Manuſcripts very fairly written, containing all Matters of Importance, that had paſſed from the Time that the Prince of *Wales* went from his Majeſty into the *Weſt*, to the very Time that his Majeſty himſelf went from *Oxford* to the *Scotiſh* Army; which were all the Paſſages in the Years 1645, and 1646): He uſed many gracious Expreſſions in that Letter to him; and ſaid, He looked upon him as one of thoſe, who had ſerved him with moſt Fidelity, and therefore He might be confident of his Kindneſs; and that He would bring him to him with the firſt; though He ſaid, He did not hold him to be Infallible, as He might diſcern by what He had commanded Dr. *Sheldon*, who was then Clerk of his Cloſet, to write to him; and at the ſame Time the Doctor writ him Word, that the King was ſorry that He, the Chancellor, ſtaid at *Jerſey*, and did not attend the Prince into *France*; and that if He had been there, He would have been able to have prevented the Vexation his Majeſty had endured at *Newcaſtle*, by Meſſages from *Paris*.

Towards which the King furniſhed him with the Paſſages of the Years 1645, and 1646.

THE Doctor likewiſe ſent him Word, that great Pains had been taken from *Paris*, to incenſe the King againſt him; but that it had ſo little prevailed, that his Majeſty had with ſome Sharpneſs reprehended thoſe who blamed him, and had juſtified the Chancellor. He made haſte to anſwer his Majeſty's Letter, and gave him ſo much Satisfaction, that his Majeſty ſaid, He was too hard for him. And about the ſame time the Lord *Capel* came into *England*; and though He was under Security to the Parliament for behaving himſelf peaceably, He was not reſtrained from ſeeing the King; and ſo gave him a very particular Information of all that had paſſed at *Jerſey*, and many other Things, of which his Majeſty had never been informed before; which put it out of any Body's Power

to

to make any ill Impreſſions in him towards the Chancellor.

UPON the King's refuſing to give his Aſſent to the four Acts, ſent to him from the Parliament, when He was in the Iſle of *Wight*, They voted, *that no more Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King*; and publiſhed a Declaration to that Effect, which contained ſevere Charges againſt his Majeſty. *Vid. Hiſt. Reb.* Fol. Vol. 3. P. 67, *&c.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer writes and publiſhes an Anſwer to the Parliament's Declaration of the 15th of Feb. 1647.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer no ſooner received a Copy of it in *Jerſey*, than He prepared a very large and full Anſwer to it; in which He made the Malice and the Treaſon of that libellous Declaration to appear, and his Majeſty's Innocence in all the Particulars charged upon him, with ſuch pathetical Applications and Inſinuations, as were moſt like to work upon the Affections of the People: All which was tranſmitted (by the Care of Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who reſided at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and held a conſtant Correſpondence with the Chancellor) to a truſty Hand in *London*; who cauſed it to be well (104) printed, and divulged, and found Means to ſend it to the King: Who, after He had read it, ſaid He durſt ſwear it was writ by the Chancellor, if it were not that there was more Divinity in it, than He expected from him, which made him believe He had conferred with Dr. *Steward*. But ſome Months after, being informed by Secretary *Nicholas*, He ſent the Chancellor Thanks for it; and expreſſed, upon all Occaſions, that He was much pleaſed with that Vindication.

THE Lord *Capel* had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained ſtill in *Jerſey*, ſignifying the King's Commands, that as ſoon as the Chancellor ſhould be required to wait upon the Prince, He ſhould without Delay obey the Summons. The King had writ to the Queen, that when it ſhould be neceſſary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor ſhould have Notice of it, and be required to attend him. About the beginning of *April*, in the Year 1648, the Lord *Capel* writ again to the Chancellor, giving him Notice, that He would probably be ſent for ſoon, and deſiring him to be ready. About the Middle of *May*, the Queen ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jerſey*, commanding, that He would wait upon the Prince at *Paris*, upon a Day that was paſt before the Letter came to his Hands; but as ſoon as He received

the Summons, He immediately tranſported himſelf into *Normandy*, and went to *Caen*; from thence He haſtened to *Roüen*, where He found the Lord *Cottington*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who had received the ſame Commands. They were informed that the Prince was paſſed by towards *Calais*, and Direction was ſent, that the Chancellor and the reſt ſhould ſtay at *Roüen*, till They ſhould receive new Orders from *Calais*. Within few Days They received Advice, that the Prince had put himſelf on board a Ship that He found at *Calais* bound for *Holland*, where They were to hear from him; whereupon They removed from *Roüen* to *Dieppe*; from whence They might embark for *Holland* when required. *Vid. Hiſt. Reb.* Fol. Vol. 3. P. 102, *&c.*

AFTER the Lord *Cottington*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſtaid at *Dieppe* ſome Days, and were confirmed, by Reports every Day, that the Prince was in *Holland*, and that the Fleet wanted ſome Proviſions, without which it could not put out to Sea; They reſolved to make Uſe of the firſt Veſſel, of which there were many then in the Harbour, that ſhould be bound for *Holland*, and to tranſport themſelves thither; and there was one which within two or three Days would ſet out for *Fluſhing*. The Earl of *Briſtol* had no Mind to venture himſelf in ſuch a Veſſel, and ſince the Fleet that had declared for the King was then in *Holland*, He apprehended that the Parliament might have other Veſſels abroad, that might eaſily ſeize upon that ſmall Bark; and ſo after ſome Debate with the Lord *Cottington* (They two being ſeldom of one Mind) the Earl reſolved to return to his old Habitation at *Caen*, and expect another Occaſion.

THE Chancellor, who knew nothing of the Sea, nor underſtood the Hazards thereof (being always ſo afflicted upon that Element with Sickneſs, that He conſidered nothing about it, and holding himſelf obliged to make what Haſte He could to the Prince) committed himſelf entirely to the Lord *Cottington*: And when They reſolved to embark themſelves in the Veſſel bound for *Fluſhing*, a *French* Man of War, which was called the King's Ship, came into the Road of *Dieppe*, and offered to carry them the next Day to *Dunkirk*; which They took to be the ſafer Paſſage: And ſo giving the Captain as much Money as (105) He demanded, They put themſelves upon his miſerable Frigate, where They had no Accommodations, but the open

The Chancellor of the Exchequer embarks for Dunkirk.

open Deck; and were ſafely ſet on Shore at *Dunkirk*, where Marſhal *Rantzaw* was then Governour. And They no ſooner landed in the Evening, but *Carteret*, a Servant of the Prince's, came to them, and informed them, that the Prince was entered the River of *Thames* with the Fleet; and that He was ſent by his Highneſs to the Marſhal for a Frigate, which He had offered to lend the Prince: And that He had delivered the Letter, and the Marſhal (who had been out all the Night before upon a Deſign upon the Enemy, and was newly arrived, and gone to Bed) had promiſed him that the Frigate ſhould be ready the next Day. This ſeemed an extraordinary good Fortune to them, that They might now embark directly for the Fleet, without going into *Holland*, which They were willing to avoid; and ſo reſolved to ſpeak with the Marſhal as ſoon as They could, that They might be confirmed by him, that his Frigate ſhould be ready the next Day; and thereupon ſent a Servant to wait at the Marſhal's Lodging, that They might know when He waked, and was to be ſpoken with.

THE Marſhal had Notice of their Arrival before the Servant came to him, and of their Deſire to go to the Prince; and ſent one of his Officers to welcome them to the Town, and to ſee them well accommodated with Lodging; and to excuſe him, that He did not wait upon them that Night, by Reaſon of the Fatigue He had undergone the Night before, and that Day; and to oblige them to dine with him the next Day, againſt which Time the Veſſel would be made ready to receive them, and tranſport them to the Prince's Fleet; with which They were abundantly ſatisfied, and betook themſelves to their Reſt for that Night: And were early up the next Morning to ſee the Marſhal; but it was late before He roſe.

HE received them with great Civility, being a very proper Man, of a moſt extraordinary Preſence and Aſpect, and might well be reckoned a very handſome Man, though He had but one Leg, one Hand, one Eye, and one Ear, the other being cut off with that Side of his Face; beſides many other Cuts on the other Cheek, and upon his Head, with many Wounds in the Body; notwithſtanding all which, He ſtood very upright, and had a very graceful Motion, a clear Voice, and a charming Delivery; and if He had not, according to the Cuſtom of his Nation (for He was a *German*) too much indulged to

the Exceſs of Wine, He had been one of the moſt excellent Captains of that Age. He profeſſed great Affection to the Prince, and much commended the Frigate He intended to ſend to him, which for the ſwiftneſs of it was called the *Hare*, and out ſailed, as He ſaid, all the Veſſels of that Coaſt; and after He had treated them with a very excellent and a jovial Dinner, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, He brought them to their Boat, that put them on board their Frigate; which was but a ſmall Veſſel of twenty Guns, much inferior to what They expected, by the Deſcription the Marſhal had made of it. However, it was very proper for the Uſe They were to make of it, to be delivered at the Fleet; and ſo, the Moon ſhining very fair, They weighed Anchor about Sun ſet, with a very ſmall Gale of Wind.

And from thence for the Prince's Fleet.

The Prince being Maſter at Sea, They had no manner of Apprehenſion of an Enemy; not knowing, or conſidering, that They were very near *Oſtend*, and ſo, in Reſpect of the Veſſel They were in, liable to be made a Prize by thoſe Men of War; as it fell out: For about Break of Day, in a dead Calm, They found themſelves purſued (106) by ſix or ſeven Ships, which, as They drew nearer, were known by the Seamen to be the Frigates of *Oſtend*. There was no Hope to eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of the Veſſel, for there was not the leaſt Breath of Wind; and it was to no Purpoſe to reſiſt; for beſides that the Veſſel was not half manned, four or five of the Purſuers were ſtronger Ships; ſo that it was thought beſt to let the Sails fall, that They might ſee there was no Purpoſe of Reſiſtance, and to ſend *Carteret* in the Boat, to inform the Ships who the Perſons were, that were on Board, and that They had a Paſs from the Arch-Duke; for an authentick Copy of a Paſs the Arch-Duke had ſent to the Prince, had been ſent to them. All the Ships, though They had the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion, were Free-booters, belonging to private Owners, who obſerved no Rules or Laws of Nations; but They boarded the Veſſel, with their Swords drawn and Piſtols cocked, and without any Diſtinction, plundered all the Paſſengers with equal Rudeneſs, ſave that They ſtripped ſome of the Servants to their very Shirts; They uſed not the reſt with that Barbarity, being ſatisfied with taking all They had in their Pockets, and carefully examined all their *Valiſes*, and Trunks, in which They found good Booty.

But is taken by ſome Frigates of Oſtend;

The

THE Lord *Cottington* loſt, in Money and Jewels, above one thouſand Pounds; the Chancellor, in Money, about two hundred Pounds, and all his Cloaths and Linen; and Sir *George Ratcliffe* and Mr. *Wansford*, who were in the Company, above five hundred Pounds in Money and Jewels. And having pillaged them in this Manner, They carried them all, with the Frigate They had been in, Priſoners to *Oſtend*; where They arrived about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; all the Men and Women of the Town being gathered together to behold the Prize that was brought in within ſo few Hours; for Intelligence had been ſent from *Dunkirk*, the Night before (according to the Cuſtom, and good Intelligence obſerved in thoſe Places) of the going out of this Veſſel, which had ſuch Perſons on Board. When They were on Shore, They were carried, through all the Spectators, to a common Inn; from whence They ſent to the Magiſtrates, to inform them of what Condition They were, and of the Injuries They had received, by having been treated as Enemies; and demanded Reſtitution of Ship, and Goods. *and carried to that Port.*

THE Magiſtrates, who were called the Lords of the Admiralty, came preſently to them, and when They were fully informed of the whole Matter, and had ſeen the Arch-Duke's Paſs, They ſeemed very much troubled; and with much Civility aſſured them, that They ſhould not only receive all that had been taken from them, but that the Men ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed for their Tranſgreſſion. They immediately diſcharged thoſe Guards that kept them as Priſoners; and provided the beſt Lodgings in the Town for them: And becauſe it was growing towards the Evening, and the Frigates were not yet come in, They excuſed themſelves that They could do no more that Night; but promiſed to go themſelves on board the Ships the next Morning early; and deſired that ſome of the Gentlemen of their Company might go with them, to the End that They might diſcover at leaſt ſome of thoſe, who had been moſt rude towards them; who ſhould be ſure to be impriſoned till full Satisfaction were made by the reſt. *He is ſet at Liberty; and promiſed Satisfaction.*

AS ſoon as the Lords of the Admiralty were gone, the Governour, an old *Spaniard*, came to viſit them with all Profeſſions of Civility and Service, and ſeemed to abhor the Barbarity with which They had been treated; (107) aſked very particularly of the Manner of them, and of

every Particular that had been taken from them; and told them, They ſhould be ſure to have it all returned; for that They did not trouble themſelves in ſuch Caſes to find out the Seamen, who were the Plunderers, but reſorted always to the Owners of the Ships, who lived in the Town, and were ſubſtantial Men, and bound to anſwer and ſatisfy for all Miſdemeanours committed by the Company; and ſaid, He would be with them the next Day, and take Care that all ſhould be done that was Juſt. Theſe Profeſſions and Aſſurances made them believe, that They ſhould receive full Reparation for the Damages They had received; and the Lord *Cottington* began to commend the good Order and Diſcipline that was obſerved under the *Spaniſh* Government, much different from that in other Places; and in how much better Condition They were, after ſuch Uſage, to be brought into *Oſtend*, than if They had been ſo uſed by the *French*, and carried into any of their Ports.

The next Morning two of the Lords of the Admiralty called upon them, in their Way to the Ships; retaining the ſame Profeſſions They had made the Night before; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, Mr. *Wansford*, and ſome of their Servants accompanied them according to their Deſire; and as ſoon as They were on Board the Admiral's Veſſel, that had brought them in, and had taken them out of their own, They knew ſome of thoſe Seamen, who had been moſt buſy about them; which were immediately ſeized on, and ſearched, and about ſome of them ſome Pieces of Chains of Gold, and other Things of Value belonging to the Lord *Cottington* were found, and ſome Mails, in which were Linen and Cloaths; all which were preſently reſtored and delivered to ſome of the Servants, who were preſent, and brought them to their Maſters. The Chancellor was more ſolicitous for ſome Papers He had loſt, than for his Money; and He was uſed to ſay, that He looked upon it as a ſingular Act of Providence, that thoſe Officers prevailed with a Seaman, who had taken it out of his Pocket, to reſtore a little Letter which He had lately received from the King, whilſt He was in the Hands of the Army; which, for the Grace and Kindneſs contained in it, He did ever exceedingly value.

Thoſe of the Admiralty, though They had not yet found out either any of the Jewels or Money, of which They

They had been robbed, thought They had done enough for the Morning; and ſo returned to Dinner, declaring that They would return in the Afternoon; and directed the Ships to be drawn nearer together, to the End They might viſit them together; and They did return in the Afternoon, accompanied as before, but their Reception by the Seamen was not as in the Morning. The Captains anſwered thoſe Queſtions, which were aſked of them, negligently and ſcornfully; and thoſe Seamen who had been ſearched in the Morning, and were appointed to be produced in the Afternoon to be further examined, could not be found; and inſtead of bringing the Ships nearer together, ſome of them were gone more out to Sea, and the reſt declared, that They would go all out to Sea that Night; and when the Magiſtrates ſeemed to threaten them, They ſwore They would throw both them, and all who came with them, over Board, and offered to lay Hands upon them in Order to it; ſo that They were all glad to get off; and returned to the Town, talking loud what Vengeance They would take upon the Captains and Seamen when They returned again into Port (for They already ſtood out to Sea in their Sight) and in the mean Time They would proſecute the Owners of the Veſſels, who ſhould ſatisfy for
(108) the Damage received; but from this Time, the Governour, nor the Lords of the Admiralty cared to come near them: And They quickly found that the Reaſon of all the Governour's Civility the firſt Night, and the many Queſtions He had aſked concerning all the Particulars They had loſt of any Kind, was only to be the better informed, to demand his Share from the Seamen; and that the Lords of the Admiralty were the Owners of the ſeveral Veſſels, or had Shares in them, and in the victualling, and ſo were to divide the Spoil, which They pretended ſhould be reſtored. So that after They had remained there four or five Days, They were contented to receive one hundred Piſtoles for diſcharging the Debts They had contracted in the Town (for there was not any Money left amongſt them) and to carry them to the Prince, which thoſe of the Admiralty pretended to have received from ſome of the Owners, and to wait for farther Juſtice, when the Ships ſhould return, which They doubted not ſhould be effectually called for, by the Commands of the Arch-Duke, when He ſhould be informed:

But cannot obtain it.

And ſo They proſecuted their Journey to the Prince, making their Way by *Bruges*, and from thence by the Way of *Sluys* to *Fluſhing*; and thoſe hundred Piſtoles were the only Recompence that They ever received for that Affront and Damage They had ſuſtained, which in the whole amounted to two thouſand Pounds at the leaſt; though the King's Reſident *De-Vic* at *Bruſſels* proſecuted the Pretence with the Arch-Duke, as long as there was any Hope.

THE Chancellor was often uſed to relate an Obſervation that was generally made and diſcourſed at *Oſtend*, at that Time, that never any Man who adventured in ſetting out thoſe Frigates of Rapine, which are called Men of War, or in victualling, or bearing any Share in them, died rich, or poſſeſſed of any valuable Eſtate: And that as He walked one Morning about the Town, and upon the Quay, with an *Engliſh* Officer, who was a Lieutenant in that Garriſon, They ſaw a poor old Man walk by them, whom the Lieutenant deſired the Chancellor to obſerve; and when He was paſſed by, He told him, that He had known that Man the richeſt of any Man in the Town; that He had been the Owner of above ten Ships of War at one Time, without any Partner or Sharer with him; that He had had in his Warehouſes in the Town, as much Goods and Merchandiſe together, as amounted to the Value of one hundred thouſand Pounds, within ſeven Years before the Time He was then ſpeaking; and after the Loſs of two or three Frigates, He inſenſibly decayed ſo faſt, that having begun to build another Frigate, which He ſhewed him as They walked, and which lay then not half finiſhed, He was not able to go through with it; and that He was at that Time ſo poor, that He had not wherewith to maintain him, but received the Charity of thoſe who had known him in a plentiful Eſtate: And this Relation He made in Confirmation of that Diſcourſe and Obſervation; and it made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Chancellor, that afterwards, when the War was between *England*, and *Holland*, and *France*, and when many Gentlemen thought it good Huſbandry to adventure in the ſetting out ſuch Ships of War, He always diſſuaded his Friends from that Traffick, relating to them this Story, of the Truth whereof He had ſuch Evidence, and did in Truth moreover in his own Judgment believe, that all Engagements

of that Kind were contrary to the Rules of Juſtice, and a good Conſcience.

He goes to Fluſhing;

WHEN They came to *Fluſhing*, They thought it beſt to ſtay here, as the moſt likely Place to have Commerce with the Fleet; and They found there Colonel *William* (109) *Vavaſour*, who had by the Prince's Commiſſion drawn ſome Companies of Foot together, and expected ſome Veſſel to be ſent from the Fleet, for their Tranſportation; and *Carteret* was already diſpatched, to inform the Prince of what had befallen the Treaſurer and Chancellor, and that They waited his Commands at *Fluſhing*: And becauſe *Middleburgh* would be as convenient to receive Intelligence, and more convenient for their Accommodation, They removed thither, and took a private Lodging; where, by having a Cook, and other Servants, They might make their own Proviſions. They had been at *Middleburgh* very few Days, before the *Hind* Frigate was ſent by the Prince to bring them to the Fleet, with Direction that They ſhould make as much Haſte as was poſſible; and They had no Occaſion to delay; but the Wind was ſo directly againſt them for two or three Days, that They could not put themſelves on Board. It was now about the Middle of *July*, when the Wind appeared fair, and They preſently embarked and weighed Anchor, and ſailed all the Night; but in the Morning the Wind changed, and blew ſo hard a Gale, that They were compelled to turn about, and came before Night again to *Fluſhing*; whence They endeavoured three Times more to get into the Downs, from whence They might eaſily have got to the Fleet; but as often as They put to Sea, ſo often They were driven back; and once with ſo violent a Storm, that their Ship was in Danger, and was driven in under the *Ramekins*, a Fort near the Mouth of the River that goes to *Middleburgh*; whither They again repaired: And the Winds were ſo long contrary, that They received Order from the Prince to repair into *Holland*; for that his Highneſs reſolved within very few Days, it being now towards the End of *Auguſt*, to carry the Fleet thither; as He ſhortly after did. And by this Means, the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor were not able to attend the Prince, whilſt He remained with the Fleet within the River of *Thames*; but were well informed, when They came to him, of all that had paſſed there.

from thence to Middleburgh;

Embarks to attend the Prince in the River of Thames, but is driven back.

THE

THE Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as ſoon as They received Advertiſement at *Middleburgh*, that the Prince reſolved to return with the Fleet into *Holland*, made all the Haſte They could to the *Hague*, it being then about the End of *Auguſt*; and came thither within one Day after the Prince's Arrival there.

Arrive at the Hague.

THE next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to the *Hague*, the Prince appointed his Council to meet together, to receive and deliberate upon a Meſſage the Lord *Lautherdale* had brought him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, earneſtly preſſing him to repair forthwith to their Army; which was already entered into *England*, under the command of the Duke of *Hamilton* — The Chancellor reproves the Lord *Lautherdale* for his inſolent Behaviour before the Council. *Vid. Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 129, 130, *&c.*

THE Factions in the Prince's Family, and the great Animoſity which Prince *Rupert* had againſt the Lord *Colepepper*, infinitely diſturbed the Counſels; and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer — *Colepepper* had Paſſions and Infirmities which no Friends could reſtrain; and Prince *Rupert*, though very well inclined to the Chancellor, was abſolutely governed by *Herbert* the Attorney General, who induſtriouſly cultivated his Prejudice to *Colepepper* — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 149, *&c.*

WHILST the Prince was at the *Hague*, He received the ſhocking Account of the Murder of the King his Father; and ſoon after, the Queen wrote to him from (110)
Paris, adviſing him to repair into *France*, as ſoon as poſſible; and deſiring him not to ſwear any Perſons to be of his Council, till She could ſpeak with him: But before He received her Letter, He had already cauſed thoſe of his Father's Council, who had long attended him, to be ſworn of his Privy Council; adding only Mr. *Long* his Secretary. He had no Mind to go into *France*; and it was evident that He could not be long able to reſide at the *Hague*, an Agent from the Parliament being there at that very Time; ſo that it was Time to think of ſome other Retreat. *Ireland* was then thought moſt adviſeable; ſome favourable Accounts having been received from thence, of the Tranſactions of the Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord *Inchiquin*, and

of

of the Arrival of Prince *Rupert* at *Kinſale* with the Fleet. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 216.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer was ſent to confer with the Marquis of *Montroſe* in a Village near the *Hague*, upon the State of Affairs in *Scotland*. The Marquis came now into *Holland* to offer his Service to his Majeſty; expecting that He would preſently ſend him to *Scotland* with ſome Forces, to prepare the Way for his Majeſty to follow after. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 223, *&c.*

THE King declared his Reſolution of going into *Ireland*, and Preparations were made for that Expedition; which however, from Accidents that afterwards fell out, did not take Effect. The Lord *Cottington*, wiſhing to avoid the Fatigue of ſuch Expeditions, took that Occaſion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the Expediency of the King's ſending an Embaſſy into *Spain*; and propoſed that himſelf and the Chancellor ſhould be appointed Ambaſſadours to that Court, to which the Chancellor conſented; and upon the Lord *Cottington*'s Repreſentation of the Matter to the King, his Majeſty ſoon after publickly declared his Reſolution to ſend thoſe Two, Ambaſſadours Extraordinary into *Spain*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 234, *&c.*

The Murmurs of the Court on his being appointed Ambaſſadour to Spain.

THIS was no ſooner known, but all kind of People, who agreed in nothing elſe, murmured and complained of this Counſel; and the more, becauſe it had never been mentioned, or debated in Council. Only the *Scots* were very glad of it (*Montroſe* excepted) believing that when the Chancellor was gone, their beloved Covenant would not be ſo irreverently mentioned, and that the King would be wrought upon to withdraw all Countenance and Favour from the Marquis of *Montroſe*; and the Marquis himſelf looked upon it as a deſerting him, and complying with the other Party; and from that Time, though They lived with Civility towards each other, He withdrew very much of his Confidence, which He had formerly repoſed in him. They who loved him were ſorry for him, and themſelves; They thought He deſerted a Path He had long trod, and was well acquainted with; and was henceforward to move *extra Sphæram Activitatis*, in an Office He had not been acquainted with; and then They ſhould want his Credit to ſup-

ſupport, and confirm them in the King's Favour and Grace: And there were many who were very ſorry when They heard it, out of particular Duty to the King; who being young, They thought might be without that Counſel, and Advertiſement, which They knew well He would ſtill adminiſter to him.

No Man was more angry, and offended with the Counſel than the Lord *Colepepper*; who would have been very glad to have gone himſelf in the Employment, if He could have perſuaded the Lord *Cottington* to have accepted his Company, which He would by no Means do; (111) and though He and the Chancellor were not thought to have the greateſt Kindneſs for each other, yet He knew He could agree with no other Man ſo well in Buſineſs; and was very unwilling He ſhould be from the Perſon of the King. But the Chancellor himſelf, from the Time that the King had ſignified his own Pleaſure to him, was exceedingly pleaſed with the Commiſſion; and did believe that He ſhould in ſome Degree improve his Underſtanding, and very much refreſh his Spirits, by what He ſhould learn by the one, and by his Abſence from being continually converſant with thoſe Wants which could never be ſevered from that Court, and that Company which would be always corrupted by thoſe Wants. And ſo He ſent for his Wife and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*, where He intended They ſhould reſide whilſt He continued in *Spain*, and where They were like to find ſome Civilities in Reſpect of his Employment.

His own Content in that Office.

The Ambaſſadours took Leave of the King before the Middle of *May*, and went to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and Family were arrived, who were to remain there during his Embaſſy. — After ſtaying two or three Days at *Antwerp*, They went to *Bruſſels*, to deliver their Credentials to the Arch-Duke, and to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to viſit the *Spaniſh* Miniſters there, *&c. Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 240.

When the Ambaſſadours had diſpatched all their Buſineſs at *Bruſſels*, They returned to *Antwerp*, to negotiate the Remittance of their Money to *Madrid*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

The Queen is much diſpleaſed, that the King had taken any Reſolutions, before She was conſulted, and imputed all that had been done principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; ſuſpecting He meant to exclude

clude her from meddling in the Affairs. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

LORD *Cottington* and the Chancellor, hearing that the King was on his Way to *France*, reſolve to defer going to St. *Germains*, till the King's firſt Interview with the Queen ſhould be over.

ABOUT a Week after the King left *Bruſſels*, the two Ambaſſadours proſecuted their Journey to *Paris*; ſtaid only one Day there; and then went to St. *Germains*, where the King, and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and the Duke of *York* then were —They found that Court full of Jealouſy, and Diſorder — The Queen much troubled at the King's Behaviour to her, as if He had no Mind that She ſhould interfere in his Affairs — She now attributes this Reſervedneſs of the King towards her, more to the Influence of ſome Body elſe, than to the Chancellor of the Exchequer — He had a private Audience of the Queen — She complained of the King's Unkindneſs to her, and of the great Credit Mr. *Elliot* (one of his Majeſty's Grooms of the Bedchamber) had with the King. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 243, *&c.*

ABOUT the Middle of *September*, the King left St. *Germains*, and began his Journey towards *Jerſey*, and the Queen removed to *Paris* — The two Ambaſſadours attended her Majeſty thither, and prepared for their Journey into *Spain*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 252.

The Queen is diſpleaſed at his going to Spain.

DURING the Time of their ſhort Stay at *Paris*, the Queen uſed the Chancellor very graciouſly; but ſtill expreſſed Trouble that He was ſent on that Embaſſy, which She ſaid, would be fruitleſs, as to any Advantage the King would receive from it; and She ſaid, She muſt con-
(112) feſs, that though She was not confident of his Affection and Kindneſs towards her, yet She believed that He did wiſh that the King's Carriage towards her ſhould be always fair and reſpectful; and that She did deſire that He might be always about his Majeſty's Perſon; not only becauſe She thought He underſtood the Buſineſs of *England* better than any Body elſe, but becauſe She knew that He loved the King, and would always give him good Counſel, towards his living virtuouſly; and that She thought He had more Credit with him, than any other, who would deal plainly and honeſtly with him.

THERE

THERE was a Paſſage at that Time, of which He uſed to ſpeak often, and looked upon as a great Honour to him: The Queen one Day amongſt ſome of her Ladies, in whom She had moſt Confidence, expreſſed ſome Sharpneſs towards a Lord of the King's Council, whom She named not, who She ſaid, always gave her the faireſt Words, and promiſed her every Thing She deſired, and had perſuaded her to affect ſomewhat that She had before no Mind to; and yet She was well aſſured, that when the ſame was propoſed to the King on her Behalf, He was the only Man who diſſuaded the King from granting it. Some of the Ladies ſeemed to have the Curioſity to know who it was, which the Queen would not tell; one of them who was known to have a Friendſhip for him, ſaid, She hoped it was not the Chancellor; to which her Majeſty replied with ſome Quickneſs, that She might be ſure it was not He, who was ſo far from making Promiſes, or giving fair Words, and flattering her, that She did verily believe, that *if He thought her to be a Whore, He would tell her of it*; which when that Lady told him, He was not diſpleaſed with the Teſtimony.

The Queen's Opinion of his Sincerity.

THE two Ambaſſadours began their Journey from *Paris*, on *Michaelmaſs* Day; and continued it without one Day's Reſt to *Bourdeaux* — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 253.

THEY continue their Journey to *Bayonne*; and from thence to St. *Sebaſtian's*; where They were told by the Corregidor, that He had received Directions from the Secretary of State, to perſuade them to remain there till the King's farther Pleaſure might be known; and They received a Packet from Sir *Benjamin Wright* at *Madrid*, incloſing a Paſs for them, under the Title of Ambaſſadours from the *Prince of Wales*. They immediately ſent an Expreſs to the Court, complaining of their Treatment, and deſiring to know, whether their Perſons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majeſty; and if otherwiſe, They deſired They might be treated in the Manner due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Maſter. They received an Anſwer full of Civility, imputing the Error, in the Style of their Paſs, to the Negligence or Ignorance of the Secretary; and new Paſſes were ſent to them in the proper Style, with Aſſurance, that They ſhould find a very good Welcome from his Majeſty — They left St. *Sebaſtian*'s about the

the Middle of *November* — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 254, 255.

WHEN They came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, Sir *Benjamin Wright* came to them, and informed them, that all Things were in the State they were, when He writ to them at St. *Sebaſtian*'s; that no Houſe was yet prepared for their Reception; and that there was an evident Want of Attention for them in the Court; the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour in *England* having done them ill Offices, leſt their good Reception in *Spain* might incenſe the Parliament — After a Week's ſtay in that little Town, They accepted of Sir *Benjamin Wright*'s Invitation to his Houſe at *Madrid*; They went privately thither, to reſide *incognito* — The Court knew of their Arrival, but took (113) no Notice of it — Lord *Cottington* deſired, and obtained a private Audience of Don *Lewis de Haro* — Don *Lewis* excuſed the Omiſſions towards the Ambaſſadours, on Pretence that the *Fieſtas*, for their new Queen's Arrival, had engroſſed the whole Attention of all the Officers about the Court; and promiſed immediate Reparation — Lord *Cottington* returned Home well ſatisfied — The Ambaſſadours are invited to ſee the Exerciſes of the *Fieſtas*; and the Chancellor accordingly went to the Place aſſigned. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 256, 257.

THE Maſquerade is an Exerciſe They learned from the Moors; performed by Squadrons of Horſe, ſeeming to charge each other with great Fierceneſs; with Bucklers in their left Hands, and a Kind of Cane in their right; which, when They come within little more than a Horſe's Length, They throw with all the Strength They can; and againſt them They defend themſelves with very broad Bucklers; and as ſoon as They have thrown their Darts, They wheel about in a full Gallop, till They can turn to receive the like Aſſault from thoſe whom They had charged; and ſo ſeveral Squadrons of twenty or five and twenty Horſe run round, and charge each other. It hath at firſt the Appearance of a Martial Exerciſe; the Horſes are very beautiful, and well adorned; the Men richly clad, and muſt be good Horſemen, otherwiſe They could not conduct the quick Motions and Turns of their Horſes; all the reſt is too childiſh; the Darts being nothing elſe but plain Bulruſhes of the biggeſt Growth. *Deſcription of the Maſquerade.*

After

After this, They run the Courſe; which is like our running at the Ring; ſave that two run ſtill together, and the ſwifter hath the Prize; a Poſt dividing them at the End: From the Start They run their Horſes full Speed about fifty Paces, and the Judges are at that Poſt to determine who is firſt at the End.

Deſcription of the Toros. THE next Day, and ſo for two or three Days together, both the Ambaſſadours had a Box prepared for them, to ſee the *Toros*; which is a Spectacle very wonderful. Here the Place was very noble, being the Market-Place, a very large Square, built with handſome Brick Houſes, which had all Balconies, which were adorned with Tapeſtry, and very beautiful Ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the firſt Story; the lower Rooms being Shops, and for ordinary Uſe; and in the Diviſion of thoſe Scaffolds, all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Town knew their Places. The Pavement of the Place was all covered with Gravel, which in Summer Time was upon thoſe Occaſions watered by Carts charged with Hogſheads of Water. As ſoon as the King comes, ſome Officers clear the whole Ground from the common People; ſo that there is no Man ſeen upon the Plain, but two or three *Alguazills*, Magiſtrates with their ſmall white Wands. Then one of the four Gates which lead into the Streets is opened; at which the *Torreadors* enter, all Perſons of Quality richly clad, and upon the beſt Horſes in *Spain*, every one attended by eight, or ten, or more Lackeys, all clinquant with Gold and Silver Lace, who carry the Spears, which their Maſters are to uſe againſt the Bulls; and with this Entry many of the common People break in, for which ſometimes They pay very dear. The Perſons on Horſeback have all Cloaks folded up upon their left Shoulder, the leaſt Diſorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great Diſgrace; and in that grave Order, They march to the Place where the King ſits, and after They have made the Reverences, They place themſelves at a good Diſtance from one another, and expect the Bull.

THE Bulls are brought in the Night before from the (114) Mountains, by People uſed to that Work; who drive them into the Town when no Body is in the Streets, into a Pen made for them, which hath a Door that opens into that large Space; the Key whereof is ſent to the King, which the King, when He ſees every Thing ready, throws

to

to an *Alguazill*, who carries it to the Officer that keeps the Door; and He cauſes it to be opened when a ſingle Bull is ready to come out. When the Bull enters, the common People who ſit over the Door, or near it, ſtrike him, or throw ſhort Darts with ſharp Points of Steel to provoke him to Rage: He commonly runs with all his Fury againſt the firſt Man he ſees on Horſeback; who watches him ſo carefully, and avoids him ſo dexterouſly, that when the Spectators believe him to be even between the Horns of the Bull, He avoids him by the quick Turn of his Horſe, and with his Lance ſtrikes the Bull upon a Vein that runs through his Pole, with which in a Moment he falls down dead. But this fatal Stroke can never be ſtruck, but when the Bull comes ſo near upon the Turn of the Horſe, that his Horn even touches the Rider's Leg; and ſo is at ſuch a Diſtance, that He can ſhorten his Lance, and uſe the full Strength of his Arm in the Blow; and They who are the moſt ſkilful in the Exerciſe, do frequently kill the Beaſt with ſuch an exact Stroke; inſomuch as in a Day, two or three fall in that Manner: But if They miſs the Vein, it only gives a Wound that the more enrages him.

SOMETIMES the Bull runs with ſo much Fierceneſs (for if he eſcapes the firſt Man, he runs upon the reſt as They are in his Way) that he gores the Horſe with his Horns, ſo that his Guts come out, and he falls, before the Rider can get from his Back. Sometimes, by the Strength of his Neck, he raiſes Horſe and Man from the Ground, and throws both down; and then the greateſt Danger is another Gore upon the Ground. In any of theſe Diſgraces, or any other, by which the Rider comes to be diſmounted, He is obliged in Honour to take his Revenge upon the Bull by his Sword, and upon his Head; towards which the Standers by aſſiſt him, by running after the Bull, and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder Legs; but before that Execution can be done, a good Bull hath his Revenge upon many poor Fellows. Sometimes he is ſo unruly that no Body dares to attack him; and then the King calls for the Maſtiffs, whereof two are let out at a Time, and if they cannot maſter him, but are themſelves killed, as frequently they are, the King then, as the laſt Refuge, calls for the *Engliſh* Maſtiffs, of which They ſeldom turn out above one at a Time, and he rarely miſſes taking the Bull, and holding

him by the Noſe, till the Men run in; and after They have hocked him, They quickly kill him.

In one of thoſe Days there were no fewer than ſixteen Horſes, as good as any in *Spain*, the worſt of which would that very Morning have yielded three hundred *Piſtoles*, killed, and four or five Men; beſides many more of both hurt, and ſome Men remained perpetually maimed: For after the Horſemen have done as much as They can, They withdraw themſelves, and then ſome accuſtomed nimble Fellows, to whom Money is thrown when They perform their Feats with Skill, ſtand to receive the Bulls, whereof the worſt are reſerved to the laſt; and it is a wonderful Thing to ſee with what Steadineſs thoſe Fellows will ſtand a full Career of the Bull, and by a little quick Motion upon one Foot, avoid him, and lay a Hand upon his Horn, as if They guided him from them; but then the next Standers by, who have not the ſame Activity, commonly pay for it; and there is no Day (115) without much Miſchief. It is a very barbarous Exerciſe, and Triumph; in which ſo many Mens Lives are loſt, and always ventured; but ſo rooted in the Affections of that Nation, that it is not in the King's Power, They ſay, to ſuppreſs it; though if He diſliked it enough, He might forbear to be preſent at it.

There are three Feſtival Days in the Year, whereof *Midſummer* is one, on which the People hold it to be their Right to be treated with theſe Spectacles; not only in great Cities, where They are never diſappointed, but in very ordinary Towns, where there are Places provided for it. Beſides thoſe ordinary annual Days, upon any extraordinary Accidents of Joy, as at this Time for the Arrival of the Queen, upon the Birth of the King's Children, or any ſignal Victory, theſe Triumphs are repeated, which no Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures or Authority can ſuppreſs or diſcountenance; for Pope *Pius* the V, in the Time of *Philip* the II, and very probably with his Approbation, if not upon his Deſire, publiſhed a Bull againſt the *Toros* in *Spain*, which is ſtill in Force; in which He declared, that Nobody ſhould be capable of *Chriſtian* Burial, who loſt his Life at thoſe Spectacles, and that every Clergyman, who ſhould be preſent at them, ſtood excommunicated *ipſo facto*; and yet there is always one of the largeſt Galleries aſſigned to the Office of the Inquiſition and the chief of the Clergy, which is always

always filled; beſides that many Religious Men in their Habits get other Places; only the *Jeſuits* out of their Submiſſion to the ſupreme Authority of the Pope, are never preſent there; but on thoſe Days, do always appoint ſome ſuch ſolemn Exerciſe to be performed, that obliges their whole Body to be together.

THOUGH it is not the Courſe for the Ambaſſadours to make their Viſits to thoſe who come laſt, before They receive their firſt Audience from the King; yet the very Night They came to the Town, the *Venetian* Ambaſſadour ſent to congratulate their Arrival, and to know what Hour They would aſſign of the next Day to receive a Viſit from him: To which They returned their Acknowledgments; and that when They had obtained their Audience of the King, They would be ready to receive that Honour from him. However, the very next Day He came to viſit them; and He was no ſooner gone, but the *German* Ambaſſadour not ſending Notice till He was at the Bottom of the Stairs, likewiſe came to them; and then the other Ambaſſadours, and Publick Miniſters took their Times to make their Viſits, without attending the Audience.

The Lord Cottington *and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are viſited by the other Ambaſſadours at* Madrid *before their Audience.*

THERE was one Thing very notable, that all the foreign Miniſters reſiding then in *Madrid* (the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours and the Reſident of *Denmark* only excepted) were *Italians*; and all, but the *Venetian*, Subjects of the Great Duke. *Julio Roſpiglioſi* Nuntio for the Pope, was of *Piſtoja*, and ſo a Subject to the Duke of *Florence*; a grave Man, and at that Time, ſave that his Health was not good, like to come to be, what He was afterwards, Pope, as He was *Clement* the IX. The Emperor's Ambaſſadour, the Marquis of *Grana*, was likewiſe an *Italian*, and a Subject of *Florence*; He had been General of one of the Emperor's Armies, and was ſent afterwards Ambaſſadour to *Madrid*; He was a Man of great Parts; and the removing the Conde-Duke *Olivarez* from Court was imputed to his Artifice. He made the Match between the King and the preſent Queen, for which He expected to have the Cap of a Cardinal; and had received it, if He had not died before the following Creation; the Cardinal of *Heſſe* being nominated by the Emperor upon his Death. He was a Man of an imperious and inſolent Na-
(116) ture, and capable of any Temptation, and no Body was

Some Account of the Ambaſſadours then at Madrid.

Of Julio Roſpiglioſi.

Of the Marquis of Grana.

more glad of his Death than his own Servants, over whom He was a great Tyrant.

Of the Venetian *Ambaſſadour.*

THE Ambaſſadour of *Venice*, *Pietro Baſadonna*, a noble *Venetian*, was a Man, as all that Nation is, of great Civility, and much Profeſſion; He was the firſt who told the Ambaſſadours, that the King their Maſter had a Reſident at *Venice*, which was Mr. *Killigrew*; which They did not at firſt believe, having before They left St. *Germains*, diſſuaded the King from that Purpoſe; but afterwards his Majeſty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that Capacity, He might borrow Money of *Engliſh* Merchants for his own Subſiſtence; which He did, and Nothing to the Honour of his Maſter; but was at laſt compelled to leave the Republick, for his vicious Behaviour; of which the *Venetian* Ambaſſadour complained to the King, when He came afterwards to *Paris*.

Of the Poliſh *Ambaſſadour.*

THE Ambaſſadour of the King of *Poland* was likewiſe a *Florentine*; who was much in Favour with the King *Uladiſlaus*, from whom He was ſent; and continued by King *Caſimir*. He had lived in great Splendour; but by his vicious Courſe of Life, and ſome Miſcarriages, He fell very low, and was revoked with ſome Circumſtances of Diſhonour. He was a Man of a great Wit; if it had not ſerved him to very ill Purpoſes. The Ambaſſadour of *Florence*, was a Subject of his Maſter, and an Abbot, a grave Man; and though He was frequently called Ambaſſadour, He was in Truth but Reſident; which was diſcovered by a Conteſt He had with the *Denmark* Reſident for Place, who alledged that the other was no more than Reſident; which was true, and made the Diſcovery that the *Florentines* ſend no Ambaſſadours to *Madrid*, becauſe They are not ſuffered to cover, which They uſe to do in many other Courts. The Arch-Duke of *Inſpruck*'s Miniſter was likewiſe a *Florentine*, and had been bred in *Spain*, and was a Knight of the Order; and ſupported that Character upon a ſmall Aſſignation from his Maſter, for ſome Benefit and Advantage it gave him in Negotiations, and Pretences He had in that Court.

Of the Ambaſſadour of Florence.

Of the Arch-Duke of Inſpruck's *Miniſter.*

Of the Reſident of Denmark.

THE Reſident of *Denmark* was Don *Henrique Williamſon* (He was afterwards called *Roſewell*) who came Secretary to *Hannibal Zeſted*; who had been the Year before Ambaſſadour in that Court, and lived in extraordinary Splendour, as all the Northern Miniſters do; who have not their Allowance from the King, but from a Revenue that

that is purpoſely ſet aſide for that Kind of Service. When He went away, He left this Gentleman to remain there as Reſident. He was a grave, and a ſober Man, wiſer than moſt of his Nation; and lived with much more Plenty, and with a better Retinue than any other Miniſter of that Rank in that Court.

THEY had not been many Days in *Madrid*, when Don *Lewis* ſent them the News of the Impriſonment of the Prince of *Condè*, Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*; and that Marſhall *Turenne* was fled into *Flanders*; ſo much the Cardinal had improved his Condition from the Time that They had left *Paris*. There was yet no Houſe provided for them, which They took very heavily; and believed that it might advance that Buſineſs, if They had once a publick Reception as Ambaſſadours; and therefore They reſolved to demand an Audience. Don *Lewis* came to be advertiſed, that the Ambaſſadours had prepared Mourning for themſelves and all their Train, againſt their Audience, which was true; for They thought it the moſt proper Dreſs to appear in, and to demand Aſſiſtance to revenge the Murder of their Maſter, it being yet within the Year: But Don *Lewis* ſent to them, that He hoped, that when the whole Court was *in Gala*, upon the Joy of the Marriage of the King, and
(117) to give the Queen a cheerful Reception, They would not diſhonour the Feſtival by appearing *in Luto*, which the King could not but take unkindly; which He ſaid, He thought to advertiſe them of, out of Friendſhip, and without any Authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an Affair which ſeemed to have ſomewhat of Reaſon in it, as out of Apprehenſion, that from hence They might take Occaſion to defer their Audience, They changed their Purpoſe, and cauſed new Cloaths to be made; and then ſent to demand their Audience.

The Engliſh *Ambaſſadours demand their Audience.*

Montpelier,
1ſt of *March*, 1670.

The LIFE of

EDWARD EARL of *CLARENDON*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the SIXTH.

(118) THE Ambaſſadours were conducted in Form to their Audience of the King of *Spain*, and afterwards of the Queen, and Infanta; and at laſt a Houſe was provided for them. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 259.

THEY perceived that Court was more inclined to cultivate a ſtrict Friendſhip with the new Commonwealth of *England*, than with the King their Maſter, from an Opinion of his Condition being irrecoverable — After all Ceremonies were over, the Ambaſſadours had a private Audience of the King, to whom They delivered a Memorial containing their Propoſitions, and Demands — They received ſhortly after ſuch an Anſwer, as was Evidence enough to them, how little They were to expect from any avowed Friendſhip of that Crown — They reſted for ſome Time without giving themſelves any farther Trouble (*Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, Folio, Vol. 3. P. 261, 262.) and enjoyed themſelves in no unpleaſant Retreat from Buſineſs, if They could have put off the Thought of the miſerable Condition of their Maſter, and their own particular Concernments in their own Country. The Chancellor betook himſelf to the learning their Language, by reading their Books, of which He made a good Collection; and informing

The Chancellor of the Exchequer applies himſelf to the learning Spaniſh.

informing himſelf the beſt He could, of their Government, and the Adminiſtration of their Juſtice: And there began his Devotions upon the Pſalms, which He finiſhed in another Baniſhment.

PRINCE *Rupert* came upon the Coaſt of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; and wrote to the Chancellor, acquainting him, that He had brought away all the Fleet from *Ireland*; and deſiring him to procure Orders from the Court, that He might find a good Reception in all the *Spaniſh* Ports, if his Occaſions brought him thither — The News of a Fleet of the King of *England* being on their Coaſt, at a Time when their *Gallcons* were expected Home, occaſioned great Alteration in the Behaviour of that Court; and all that the Ambaſſadours aſked, was eaſily granted; but that ſeeming favourable Diſpoſition was of ſhort Duration; for on the Arrival afterwards of a ſtrong Fleet ſent out by the Parliament, and the Commander thereof writing an inſolent Letter to the King of *Spain*, the Ambaſſadours found themſelves leſs regarded — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 262, 263. (119)

THE King had now determined to go into *Scotland*, upon the Invitation of the Council, and Parliament of that Kingdom; and the Ambaſſadours, who in Reality diſapproved of that Meaſure, notified it to the Court of *Spain*, as a happy Turn in the King's Affairs; ſetting forth, that his Majeſty was now Maſter of that Kingdom; and therefore might reaſonably hope to be reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of the reſt of his Dominions — The Court of *Spain* then began again to treat the Ambaſſadours with more Regard — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 269.

UPON the News of *Cromwell*'s Victory over the Marquis of *Argyle*'s Army in *Scotland*, the Ambaſſadours received a Meſſage from the King of *Spain*, deſiring them to depart, ſince their Preſence in the Court would be prejudicial to his Affairs — They imagined this proceeded from the Expectation of the Arrival of an Ambaſſadour from the Commonwealth of *England*, which was then reported; but They knew afterwards that the true Cauſe of this Impatience to get rid of them was, that their Miniſter in *England*, having purchaſed many of the King's Pictures, and rich Furniture, had ſent them to the *Greyne*; from whence They were expected

pected to arrive about that Time, at *Madrid:* Which They thought could not decently be brought to the Palace, while the Ambaſſadours remained at the Court — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 295.

LORD *Cottington* reſolves, and obtains Leave to ſtay as a private Man in *Spain*; but is not permitted to reſide at *Madrid. Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 297.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer begins his Journey from Madrid,

THE other Ambaſſadour made his Journey by *Alcala*; and ſtaid a Day there, to ſee that Univerſity, where the College, and other Buildings made by the Cardinal *Ximenes*, are well worth the ſeeing; and went through the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Pampeluna*, where the Vice-King, the Duke of *Eſcalona*, received him; and lodged him two Days in the Palace; and treated him with great Civility. There He was ſeized upon with the Gout; yet He continued his Journey by Mules, there being no Paſſage by Coach or Litter, over the *Pirenees*, to *Bayonne*; where He was forced to keep his Bed, and to bleed, for many Days; but was ſo impatient of Delay, that after a Week's Reſt, and before He was fit for the Journey, He put himſelf into a Litter, and reached *Bourdeaux*; where He was forced to follow the Preſcription of Dr. *Lopez*, a very learned *Jew*, and Phyſician; and yet went too ſoon from thence too; ſo that when He came to *Paris*, He was caſt into his Bed by a new Defluxion of the Gout, more violent than ever.

And arrives at Paris.

As ſoon as He had recovered any Strength, He waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciouſly; complained very much to him of the Duke of *York*; who having been left with her by the King when He parted with her Majeſty at *Beauvais*, had expreſly againſt her Conſent and Command, tranſported himſelf to *Bruſſels*, upon Imaginations which had no Foundation, and upon ſome Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, which She was ſure could produce no good Effect. Her Majeſty ſeemed moſt offended with Sir *Edward Herbert* the Attorney General, and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, as the two Perſons who prevailed with the Duke, and had engaged him in that Journey, and governed him in it, againſt the Advice of the Lord *Byron*, who was his Go-
(120) vernour; and that being diſappointed of what They had unreaſonably looked for at *Bruſſels*, They had carried his Royal Highneſs into *Holland*, to his Siſter, who ſuffered much by his Preſence; the States of *Holland* being reſolved

The Queen's Complaint to him of the Duke of York.

ſolved not to ſuffer him to reſide within their Province; the Prince of *Orange* being lately dead of the Small Pox, and his Son, who was born after his Death, being an Infant, and depending ſo entirely upon the good Will of the States; and therefore the Princeſs Royal was much troubled that the coming of the Duke her Brother into thoſe Parts gave the States any Occaſion of Offence. The Queen ſaid, that She had writ to the Duke to return into *France*, but had received no Anſwer; and therefore She deſired the Ambaſſadour, as ſoon as He ſhould come into thoſe Parts (for He meant to go to *Antwerp*, where his Wife and Children then were) that He would make a Journey to the *Hague*, to reduce the Duke, and to prevail with him to return into *France*; which the Ambaſſadour could not refuſe to promiſe.

He found there the Queen's own Family in ſome Diſorder, upon ſome Declaration She had made, that the Proteſtant Chaplain ſhould be no more permitted to perform his Function in the *Louvre*; where the Queen's Court reſided, and where there was a lower Room which had been always uſed as a Chapel, from the Time of the Prince's firſt coming thither, to that Time; and where twice a Day, the Common Prayer was read to thoſe who were Proteſtants in both Families; and now the Queen had ſignified to Dr. *Coſins* (who was the Chaplain aſſigned by the late King, to attend in her Majeſty's Family for the Proteſtant Part of it) that He ſhould be no more permitted to have the Uſe of that Room.

Dr. Coſins *forbid to officiate to the Proteſtants in the Queen's Family.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer took this Occaſion to ſpeak with the Queen; and put her in Mind of ſome Promiſe She had made him, when He took his Leave of her to go for *Spain*, that She would not withdraw her Stipend, which She allowed to Dr. *Coſins*; whereby He muſt be compelled to withdraw; and ſo the Proteſtant Part of her Family would be deprived of their publick Devotions; which Promiſe She had obſerved to that Time: But if now the Room ſhould be taken from that Uſe, it would be the ſame Thing, as if the Chaplain was turned away. He put her Majeſty in Mind of the ill Impreſſion it might make in the Hearts of the Proteſtants in *England*, who retained their Reſpects and Duty for her Majeſty; and of what pernicious Conſequence it might prove to the King, who was ſtill in *Scotland* in a hopeful Condition, and depended moſt upon the Affections of his

The Chancellor ſpeaks to the Queen on that Subject.

his Proteſtant Subjects of *England*; and in the laſt Place, whether it might not prove a better Argument to thoſe, who were ſuſpected by her to miſlead the Duke of *York*, to diſſuade him from returning to her, ſince She would not permit him to have the Exerciſe of his Religion. The Queen ſeemed to think that what He ſaid was not without Reaſon, and confeſſed that She was not the Author of this new Reſolution, which She did not believe to be ſeaſonable. *The Queen's Anſwer.*

MR. *Walter Mountague*, who had ſome Years ago changed his Religion, and was become Catholick, after He had ſuſtained a long Impriſonment in the *Tower* of *London*, procured his Releaſe from thence, upon Aſſurance that He would no more return into *England*; and ſo came into *France*, where He was very well known in the *French*, as well, as the *Engliſh* Court, and in great Reputation and Eſteem with both Queens. He appeared a Man wholly reſtrained from all the Vanity and Levity of his former Life, and perfectly mortified to the Pleaſures of the World, which He had enjoyed in a very great Meaſure and Exceſs.

(121) HE dedicated himſelf to his Studies with great Auſterity; and ſeemed to have no Affection, or Ambition for Preferment, but to live within himſelf upon the very moderate Exhibition He had left to him by his Father; and in this melancholick Retreat He had newly taken the Order of Prieſthood; which was in Truth, the moſt reaſonable Way to ſatisfy his Ambition, if He had any left; for both the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, could not but liberally provide for his Support in that Profeſſion; which They did very ſhortly after: And this devout Profeſſion, and new Function much improved the Intereſt and Credit He always had in his old Miſtreſs; who very much hearkened to him in Caſes of Conſcience: And She confeſſed to the Chancellor, that He was a little too bigotted in this Affair; and had not only preſſed her very paſſionately to remove the Scandal of having a Proteſtant Chapel in her Houſe, as inconſiſtent with a good Conſcience, but had likewiſe inflamed the Queen Regent with the ſame Zeal; who had very earneſtly preſſed and importuned her Majeſty no longer to permit that Offence to be given to the Catholick Religion. And upon this Occaſion She lamented the Death of her late Confeſſor, Father *Philips*, who, She ſaid, was a very diſcreet Man, and

and would never ſuffer her to be troubled with ſuch Infuſions and Scruples. In Concluſion, She wiſhed him to confer with Mr. *Mountague*, and to try if He could withdraw him from that Aſperity in that Particular; to which Purpoſe, the Chancellor conferred with him, but without any Effect.

The Chancellor confers with Mr. Mountague thereon, but without Effect.

He ſaid, the Houſe was the King of *France*'s, who only permitted the Queen to live there; and that the Queen Regent thought her ſelf bound in Conſcience no longer to ſuffer that Reproach, of which She had never had Information till very lately: That if the Duke of *York* came thither, there was no Thought or Purpoſe to deny him the Exerciſe of his Religion; He might have his Chaplain ſay Prayers to him in his own Chamber, or in ſome Room adjacent, which ſerved likewiſe to all other Purpoſes; but that the ſetting a Room apart, as this was, for that Service, was upon the Matter dedicating it as a Chapel, for the Exerciſe of a Religion, contrary to what was eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom; which the King of *France* would not ſuffer to be done in a Houſe of his, though the King ſhould return thither again. He undervalued all the Conſiderations which were offered of *England*, or of a Proteſtant Intereſt; as if He thought them all, as no Doubt He did, of no Importance to the King's Reſtoration, which could never be effected but by that Intereſt which was quite oppoſite to it. When He gave the Queen an Account of this Diſcourſe, He prevailed ſo far with her, that She promiſed, in Caſe She ſhould be compelled to take away that Room, as She foreſaw She ſhould be, the Family ſhould be permitted to meet in ſome other Room; and if the Duke of *York* came, the Place that ſhould be appointed for his Devotions, ſhould ſerve for all the reſt to reſort to.

The Chancellor goes to Bruſſels,

As ſoon as the Chancellor had recovered his Strength, He took Leave of the Queen, and purſued his Journey for *Flanders*. At *Bruſſels* He ſtaid till He had an Audience of the Arch-Duke, to whom He had Letters from the King of *Spain*, and Don *Lewis*; by which the King ſignified his Pleaſure, that He ſhould reſide any where in thoſe Provinces He beſt liked, until He could conveniently repair to the King his Maſter; and that in the mean Time He ſhould enjoy all the Privileges due to an Ambaſſadour: And ſo He had his Audience in that Quality. He ſpake in *Latin*, and the Arch-Duke anſwering in the ſame, aſ-

hath an Audience of the Arch-Duke:

ſured

ſured him of all the Reſpects He could pay him, whilſt
(122) He ſtaid in thoſe Parts; and thereupon He went to his Family at *Antwerp*, and kept that Character till the King's coming into *France*, and his Return to him; by Means whereof He enjoyed many Privileges, and Exemptions in the Town; and had the Freedom of his Chapel, not only for his own Devotions, but for the Reſort of all the Proteſtants, who were then in the Town; whereof the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* were the principal; who came always on the *Sundays*, and frequently on the Week Days, to the Common Prayer, to the Grief of many *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh* Roman Catholicks; who uſed all the malicious Artifices They could, to procure that Liberty to be reſtrained; and which could not have been enjoyed under any other Conceſſion, than by the Privilege of an Ambaſſadour.

And reſides with his Family at Antwerp *in the Character of Ambaſſadour.*

WHILST He was preparing to make a Journey to the *Hague* to wait upon the Duke of *York*, according to the Promiſe He had made to the Queen, He received Information from the *Hague*, that his Royal Highneſs would be at *Breda* ſuch a Day; whereupon He was glad to ſhorten his Journey, and at the Day, to kiſs his Hands there; where He found his Highneſs newly arrived, and in an Inclination enough to return to the Queen; ſo that the Chancellor had no great Taſk to confirm him in that Reſolution; nor in Truth did He know what elſe to do: However all about him were very glad of the Chancellor's Preſence, every Body hoping to get him to their Party, that He might be ready to make a fair Report of their Behaviour to the King; whom They knew the Queen would endeavour to incenſe againſt them.

He goes to the Duke of York *at* Breda, *to perſuade him to return to* Paris.

NEVER little Family was torn into ſo many Pieces and Factions. The Duke was very young; yet loved Intrigues ſo well, that He was too much inclined to hearken to any Men, who had the Confidence to make bold Propoſitions to him. The King had appointed him to remain with the Queen; and to obey her in all Things, Religion only excepted. The Lord *Byron* was his Governour, ordained to be ſo by his Father, and very fit for that Province; being a very fine Gentleman, well bred both in *France* and *Italy*, and perfectly verſed in both Languages; of great Courage, and Fidelity; and in all Reſpects qualified for the Truſt; but his being abſent in the King's Service, when the Duke made his Eſcape out of *England*, and

Some Account of the Duke of York's *Family.*

and Sir *John Berkley* being then put about him, all Pains had been taken to leſſen his Eſteem of the Lord *Byron*; and Sir *John Berkley*, knowing that He could no longer remain Governour when the Lord *Byron* came thither, and hearing that He was in his Journey, infuſed into the Duke's Mind, that it was a great leſſening of his Dignity at that Age (when He was not above fourteen Years of Age, and backward enough for that Age) to be under a Governour; and ſo partly by diſeſteeming the Perſon, and partly by reproaching the Office, He grew leſs inclined to the Perſon of that good Lord, than He ſhould have been.

But what Title ſoever any Body had, the whole Authority was in the Queen, not only by the Direction of the King, but by inevitable Neceſſity; for there was no Kind of Fund aſſigned for the Support of the Duke; but He depended entirely upon the Queen his Mother's Bounty, who had no more aſſigned for her ſelf, than They, to whom the Management thereof was committed, knew well how to diſpoſe of, nor was it enough to ſerve their Occaſions; ſo that her Majeſty herſelf certainly ſpent leſs upon her own Perſon, or in any Thing relating to herſelf, than ever any Queen, or Lady of a very eminent Degree did. This viſible and total Dependance of the Duke upon his Mother, made her Majeſty the leſs apprehenſive of his doing any Thing contrary to her liking; and there was not that Care for the general Part of his (123) Education, nor that Indulgence to his Perſon, as ought to have been; and the Queen's own Carriage and Behaviour towards him was at leaſt ſevere enough, as it had been before to the King, in the Time that He was Prince; which then, and now gave Opportunity to thoſe, who were not themſelves at Eaſe, to make many Infuſions; which, how contrary ſoever to their Duties, were not ſo unreaſonable, as to be eaſily rejected, or to make no Impreſſion.

The King at his going from *Beauvais* in his Voyage for *Scotland*, had given ſome Recommendation to the Duke his Brother of Sir *George Ratcliffe*, to whoſe Care his Father had once deſigned to commit him, when He meant to have ſent him into *Ireland*; and his Majeſty had likewiſe, at the ſame Time at *Beauvais*, made ſome Promiſe to Sir *George Ratcliffe* of ſome Place about his Brother, when his Family ſhould be ſettled, of which there was then

then little Appearance: However it was enough to entitle him to give his frequent Attendance upon the Duke; and the general Reputation He had, of having been the Perſon of the neareſt Truſt with the Earl of *Strafford*, might well diſpoſe the Duke to think him a wiſe Man, and the better to eſteem any Thing He ſaid to him.

SIR *Edward Herbert* thought himſelf the wiſeſt Man that followed the King's Fortune, and was always angry that He had no more to do; and now Prince *Rupert* was abſent, endeavoured all He could, to get Credit with the Duke of *York*; and came very frequently to him, and held him in long Whiſpers, which the Duke eaſily indulged to him, out of a real Belief that He was a Man of great Wiſdom and Experience. The Queen liked neither of theſe two; which They well enough diſcerning, grew into a Friendſhip, or rather a Familiarity together, though They were of the moſt different Natures and Humours imaginable: *Ratcliffe* being a Man very capable of Buſineſs; and if the Proſperity of his former Fortune had not raiſed in him ſome Fumes of Vanity and Self-conceitedneſs, was very fit to be adviſed with; being of a Nature conſtant and ſincere; which the other was not; yet They agreed well in the Deſign of making the Duke of *York* diſcontented, and weary of his Condition; which was not pleaſant enough to be much delighted in.

The Cauſe of the Duke of York's *having left* Paris.

THE News from *England*, of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, made moſt Men believe that his Majeſty was irrecoverably loſt; and there was for ſome Time a Rumour ſcattered abroad, and by many believed, that the King was dead. Theſe two Gentlemen, upon the Fame of this, conſulted together, whether, if the News were or ſhould be true, the Duke of *York*, who muſt ſucceed, were in a good Place; and both concluded, that in that Caſe, it would not be fit that He ſhould be with his Mother. Hereupon They perſuaded the Duke, that it was not fit for him to remain idle in *France*, but to employ himſelf Abroad, whereby his Experience might be improved; and He might put himſelf into a Poſture to be able to aſſiſt the King his Brother; or if any Misfortune ſhould befal him, in ſome Degree to provide for himſelf; and propoſed to him, that He would reſolve to make a Journey to *Bruſſels*, to adviſe and conſult with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was a Prince of great Wiſdom, Wealth, and Courage; and being driven out of his own Country by too powerful and potent a Neighbour, had

had yet by his own Activity and Virtue made himſelf ſo conſiderable, that *Spain* depended upon his Army, and *France* it ſelf would be glad of his Friendſhip; that He was very rich, and would not be only able to give the Duke good Counſel, but Aſſiſtance to make it effectual.

THE Duke without farther examining the Probability (124) of the Deſign, which He concluded had been thought upon enough by two ſuch wiſe Men, gave his full Conſent to it; and They having likewiſe found Credit for ſo much Money as would defray the Charges of the Journey, and really believing that the King was dead, the Duke one Day told the Queen, that He was reſolved to make a Journey to *Bruſſels* to ſee the Duke of *Lorrain*; with which the Queen being ſurprized, uſed both her Reaſon and her Authority to diſſuade him from it, but could not prevail by either; his Highneſs telling her very obſtinately, that He would begin his Journey within two Days. She found that none of his Servants were privy to the Deſign, or were at all acquainted with the Purpoſe; and quickly diſcovered the two Counſellors; who having no Relation to his Service that She knew, were prepared to wait on him, and had drawn Dr. *Steward* (who was Dean of the Chapel to the King, and left behind, when his Majeſty went for *Scotland*, with Direction to be with the Duke of *York*) to be of their Party.

Character of Dr. Steward.

THE Doctor was a very honeſt, and learned Gentleman; and moſt converſant in that Learning, which vindicated the Dignity and Authority of the Church, upon which his Heart was moſt entirely ſet; not without ſome Prejudice to thoſe, who thought there was any other Object to be more carefully purſued. Sir *George Ratcliffe* ſeemed to be of his Mind; and ſo was looked upon by him as one of the beſt Friends of the Church, which was Virtue enough to cover many Defects. He told him of the Rumour of the Death of the King, and what Conference had been between him and the Attorney General upon it, which They both believed; and how neceſſary They thought it was for the Duke to be out of *France*, when the Certainty of that News ſhould arrive: That They had ſpoken with the Duke of it, who ſeemed very well diſpoſed; yet They knew not how his Mother's Authority might prevail over his Obedience; and therefore wiſhed that He would ſpeak with the Duke, who had great Reverence for him in all Matters of Conſcience, and

remove

remove any Scruples which might ariſe. The Doctor did not think himſelf ſo much regarded by the Queen, as He expected to be; and did really believe the Caſe to be ſuch as the other had informed him; and confirmed the Duke in his Reſolution, notwithſtanding any Thing his Mother ſhould ſay to the contrary; and the Queen could neither ſay, or do any Thing to diſſuade him from the Journey.

THE Lord *Byron* his Governour, and Mr. *Bennet* his Secretary, both well liked by the Queen, and of great Confidence in each other, thought it their Duty to attend upon him. Sir *John Berkley* ſtaid behind, as well to avoid the being inferior to another, which He always abhorred, as to proſecute an Amour, which He was newly embarked in; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Edward Herbert*, and the good Doctor were ſo to improve their Intereſt, that neither the Queen, or any who depended on her, might have any Credit with the Duke. Moſt of the inferior Servants depended upon them, becauſe They ſaw They had moſt Intereſt with their Maſter; and with theſe Thoughts and Reſolutions, They all ſet out for *Bruſſels*; and theſe wild Notions were the true Reaſons, and Foundation of that Journey, which many ſober Men ſo much wondered at then, and ſo much cenſured afterwards.

WHEN his Highneſs came to *Bruſſels*, He was accommodated in the Houſe of Sir *Henry De Vic*, the King's Reſident there: And He was no ſooner there, but They began to model his Houſe, and regulate his Family; to-
(125) wards which, Sir *George Ratcliffe* was deſigned to manage all the Affairs of Money; the Attorney contenting himſelf with having the greateſt Power in governing the Councils; and all looking for other Stations upon the Arrival of the News from *Scotland*. But in a ſhort Time the Intelligence from thence was quite contrary to what They expected; the King was not only in good Health, but his Affairs in no deſperate Condition; all Factions ſeemed reconciled; and He was at the Head of an Army that looked *Cromwell* in the Face.

HEREUPON They were at a great Stand in their Councils. The Duke of *Lorrain* had been civil to the Duke, and had at his firſt coming lent him ſome Money; but when He found he was without any Deſign, and by what Perſons his Counſels were directed, He grew colder in his Reſpects: And They who had gone thus far, took upon

them the Preſumption to propoſe a Marriage between the Duke of *York*, and a natural Daughter of the Duke of *Lorrain*; his Marriage with *Madame de Cantecroix*, the Mother of the ſaid Lady, being declared void in the Court of *Rome:* But the Duke of *Lorrain* was ſo wiſe as not to entertain the Motion, except it ſhould be made with the King's Privity. So apt are unexperienced Men, when They are once out of the Way, to wander into Bogs and Precipices, before They will be ſenſible of their falſe Conduct. When They found there was Nothing to be done at *Bruſſels*, They perſuaded the Duke to go to the *Hague*, with as little Deſign; and when They had wearied all People there, They came to *Breda*, where the Chancellor had met them.

The State of the Duke of York's Family at Breda.

THE Duke himſelf was ſo young, that He was rather delighted with the Journeys He had made, than ſenſible that He had not entered upon them with Reaſon enough; and They had fortified him with a firm Reſolution, never to acknowledge that He had committed any Error. But his Counſellors had loſt all the Pleaſure of their Combination; and reproached each other of their Follies and Preſumptions, with all the Animoſity imaginable. The Lord *Byron* and Mr. *Bennet*, who had comforted each other in their Sufferings, were glad enough to ſee that there was ſome End put to their Peregrinations; and that by returning to the Queen, They were like to find ſome Reſt again: And They entertained the Chancellor with many ridiculous Relations of the Politicks of the Attorney and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and of the pleaſant Diſcourſes the Duke of *Lorrain* made of the *Latin* Orations, Sir *George Ratcliffe* had entertained him with.

ON the other Hand, Sir *George* was well pleaſed with the Grace He had received from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and with the Teſtimony He had given of him to ſome Men, who had told him of it again, that He was a very grave and a wiſe Man; and that He wiſhed He had ſuch another to look after his Affairs. He, and Dr. *Steward* continued their Affections towards each other; and concurred in moſt bitter Invectives againſt Sir *Edward Herbert*, as a mad Man, and of that intolerable Pride, that it was not poſſible for any Man to converſe with him; and the Attorney as frankly reproached them all, with being Men of no Parts, of no Underſtanding, no Learning, no Principles, and no Reſolution; and was ſo juſt to them all,

all, as to contemn every Man alike; and in Truth, had rendered himſelf ſo grievous to them all, and behaved himſelf ſo inſolently towards all, that there was not a Man who deſired to be in his Company: Yet by the Knack of his Talk, which was the moſt like Reaſon, and not it, He retained ſtill great Credit with the Duke; who being (126) ſtill confounded with his poſitive Diſcourſe, thought him to be wiſer than thoſe who were more eaſy to be underſtood.

THE Duke upon the Receipt of the Queen's Letters, which the Chancellor delivered to him, reſolved upon his Journey to *Paris*, without farther Delay; and the Chancellor waiting upon his Highneſs as far as *Antwerp*, He proſecuted his Journey with the ſame Retinue He had carried with him; and was received by his Mother without thoſe Expoſtulations and Reprehenſions, which He might have expected; though her Severity was the ſame towards all thoſe, who She thought had the Credit and Power to ſeduce him.

THE Chancellor was now at a little Reſt again with his own Family in *Antwerp*, and had Time to be vacant to his own Thoughts, and Books; and in the Interval to enjoy the Converſation of many worthy Perſons of his own Nation, who had choſen that Place to ſpend the Time of their Baniſhment in. There was the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, who having married a young Lady, confined himſelf moſt to her Company, and lived as retired, as his ruined Condition in *England* obliged him to; yet with Honour and Decency, and with much Reſpect paid him by all Men, as well Foreigners, as thoſe of his own Country. The Converſation the Chancellor took moſt Delight in, was that of Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, Brother to the Marquis; who was one of the moſt extraordinary Perſons of that Age, in all the noble Endowments of the Mind. He had all the Diſadvantages imaginable in his Perſon; which was not only of ſo ſmall a Size, that it drew the Eyes of Men upon him; but with ſuch Deformity in his little Perſon, and an Aſpect in his Countenance, that was apter to raiſe Contempt than Application: But in this unhandſome or homely Habitation, there was a Mind and a Soul lodged that was very lovely and beautiful; cultivated, and poliſhed by all the Knowledge and Wiſdom, that Arts and Sciences could ſupply it with. He was a great Philoſopher, in the Ex-

The Chancellor's Friendſhip with, and Character of Sir Charles Cavendiſh.

tent of it; and an excellent Mathematician; whoſe Correſpondence was very dear to *Gaſſendus* and *Deſcartes*; the laſt of which dedicated ſome of his Works to him. He had very notable Courage; and the Vigour of his Mind ſo adorned his Body, that being with his Brother the Marquis in all the War, He uſually went out in all Parties, and was preſent, and charged the Enemy in all Battles, with as keen a Courage as could dwell in the Heart of Man. But then the Gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition, the Humility and Meekneſs of his Nature, and the Vivacity of his Wit was admirable. He was ſo modeſt, that He could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himſelf on Subjects He underſtood better than other Men, except He were preſſed by his very familiar Friends; as if He thought it Preſumption to know more than handſomer Men uſe to do. Above all, his Virtue and Piety was ſuch, that no Temptation could work upon him to conſent to any Thing, that ſwerved in the leaſt Degree from the preciſe Rules of Honour, or the moſt ſevere Rules of Conſcience.

When He was exceedingly importuned by thoſe whom He loved beſt to go into *England*, and compound for his Eſtate, which was very good, that thereby He might be enabled to help his Friends, who were reduced into great Streights; He refuſed it, out of Apprehenſion that He might be required to take the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or to do ſomewhat elſe, which his Conſcience would not permit him to do: And when They endeavoured to undervalue that Conſcience, and to perſuade him not to be governed by it, that would expoſe him to Famine, and reſtrain him from being charitable to his beſt Friends; He was ſo offended with their Argumentation, that He (127) would no more admit any Diſcourſe upon the Subject. Upon which They applied themſelves to the Chancellor, who They thought had moſt Credit with him; and deſired him to perſuade him to make a Journey into *England*, the Benefit whereof to him and themſelves was very intelligible; but informed him not of his Refuſal, and the Arguments They uſed to convert him.

The Chancellor perſuades Sir Charles Cavendiſh *to go into* England.

The next Time They met, which They uſually did once a Day, the Chancellor told him, He heard He had a Purpoſe to make a Journey into *England*; to which He ſuddenly anſwered, that indeed He was deſired to do ſo, but that He had poſitively refuſed; and thereupon with much

much Warmth and Indignation, related what Importunity, and what Arguments had been uſed to him, and what He had anſwered: And thereupon ſaid, that his preſent Condition was in no Degree pleaſant or eaſy to him (as in Truth it was not, He being in very viſible Want of ordinary Conveniences) but, He proteſted, that He would rather ſubmit to Nakedneſs, or ſtarving in the Street, than ſubſcribe to the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or do any Thing elſe that might trench upon his Honour or his Conſcience. To which the Chancellor replied, that his Reſolution became him, and was worthy of his Wiſdom and Honeſty; and that if He found him inclined to do any Thing that might trench upon either, He was ſo much his Friend, that He would put him in Mind of his Obligations to both; that indeed the Arguments which had been uſed to him could never prevail upon a virtuous Mind; however, He told him, He thought the Motion from his Friends might be a little more conſidered, before it was rejected; and confeſſed to him that He was deſired to confer with him about it, and to diſpoſe him to it; without being informed, that any Attempt had been already made: And then aſked him, whether He did in Truth believe, that his Journey thither might probably produce thoſe Benefits to himſelf and his Friends, as They imagined; and then it would be fit to conſider whether thoſe Conveniences were to be purchaſed at a dearer Price than they were worth.

HE anſwered, there could be no Doubt, but that if He could go thither with Safety, and be admitted to compound for his Eſtate, as others did, He could then ſell it at ſo good a Price, that He could not only provide for a competent Subſiſtence for himſelf, when He returned, but likewiſe aſſiſt his Friends for their better Support; and that He could otherwiſe, out of Lands that were in Truſt, and not known to be his, and ſo had not been yet ſequeſtered, raiſe other Sums of Money, which would be attended with many Conveniences; and He confeſſed Nothing of all this could be done without his own Preſence. But then that which deprived him of all this was, in the firſt Place, the Apprehenſion of Impriſonment, which, He ſaid, his Conſtitution would not bear; but eſpecially, becauſe by their own Ordinance, no Body was capable to compound, till He had ſubſcribed to the *Covenant* and *Engagement*; which He would not

do to ſave his Life; and that in what Neceſſity ſoever He was, He valued what Benefit He could poſſibly receive by the Journey, only as it might conſiſt with his Innocence, and Liberty to return; and ſince He could not reaſonably preſume of either, He had no Thought of going.

THE Chancellor told him, that They were both of the ſame Mind in all Things which related to Conſcience and Honour; but yet, ſince the Benefits which might reſult from this Journey were great, and very probable, and in ſome Degree certain, and the Miſchiefs He apprehended were not certain, and poſſibly might be avoided, He thought He was not to lay aſide all Thoughts of the (128) Journey, which He was ſo importuned to undertake by thoſe who were ſo dear to him. That He was of the Few who had many Friends, and no Enemies; and therefore had no Reaſon to fear Impriſonment, or any other Rigour extraordinary, which was ſeldom uſed, but to Perſons under ſome notable Prejudice. That after He once came to *London*, He would not take much Pleaſure in going abroad; but might diſpatch his Buſineſs by others, who would repair to him: And that for the *Covenant* and *Engagement*, they were ſo contrary, that both were rarely offered to the ſame Perſon; and They had now ſo much juſtled, and reviled each other, that they were neither in ſo much Credit as they had been, and were not preſſed, but upon ſuch Perſons, againſt whom They had a particular Deſign; however He went well armed as to that Point, with a Reſolution not to ſubmit to either; and the worſt that could happen, was to return without the full Effect of his Journey. Whereas if thoſe Miſchiefs could be avoided, which the ſkilfull upon the Place could only inſtruct him in, He would return with great Benefit and Satisfaction to himſelf and his Friends: And if He were ſubjected to Impriſonment (which He ought not to apprehend, and could be but ſhort) even in that Caſe, his Journey could not be without Fruit, by the Conference and Tranſactions with his Friends; though no Compoſition could be made. Upon revolving theſe Conſiderations, He reſolved to undertake the Journey; and performed it ſo happily, without thoſe Obſtructions He feared, that He finiſhed all He propoſed to himſelf, and made a competent Proviſion to ſupport his Brother during his Diſtreſs; though when He had

diſpatched

diſpatched it, He lived not to enjoy the Repoſe He deſired, but died before He could return to *Antwerp*; and the Marquis ever after publickly acknowledged the Benefit He received hereby to the Chancellor's Advice.

As ſoon as the Chancellor had repoſed himſelf at *Antwerp*, after ſo much Fatigue, He thought it neceſſary to give ſome Account of himſelf to the King; and though the Prohibition before his going into *Scotland*, and the ſending away many of the Servants who attended him thither out of the Kingdom, made it unfit for him to repair thither himſelf; He reſolved to ſend his Secretary (a Man of Fidelity, and well known to the King) to inform his Majeſty of all that had paſſed, and to bring back
(128) his Commands; but when He was at *Amſterdam*, ready to embark upon a Ship bound for *Scotland*, the News arrived there of his Majeſty's being upon his March for *England*; upon which He returned to *Antwerp*; where He found the Spirits of all the *Engliſh* exalted with the ſame Advertiſement.

As ſoon as the King came to *Paris* (after his wonderful Deliverance from the Battle of *Worceſter*) and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, his Majeſty ſent to him to repair thither, which He accordingly did; and for the firſt four or five Days after his Arrival, the King ſpent many Hours with him in Private, and informed him of many Particulars of the Treatment He had met with in *Scotland*; of his March into *England*; of the Confuſion at *Worceſter*; and all the Circumſtances of his happy Eſcape and Deliverance. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 332.

THE Chancellor was yet looked upon with no ungracious Eye by her Majeſty; only the Lord *Jermyn* knew well He would never reſign himſelf to be diſpoſed of, which was the Temper that could only endear any Man to him: For beſides former Experience, an Attempt had
(129) been lately made upon him by Sir *John Berkley*; who told him, that the Queen had a good Opinion of him, and knew well in how ill a Condition He muſt be, in Reſpect of his Subſiſtence; and that She would aſſign him ſuch a competent Maintenance, that He ſhould be able to draw his Family to him out of *Flanders* to *Paris*, and to live comfortably together, if She might be confident of his Service, and that He would always concur with her in his Advice to the King. To which He anſwered,

The Queen endeavours to attach the Chancellor to her Intereſt.

ſwered, that He ſhould never fail in performing his Duty to the Queen, whom He acknowledged to be his moſt gracious Miſtreſs, with all poſſible Integrity: But as He was a Servant and Counſellor to the King, ſo He ſhould always conſider what was good for his Service, and never decline that out of any Compliance whatſoever; and that He did not deſire to be ſupported from any Bounty but the King's; nor more by his, than in Proportion with what his Majeſty ſhould be able to do for his other Servants. And ſhortly after the Queen herſelf ſpeaking with him, and complaining that She had no Credit with the King, the Chancellor deſired her not to think ſo; He knew well the King had great Duty for her, which He would ſtill preſerve towards her; but as it would not be fit for her to affect ſuch an Intereſt as to be thought to govern, ſo Nothing could be more diſadvantageous to the King and to his Intereſt, than that the World ſhould believe that He was abſolutely governed by his Mother; which He found (though She ſeemed to conſent to it) was no acceptable Declaration to her. However She did often employ him to the King, upon ſuch Particulars as troubled, or offended her; as once for the Removal of a young Lady out of the *Louvre*, who had procured a Lodging there, without her Majeſty's Conſent; and with whom her Majeſty was juſtly offended, for the little Reſpect She ſhewed towards her Majeſty; and when the Chancellor had prevailed ſo far with the King, that He obliged the Lady to remove out of the *Louvre*, to ſatisfy his Mother, the Queen was well content that the Lady herſelf and her Friends ſhould believe, that She had undergone that Affront merely by the Malice and Credit of the Chancellor.

His Anſwer.

THE King remained at *Paris* till the Year 1654, when in the Month of *June* He left *France*; and paſſing through *Flanders*, went to *Spa*, where He propoſed to ſpend two or three Months with his Siſter, the Princeſs Royal. His Stay at *Spa* was not ſo long as He intended, the Small Pox breaking out there — His Majeſty and his Siſter ſuddenly removed to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 417, 418, 419.

* AT this Time there fell out an Accident neceſſary to be inſerted in the particular Relation of the Chancellor's

* THE Entrance of the Chancellor's Daughter into the Family of the Princeſs Royal is related in both Manuſcripts. The Fact is here retained, as beſt preſerving the Order of Time;

Life, which had afterwards an Influence upon his Fortune, and a very great one upon the Peace and Quiet of his Mind, and of his Family. When the King reſolved, immediately after the Murder of his Father, to ſend the Chancellor his Ambaſſadour into *Spain*, the Chancellor, being to begin his Journey from the *Hague*, ſent for his Wife and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*; and had at that Time only four Children, one Daughter and three Sons; all of ſo tender Years, that their own Diſcretions could contribute little to their Education. Theſe Children, under the ſole Direction of a very diſcreet Mother, He left at *Antwerp*, competently provided for, for the Space of a Year or more; hoping in that Time, to be able to ſend them ſome farther Supply; and having removed them out of *England*, to prevent any In-
(130) convenience that might befall them there, upon any Accident that might reſult from his Negotiation in *Spain*; it being in thoſe Times no unuſual Thing for the Parliament, when it had conceived any notable Diſpleaſure againſt a Man, who was out of their Reach, to ſeize upon his Wife and Children, and to impriſon them, in what Manner, and for what Time ſeemed reaſonable to them; and from this Hazard He was willing to preſerve his. The King was in *Scotland* when the Chancellor returned from his Embaſſy to *Antwerp*, where his Family had ſtill remained; his Children being grown as much as uſually attends the Space of two Years, which was the Time He had been abſent. The fatal Succeſs at *Worceſter* about this Time had put a Period to all his Majeſty's preſent Deſigns; and He had no ſooner made his wonderful Eſcape into *France*, than He ſent for the Chancellor; who left his Family, as He had done formerly, and as meanly ſupplied, and made all Haſte to *Paris*, where He found the King; with whom He remained till his Majeſty was even compelled to remove from thence into *Germany*; which was above three Years.

The Situation of the Chancellor's Family at Antwerp.

DURING that Time the Princeſs Royal had, out of her own Princely Nature and Inclination, cultivated by the Civility and Offices of the Lady *Stanhope*, conferred a very ſeaſonable Obligation upon him, by aſſigning a Houſe, that was in her Diſpoſal at *Breda*, to his Wife

They remove to Breda.

Time: The Circumſtances preceding it, from p. 201. l. 3. to p. 202. l. 28. and the Concluſion of it p. 206. l. 5. to l. 15. are tranſcribed from the Manuſcript of *The Continuation*, and therefore the whole Tranſaction is omitted in that Part of the Work.

and

and Children; who had thereupon left *Antwerp*; and without the Payment of any Houſe Rent, were more conveniently, becauſe more frugally, ſettled in their new Manſion at *Breda*; where He got Liberty to viſit them for four or five Days, whilſt the King continued his Journey to the *Spa*; and after another Abſence of near four Years, finding his Children grown, and improved after that Rate. The gracious Inclination in the Princeſs Royal towards the Chancellor's Wife and Children (not without ſome Reprehenſion from *Paris*) and the Civilities in the Lady *Stanhope*, had proceeded much from the good Offices of *Daniel O Neile* of the King's Bedchamber; who had for many Years lived in very good Correſpondence with the Chancellor; and was very acceptable in the Court of the Princeſs Royal, and to thoſe Perſons who had the greateſt Influence upon her Councils and Affections.

THE Princeſs met the King her Brother at the *Spa*, rather for the mutual Comfort They took in each other, than for the Uſe either of them had of the Waters; yet the Princeſs engaged herſelf to that Order and Diet that the Waters required; and after near a Months Stay there, They were forced ſuddenly to remove from thence, by the Sickneſs of ſome of the Princeſſes Women of the Small Pox; and reſided at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where They had been but one whole Day, when Notice came from the *Spa* that Mrs. *Killigrew*, one of the Maids of Honour to the Princeſs, was dead of the Small Pox. *O Neile* came in the Inſtant to the Chancellor with very much Kindneſs, and told him, that the Princeſs Royal had a very good Opinion of him, and kind Purpoſes towards his Family, which She knew ſuffered much for his Fidelity to the King; and therefore that She was much troubled to find that her Mother the Queen had leſs Kindneſs for him than He deſerved; that by the Death of Mrs. *Killigrew* there was a Place now fallen, which very many would deſire; and that it would no ſooner be known at *Paris*, than the Queen would undoubtedly recommend ſome Lady to the Princeſs; but He was confident that, if the Chancellor would move the King to recommend his Daughter, who was known to the Princeſs, her Highneſs would willingly receive her. He thanked him for his particular Kindneſs; but conjured him not to uſe his Intereſt to promote any ſuch Pretence; and told him that

Mr. O Neile propoſes to the Chancellor to aſk for Mrs. Killigrew's Place for his Daughter.

Which the Chancellor declines.

(131) that "himſelf would not apply the King's Favour to ſuch "a Requeſt; that He had but one Daughter, who was "all the Company and Comfort her Mother had, in her "melancholick Retirement; and therefore He was re-"ſolved not to ſeparate them, nor to diſpoſe his Daugh-"ter to a Court Life;" which He did in Truth perfectly deteſt. *O Neile*, much diſappointed with the Anſwer, and believing that the Propoſition would have been very grateful to him, confeſſed, that the Princeſs had been already moved in it by the Lady *Cheſterfield*; and that it was her own Deſire that the King ſhould move it to her, to the End, that She might be thereby ſheltered from the Reproach which She expected from the Queen; but that the Princeſs herſelf had ſo much Kindneſs for his Daughter, that She had long reſolved to have her upon the firſt Vacancy. The Chancellor was exceedingly perplexed; and reſolved Nothing more, than that his Daughter ſhould not live from her Mother; and therefore renewed his Conjurations to Mr. *O Neile*, that He would not farther promote it, ſince it would never be acceptable to him; and concluded, that his making no Application, and the Importunity of others who deſired the Honour, would put an End to the Pretence.

The King ſpeaks to him on that Subject.

THE King had heard of the Matter from the Princeſs, and willingly expected when the Chancellor would move him for his Recommendation; which when He ſaw He forbore to do, He ſpake himſelf to him of it, and aſked him, why He did not make ſuch a Suit to him; upon which the Chancellor told him all that had paſſed between *O Neile* and him; and that for many Reaſons, He declined the receiving that Obligation from the Princeſs; and therefore He had no Uſe of his Majeſty's Favour in it. The King told him plainly, that "his Siſ-"ter upon having ſeen his Daughter ſome Days, liked "her ſo well, that She deſired to have her about her Per-"ſon; and had herſelf ſpoken to him to move it to her, "for the Reaſon aforeſaid, and to prevent any Diſplea-"ſure from the Queen; and He knew not how the "Chancellor could, or why He ſhould omit ſuch an Op-"portunity of providing for his Daughter, in ſo honour-"able a Way." The Chancellor told Him, "He could "not diſpute the Reaſons with him; only that He could "not give himſelf Leave to deprive his Wife of her "Daughter's Company; nor believe that She could be "more

The Chancellor's Anſwer.

"more advantageouſly bred than under her Mother." Hereupon He went to the Princeſs, and took Notice of the Honour She was inclined to do him; but, He told Her, the Honour was not fit for him to receive, nor the Conjuncture ſeaſonable for her Royal Highneſs to confer it: That She could not but know his Condition, being deprived of his Eſtate; and if her Highneſs's Bounty had not aſſigned a Houſe at *Breda*, where his Wife and Family lived Rent free, They had not known how to have ſubſiſted: But by that her Favour, the ſmall Supplies his Friends in *England* ſecretly ſent over to them, ſuſtained them in that private Retirement in which They lived; ſo that it was not in his Power to make his Daughter ſuch an Allowance, as would enable her to live in her Court, in that Manner as would become her Relation.

His Diſcourſe with the Princeſs Royal.

The Princeſs would not permit him to enlarge; but very generouſly told him, that She knew well the Streightneſs of his Condition, and how it came to be ſo low; and had no Thought, that He ſhould be at the Charge to maintain his Daughter in her Service; that He ſhould leave that to Her: And ſo uſed many Expreſſions of Eſteem of him, and of Kindneſs and Grace to his Daughter. He foreſeeing, and expecting ſuch Generoſity, replied to her, that ſince her Goodneſs diſpoſed her to ſuch an Act of Charity and Honour, it became his Duty and Gratitude to provide, that She ſhould bring no Inconvenience upon (132) herſelf: That He had the Misfortune (with all the Innocence and Integrity imaginable) to be more in the Queen her Mother's Diſfavour, than any Gentleman, who had had the Honour to ſerve the Crown ſo many Years in ſome Truſt; that all the Application He could make, nor the King's own Interpoſition, could prevail with her Majeſty to receive him into her gracious Opinion; and that He could not but know, that this unſeaſonable Act of Charity, which her Highneſs would vouchſafe to ſo ungracious a Family, would produce ſome Reſentment and Diſpleaſure from the Queen her Mother towards her Highneſs, and increaſe the Weight of her ſevere Indignation againſt him, which ſo heavily oppreſſed him already; and therefore He reſolved to prevent that Miſchief, which would undoubtedly befall her Highneſs; and would not ſubmit to the receiving the Fruits of her favourable Condeſcenſion.

To

To this the Princeſs anſwered with ſome Warmth, that She had always paid that Duty to the Queen her Mother, which was due to her; and would never give her a juſt Cauſe to be offended with her: But that She was Miſtreſs of her own Family, and might receive what Servants She pleaſed; and that She ſhould commit a great Fault againſt the Queen, if She ſhould forbear to do a good and a juſt Action, to which She was inclined, out of Apprehenſion that her Majeſty would be offended at it. She ſaid, She knew ſome ill Offices had been done him to her Mother, for which She was ſorry; and doubted not, but her Majeſty would in due Time diſcern that She had been miſinformed, and miſtaken; and then She would like and approve of what her Highneſs ſhould now do. In the mean Time She was reſolved to take his Daughter, and would ſend for her as She returned into *Holland*. The Chancellor, not in any Degree converted, but confounded with the gracious and frank Diſcourſe of the Princeſs Royal, knew not what more to ſay; replied only, that He hoped her Highneſs would think better of what She ſeemed to undervalue, and that He left his Daughter to be diſpoſed of by her Mother, who He knew would be very unwilling to part with her; upon which her Highneſs anſwered, "I'll warrant you, my Lady and I will "agree upon the Matter." To conclude this Diſcourſe, which, conſidering what fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be remembered, He knew his Wife had no Inclination to have her Daughter out of her own Company; and when He had by Letter informed her of all that had paſſed, He endeavoured to confirm her in that Reſolution: But when the Princeſs after her Return into *Holland* ſent to her, and renewed her gracious Offer, She, upon Conſultation with Dr. *Morley* (who upon the old Friendſhip between the Chancellor and him, choſe in his Baniſhment, from the Murder of the King, to make his Reſidence for the moſt Part in his Family, and was always perfectly kind to all his Intereſts) believed it might prove for her Daughter's Benefit; and writ to her Huſband her Opinion, and that the Doctor concurred in the ſame.

THE Chancellor looked upon the Matter itſelf, and all the Circumſtances thereof, as having ſome Marks of Divine Providence, which He would not reſiſt; and ſo referred it wholly to his Wife: Who when She had preſented

His Wife accepts the Offer, and presents her Daughter to the Princeſs.

ſented her Daughter to the Princeſs, came herſelf to reſide with her Huſband, to his great Comfort; and which He could not have enjoyed, if the other Separation had not been made; and poſſibly that Conſideration had the more eaſily diſpoſed her to conſent to the other. We have now ſet down all the Paſſages and Circumſtances which accompanied, or attended that Lady's firſt Promotion to the Service of the Princeſs Royal; which the extreme Averſeneſs in her Father and Mother from embracing that Opportunity, and the unuſual Grace and Importunity from them who conferred the Honour, being conſidered, there may appear to many an extraordinary Operation of Providence, in giving the firſt Riſe to what afterwards ſucceeded; though of a Nature ſo tranſcendent, as cannot be thought to have any Relation to it. (133)

After an unſucceſsful Inſurrection of ſome of the King's Friends in *England*, *Cromwell* exerciſed the utmoſt Severity and Cruelty againſt them; putting many to Death, and tranſporting others, as Slaves, to *Barbadoes*; and by his own Authority, and that of his Council, made an Order, that all Perſons who had ever borne Arms for, or declared themſelves of, the Royal Party, ſhould be decimated; that is, pay a tenth Part of all the Eſtate They had left, to ſupport the Charge of the Commonwealth; and publiſhed a Declaration to juſtify his Proceedings: *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. from P. 429 to 444. which confidently ſet down ſuch Maxims, as made it manifeſt to all who had ever ſerved the King, or would not ſubmit to *Cromwell*'s Power and Government, that They had Nothing that They could call their own, but muſt be diſpoſed of at his Pleaſure; which as much concerned all other Parties, as the King's, in the Conſequence.

Cromwell publiſhes a Declaration juſtifying his Order for decimating the King's Party.

This Declaration, as ſoon as printed, was ſent over to *Cologne*, *where the King then was*, and the Chancellor was commanded by the King to write ſome Diſcourſe upon it, to awaken the People, and ſhew them their Concernment in it; which He did by Way of *a Letter to a Friend*; which was likewiſe ſent into *England*, and there printed; and when *Cromwell* called his next Parliament, it was made great Uſe of to inflame the People, and make them ſenſible of the Deſtruction that attended them; and was thought then to produce many good Effects. And ſo We conclude this Part.

To which the Chancellor by the King's Command writes an Anſwer.

Conclusion.

Montpelier, 27th of *May*, 1670.

THE Seventh and laſt Part of the Manuſcript is dated at Montpelier, Auguſt *the 1ſt*, 1670, *and continues the Hiſtory from the King's Reſidence at* Cologne, *to the Reſtoration of the Royal Family in* 1660; *containing the Subſtance of what is printed in the two laſt Books of* The Hiſtory of the Rebellion. *The only remarkable Circumſtance of the Author's Life during that Period is, that in the Year* 1657, *while the King was at* Bruges, *his Majeſty appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be Lord High Chancellor of* England; *and delivered the Great Seal into his Cuſtody, upon the Death of Sir* Edward Herbert, *the laſt Lord Keeper thereof.* Hiſt of the Reb. *Folio, Vol.* 3. *P.* 480.

THE

THE

CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD EARL of *CLARENDON*

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*,

AND

CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*.

From the Reſtoration in 1660, to his Baniſhment in 1667.

THE CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

Molins, 8th Day of *June*, 1672.

Reflections upon the moſt material Paſſages which happened after the King's Reſtoration to the Time of the Chancellor's Baniſhment; out of which his Children, for whoſe Information they are only collected, may add ſome important Paſſages to his Life, as the true Cauſe of his Misfortunes.

(1) THE eaſy and glorious Reception of the King, in the Manner that hath been mentioned, without any other Conditions than what had been frankly offered by himſelf in his Declaration and Letters from *Breda*; the Parliament's caſting themſelves in a Body at his Feet, in the Minute of his Arrival at *Whitehall*, with all the Profeſſions of Duty and Submiſſion imaginable; and no Man having Authority there, but They who had either eminently ſerved the late King, or who were ſince grown up out of their Nonage from ſuch Fathers, and had thoroughly manifeſted their faſt Fidelity to his preſent Majeſty; the reſt who had been enough criminal, *The Author's Preface.*

ſhewing more Animoſity towards the ſevere Puniſhment of thoſe, who having more Power in the late Times had exceeded them in Miſchief, than Care for their own Indemnity: This Temper ſufficiently evident, and the univerſal Joy of the People, which was equally viſible, for the total Suppreſſion of all thoſe who had ſo many Years exerciſed Tyranny over them, made moſt Men believe both abroad and at Home, that God had not only reſtored the King miraculouſly to his Throne, but that He had, as He did in the Time of *Hezekiah*, *prepared the People, for the Thing was done ſuddenly*, (2 *Chron.* xxix. 36.) in ſuch a Manner, that his Authority and Greatneſs would have been more illuſtrious, than it had been in any of his Anceſtors. And it is moſt true, and muſt never be denied, that the People were admirably diſpoſed and prepared to pay all the Subjection, Duty and Obedience, that a juſt and prudent King could expect from them, and had a very ſharp Averſion and Deteſtation of all thoſe who had formerly miſled and corrupted them; ſo that, except the General, who ſeemed to be poſſeſſed entirely of the Affection of the Army, and whoſe Fidelity was now above any Miſapprehenſion, there appeared no Man whoſe Power and Intereſt could in any Degree ſhake or endanger the Peace and Security the King was in; the Congratulations for his Return being ſo univerſal, from all the Counties of *England*, as well as from the Parliament and City; from all thoſe who had moſt ſignally diſſerved and diſclaimed him, as well as from thoſe of his own Party and thoſe who were deſcended from them: Inſomuch as the King was wont merrily to ſay, as hath been mentioned before, "that it could be Nobody's Fault "but his own that He had ſtayed ſo long abroad, when "all Mankind wiſhed him ſo heartily at Home." It cannot therefore but be concluded by the Standers by, and the Spectators of this wonderful Change and Exclamation of all Degrees of Men, that there muſt be ſome wonderful Miſcarriages in the State, or ſome unheard of Defect of Underſtanding in thoſe who were truſted by the King in the Adminiſtration of his Affairs; that there could in ſo ſhort a Time be a new Revolution in the general Affections of the People, that They grew even weary of that Happineſs They were poſſeſſed of and had ſo much valued, and fell into the ſame Diſcontents and Murmurings which had naturally accompanied them in the worſt (2)

Times.

Times. From what fatal Cauſes theſe miſerable Effects were produced, is the Buſineſs of this preſent Diſquiſition
(2) to examine, and in ſome Degree to diſcover; and therefore muſt be of ſuch a Nature, as muſt be as tenderly handled, with Reference to Things and Perſons, as the Diſcovery of the Truth will permit; and cannot be preſumed to be intended ever for a publick View, or for more than the Information of his Children of the true Source and Grounds from whence their Father's Misfortunes proceeded, in which Nothing can be found that can make them aſhamed of his Memory.

THE King brought with him from beyond the Seas that Council which had always attended him, and whoſe Advice He had always received in his Tranſactions of greateſt Importance; and his ſmall Family, that conſiſted of Gentlemen who had for the moſt Part been put about him by his Father, and conſtantly waited upon his Perſon in all his Diſtreſs, with as much Submiſſion and Patience undergoing their Part in it, as could reaſonably be expected from ſuch a People; and therefore had the keener Appetites, and the ſtronger Preſumption to puſh on their Fortunes (as They called it) in the Infancy of their Maſter's Reſtoration, that other Men might not be preferred before them, who had not *borne the Heat of the Day*, as They had done.

(3) OF the Council were the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who lived in great Unity and Concurrence in the Communication of the moſt ſecret Counſels. There had been more of his Council abroad with him, who, according to the Motions He made and the Places He had reſided in, were ſome Times with him, but other remained in *France*, or in ſome Parts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, for their Convenience, ready to repair to his Majeſty when They ſhould be called. The four nominated above were They who conſtantly attended, were privy to all Counſels, and waited upon him in his Return. *The King's Council at the Reſtoration.*

THE Chancellor was the higheſt in Place, and thought to be ſo in Truſt, becauſe He was moſt in private with the King, had managed moſt of the ſecret Correſpondence in *England*, and all Diſpatches of Importance had paſſed through his Hands; which had hitherto been with the *Lord Chancellor* Hyde.

leſs Envy, becauſe the indefatigable Pains He took were very viſible, and it was as viſible that He gained Nothing by it. His Wants and Neceſſities were as great as any Man's, nor was the Allowance aſſigned to him by the King in the leaſt Degree more, or better paid, than every one of the Council received. Beſides, the Friendſhip was ſo entire between the Marquis of *Ormond* and him, that no Arts that were uſed could diſſolve it; and it was enough known, that as He had an entire and full Confidence from the King and a greater Eſteem than any Man, ſo, that the Chancellor ſo entirely communicated all Particulars with him, that there was not the leaſt Reſolution taken without his Privity and Approbation. The Chancellor had been employed by the laſt King in all the Affairs of the greateſt Truſt and Secrecy; had been made Privy Counſellor and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the very Beginning of the Troubles; and had been ſent by that King into the *Weſt* with his Son, when He thought their Intereſt would be beſt preſerved and provided for by ſeparating their Perſons. A greater Teſtimony and Recommendation a Servant could not receive from his Maſter, than the King gave of him to the Prince, who from that Time treated him with as much Affection and Confidence as any Man, and which (notwithſtanding very powerful Oppoſition) He continued and improved to this Time of his Reſtoration; and even then rejected ſome Intimations rather than Propoſitions which were ſecretly made to him at the *Hague*, that the Chancellor was a Man very much in the Prejudice of the Preſbyterian Party, as in Truth He was, and therefore that his Majeſty would do beſt to leave him behind, till He ſhould be himſelf ſettled in *England:* Which the King received with that Indignation and Diſdain, and anſwered the Perſon, who privately preſumed to give the Advice, in ſuch a Manner, that He was troubled no more with the Importunity, nor did any Man ever own the Advice. Yet the Chancellor had beſought the King upon ſome Rumours which had been ſpread, that if any Exception or Prejudice to his Perſon ſhould be ſo inſiſted on, as might delay his Return one Hour, He would decline giving him any Protection, till He ſhould find it more in his Power, after his Arrival in *England:* Which Deſire of his, though it found no Reception with the King, proceeded from ſo much Sincerity, that it is well known, the Chancellor

did

did poſitively reſolve, that if any ſuch Thing had been urged by any Authority, He would render the King's Indulgence and Grace of no Inconvenience to his Majeſty, by his ſecret and voluntary withdrawing himſelf, without his Privity, and without the Reach of his Diſcovery for ſome Time: So far He was from being biaſſed by his own particular Benefit and Advantage.

(4) THE Marquis of *Ormond* was the Perſon of the greateſt Quality, Eſtate and Reputation, who had frankly engaged his Perſon and his Fortune in the King's Service from the firſt Hour of the Troubles, and purſued it with that Courage and Conſtancy, that when the King was murdered, and He deſerted by the *Iriſh*, contrary to the Articles of the Peace which they had made with him, and when He could make no longer Defence, He refuſed all the Conditions which *Cromwell* offered, who would have given him all his vaſt Eſtate, if He would have been contented to have lived quietly in ſome of his own Houſes, without farther concerning himſelf in the Quarrel; and tranſported himſelf, without ſo much as accepting a Paſs from his Authority, in a little weak Veſſel into *France*, where He found the King, from whom He never parted till He returned with him into *England*. And having thus merited as much as a Subject can do from a Prince, He had much more Credit and Eſteem with the King than any other Man: And the Luſtre the Chancellor was in, was no leſs from the declared Friendſhip the Marquis had for him, than from the great Truſt his Majeſty repoſed in him. *The Marquis of* Ormond.

THE Lord *Colepepper* was a Man of great Parts, a very ſharp and preſent Wit, and an univerſal Underſtanding; ſo that few Men filled a Place in Council with more Sufficiency, or expreſſed themſelves upon any Subject that occurred with more Weight and Vigour. He had been truſted by the late King (who had a ſingular Opinion of his Courage and other Abilities) to wait upon the Prince when He left his Father, and continued ſtill afterwards with him, or in his Service, and in a good Correſpondence with the Chancellor. *The Lord* Colepepper.

SECRETARY *Nicholas* was a Man of general good Reputation with all Men, of unqueſtionable Integrity and long Experience in the Service of the Crown; whom the late King truſted as much as any Man to his Death. He was one of thoſe who were excepted by the Parliament *Secretary* Nicholas.

ment from Pardon or Compoſition, and ſo was compelled to leave the Kingdom ſhortly after *Oxford* was delivered up, when the King was in the Hands of the *Scots*. The preſent King continued him in the Office of Secretary of State, which He had ſo long held under his Father. He was a Man of great Gravity, and without any ambitious or private Deſigns; and had ſo faſt a Friendſhip with the Chancellor for many Years, that He was very well content and without any Jealouſy for his making many Diſpatches and other Tranſactions, which more immediately related to his Office, and which indeed were always made with his Privity and Concurrence.

THIS was the State and Conſtitution of the King's Council, and his Family, when He embarked in *Holland*, and landed at *Dover:* The Additions and Alterations which were after made will be mentioned in their Place.

IT will be convenient here, before We deſcend to thoſe Particulars which had an Influence upon the Minds of Men, to take a clear View of the Temper and Spirit of that Time; of the Nature and Inclination of the Army; of the Diſpoſition and Intereſt of the ſeveral Factions in Religion, all which appeared in their ſeveral Colours without diſſembling their Principles, and with equal Confidence demanded the Liberty of Conſcience They had enjoyed in and ſince the Time of *Cromwell*; and the Humour and the preſent Purpoſe and Deſign of the Parliament itſelf, to whoſe Judgment and Determination the whole Settlement of the Kingdom both in Church and State ſtood referred by the King's own Declaration from *Breda*, which by God's Inſpiration had been the ſole viſible Motive to that wonderful Change that had enſued.

The Temper and Spirit of that Time.

And whoſoever takes a Proſpect of all thoſe ſeveral Paſſions and Appetites and Intereſts, together with the divided Affections, Jealouſies and Animoſities, of thoſe who had been always looked upon as the King's Party, which if united would in that Conjuncture have been powerful enough to have ballanced all the other: I ſay, whoever truly and ingenuouſly conſiders and reflects upon all this Compoſition of contradictory Wiſhes and Expectations, muſt confeſs that the King was not yet the Maſter of the Kingdom, nor his Authority and Security ſuch as the general Noiſe and Acclamation, the Bells and the Bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no Conjuncture more Need, that the Virtue and Wiſdom and Induſtry (5)

duſtry of a Prince ſhould be evident and made manifeſt in the Preſervation of his Dignity, and in the Application of his Mind to the Government of his Affairs; and that all who were eminently truſted by him ſhould be Men of unqueſtionable Sincerity, who with Induſtry and Dexterity ſhould firſt endeavour to compoſe the publick Diſorders, and to provide for the Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, before They applied themſelves to make or improve their own particular Fortunes. And there is little Queſtion, but if this good Method had been purſued, and the Reſolutions of that Kind, which the King had ſeriouſly taken beyond the Seas, when He firſt diſcerned his good Fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved; the Hearts and Affections of all Degrees of Men were ſo prepared by their own natural Inclinations and Integrity, by what They had ſeen and what They had ſuffered, by their Obſervations and Experience, by their Fears or by their Hopes; that They might have been all kneaded into a firm and conſtant Obedience and Reſignation to the King's Authority, and to a laſting Eſtabliſhment of monarchick Power in all the juſt Extents which the King could expect, or Men of any publick or honeſt Affections could wiſh or ſubmit to.

Importunate Solicitations made to the King at Canterbury *by ſome Royaliſts.*

THE firſt Mortification the King met with was as ſoon as He arrived at *Canterbury*, which was within three Hours after He landed at *Dover*; and where He found many of thoſe who were juſtly looked upon, from their own Sufferings or thoſe of their Fathers, and their conſtant adhering to the ſame Principles, as of the King's Party, who with Joy waited to kiſs his Hand, and were received by him with thoſe open Arms and flowing Expreſſions of Grace, calling all thoſe by their Names who were known to him, that They eaſily aſſured themſelves of the Accompliſhment of all their Deſires from ſuch a generous Prince. And ſome of them, that They might not loſe the firſt Opportunity, forced him to give them preſent Audience, in which They reckoned up the inſupportable Loſſes undergone by themſelves or their Fathers, and ſome Services of their own; and thereupon demanded the preſent Grant or Promiſe of ſuch or ſuch an Office. Some, for the real ſmall Value of one though of the firſt *Claſſis*, preſſed for two or three with ſuch Confidence and Importunity, and with ſuch tedious Diſcourſes, that the King was extremely nauſeated with their Suits, though his Modeſty

deſty knew not how to break from them; that He no ſooner got into his Chamber, which for ſome Hours He was not able to do, than He lamented the Condition to which He found He muſt be ſubject: And did in Truth from that Minute contract ſuch a Prejudice againſt the Perſons of ſome of thoſe, though of the greateſt Quality, for the Indecency and Incongruity of their Pretences, that He never afterwards received their Addreſſes with his uſual Grace or Patience, and rarely granted any Thing They deſired, though the Matter was more reaſonable, and the Manner of aſking much more modeſt.

Monk recommends a Liſt of Privy Counſellors to the King.

(6) But there was another Mortification which immediately ſucceeded this, that gave him much more Trouble, and in which He knew not how to comport himſelf. The General, after He had given all neceſſary Orders to his Troops, and ſent a ſhort Diſpatch to the Parliament of the King's being come to *Canterbury*, and of his Purpoſe to ſtay there two Days till the next *Sunday* was paſt, He came to the King in his Chamber, and in a ſhort ſecret Audience, and without any Preamble or Apology, as He was not a Man of a graceful Elocution, He told him, "that He could not do him better Service, than by "recommending to him ſuch Perſons who were moſt "grateful to the People, and in Reſpect of their Parts "and Intereſts were beſt able to ſerve him:" And thereupon gave him a large Paper full of Names, which the King in Diſorder enough received, and without reading put it into his Pocket that He might not enter into any particular Debate upon the Perſons, and told him "that He would be always ready to receive his Advice, "and willing to gratify him in any Thing He ſhould de-"ſire, and which would not be prejudicial to his Service." The King, as ſoon as He could, took an Opportunity, when there remained no more in his Chamber, to inform the Chancellor of the firſt Aſſaults He had encountered as ſoon as He alighted out of his Coach, and afterwards of what the General had ſaid to him; and thereupon took the Paper out of his Pocket and read it. It contained the Names of at leaſt threeſcore and ten Perſons, who were thought fitteſt to be made Privy Counſellors; in the whole Number whereof, there were only two, who had ever ſerved the King or been looked upon as zealouſly affected to his Service, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, who were Both of ſo univerſal

verſal Reputation and Intereſt, and ſo well known to have the very particular Eſteem of the King, that They needed no ſuch Recommendation. All the reſt were either thoſe Counſellors who had ſerved the King, and deſerted him by adhering to the Parliament; or of thoſe who had moſt eminently diſſerved him in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all Fierceneſs and Animoſity until the new Model, and diſmiſſing the Earl of *Eſſex*: Then indeed *Cromwell* had grown terrible to them, and diſpoſed them to wiſh the King were again poſſeſſed of his regal Power, and which They did but wiſh. There were then the Names of the principal Perſons of the Preſbyterian Party, to which the General was thought to be moſt inclined, at leaſt to ſatisfy the fooliſh and unruly Inclinations of his Wife. There were likewiſe the Names of ſome who were moſt notorious in all the other Factions; and of ſome who in Reſpect of their mean Qualities and meaner Qualifications, Nobody could imagine how They could come to be named, except that, by the very odd Mixture, any ſober and wiſe Reſolutions and Concurrence might be prevented.

THE King was in more than ordinary Confuſion with the reading this Paper, and knew not well what to think of the General, in whoſe abſolute Power He now was. However, He reſolved in the Entrance upon his Government not to conſent to ſuch Impoſitions, which might prove perpetual Fetters and Chains upon him ever after. He gave the Paper therefore to the Chancellor, and bade him "take the firſt Opportunity to diſcourſe the Matter "with the General" (whom He had not yet ſaluted) "or "rather with Mr. *Morrice* his moſt intimate Friend," whom He had newly preſented to the King, and "with "Both whom He preſumed He would ſhortly be ac-"quainted," though for the preſent Both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual Viſits had paſſed between them, and ſuch Profeſſions as naturally are made between Perſons who were like to have (7) much to do with each other; and Mr. *Morrice* being in private with him, the Chancellor told him, "how much "the King was ſurpriſed with the Paper He had received "from the General, which at leaſt recommended (and "which would have always great Authority with him) "ſome ſuch Perſons to his Truſt, in whom He could not "yet, till They were better known to him, repoſe any "Confidence."

With which He is diſpleaſed.

"Confidence." And thereupon He read many of their Names, and ſaid, "that if ſuch Men were made Privy "Counſellors, it would either be imputed to the King's "own Election, which would cauſe a very ill Meaſure to "be taken of his Majeſty's Nature and Judgment; or "(which more probably would be the Caſe) to the Incli- "nation and Power of the General, which would be at- "tended with as ill Effects." Mr. *Morrice* ſeemed much troubled at the Apprehenſion, and ſaid, "the Paper was "of his Handwriting, by the General's Order, who He "was aſſured had no ſuch Intention, but that He would "preſently ſpeak with him and return;" which He did within leſs than an Hour, and expreſſed "the Trouble "the General was in upon the King's very juſt Exception; "and that the Truth was, *He had been obliged to have* "*much Communication with Men of all Humours and Incli-* "*nations, and ſo had promiſed to do them good Offices to the* "*King, and could not therefore avoid inſerting their Names* "*in that Paper, without any Imaginations that the King* "*would accept them: That He had done his Part, and all* "*that could be expected from him, and left the King to do* "*what He had thought beſt for his own Service, which He* "*would always deſire him to do, whatever Propoſition He* "*ſhould at any Time preſume to make to his Majeſty, which* "*He would not promiſe ſhould be always reaſonable. How-* "*ever, He did ſtill heartily wiſh, that his Majeſty would* "*make Uſe of ſome of thoſe Perſons,*" whom He named, and ſaid, "*He knew moſt of them were not his Friends, and that* "*his Service would be more advanced by admitting them, than* "*by leaving them out.*"

But ſatisfied by Monk's *Explanation.*

THE King was abundantly pleaſed with this good Temper of the General, and leſs diſliked thoſe, who He diſcerned would be grateful to him, than any of the reſt: And ſo the next Day, He made the General Knight of the *Garter*, and admitted him of the Council; and likewiſe at the ſame Time gave the Signet to Mr. *Morrice*, who was ſworn of the Council and Secretary of State; and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, who had been preſented by the General under a ſpecial Recommendation, was then too ſworn of the Council, and the rather, becauſe having lately married the Niece of the Earl of *Southampton* (who was then likewiſe preſent, and received the *Garter* to which He had been elected ſome Years before) it was believed that his ſlippery Humour would be eaſily reſtrained

and

and fixed by the Uncle. All this was tranſacted during his Majeſty's Stay at *Canterbury*.

The King's triumphant Entry into London.

UPON the 29th of *May*, which was his Majeſty's Birth-Day, and now the Day of his Reſtoration and Triumph, He entered *London* the Highway from *Rocheſter* to *Blackheath*, being on both Sides ſo full of Acclamations of Joy, and crowded with ſuch a Multitude of People that it ſeemed one continued Street wonderfully inhabited. Upon *Blackheath* the Army was drawn up, conſiſting of above fifty thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, in excellent Order and Equipage, where the General preſented the chief Officers to kiſs the King's Hands, which Grace They ſeemed to receive with all Humility and Cheerfulneſs. Shortly after, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs, and Body of the Aldermen, with the whole Militia of the City, appeared with great Luſtre; whom the King received with a moſt graceful and obliging Countenance, and knighted the Mayor and all the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and the principal Officers of the Militia: An Honour the City had been without near eighteen Years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the Huſbands and their Wives. With this Equipage the King was attended through the City of *London*, where the Streets were railed in on Both Sides that the Livery of the Companies of the City might appear with the more Order and Decency, till He came to *Whitehall*; the Windows all the Way being full of Ladies and Perſons of Quality, who were impatient to fill their Eyes with a beloved Spectacle of which They had been ſo long deprived. The King was no ſooner at *Whitehall*, but (as hath been ſaid) the Speakers, and Both Houſes of Parliament, preſented themſelves with all poſſible Profeſſions of Duty and Obedience at his Royal Feet, and were even raviſhed with the cheerful Reception They had from him. The Joy was univerſal; and whoſoever was not pleaſed at Heart, took the more Care to appear as if He was; and no Voice was heard but of the higheſt Congratulation, of extolling the Perſon of the King, admiring his Condeſcenſions and Affability, raiſing his Praiſes to Heaven, and curſing and deteſting the Memory of thoſe Villains who had ſo long excluded ſo meritorious a Prince, and thereby withheld that Happineſs from them, which They ſhould enjoy in the largeſt Meaſure They could deſire or wiſh. The Joy on all Sides was with the greateſt Exceſs, ſo that moſt Men thought, and had

(8)

Exceſſive Joy upon the Reſtoration.

had Reaſon enough to think, that the King was even already that great and glorious Prince, which the Parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promiſed to raiſe his Father to be.

Both Houſes of Parliament meet.

THE Chancellor took his Place in the Houſe of Peers with a general Acceptation and Reſpect; and all thoſe Lords who were alive and had ſerved the King his Father, and the Sons of thoſe who were dead and were equally excluded from ſitting there by Ordinances of Parliament, together with all thoſe who had been created by this King, took their Seats in Parliament without the leaſt Murmur or Exception. The Houſe of Commons ſeemed equally conſtituted to what could be wiſhed; for though there were many Preſbyterian Members, and ſome of all other Factions in Religion, who did all promiſe themſelves ſome Liberty and Indulgence for their ſeveral Parties, yet They all profeſſed great Zeal for the eſtabliſhing the King in his full Power. And the major Part of the Houſe was of ſober and prudent Men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late Governments, and heartily to deſire and pray for the King's Return. And there were many, who had either themſelves been actual and active Malignants and Delinquents in the late King's Time, or the Sons of ſuch, who inherited their Fathers Virtues; Both which Claſſes of Men were excluded from being capable of being elected to ſerve in Parliament, not only by former Ordinances, but by expreſs Caution in the very Writs which were ſent out to ſummon this Parliament, and were notwithſtanding made Choice of and returned by the Country, and received without any Heſitation in the Houſe, and treated by all Men with the more Civility and Reſpect for their known Malignity: So that the King, though it was neceſſary to have Patience in the Expectations of their Reſolutions in all important Points, which could not ſuddenly be concluded in ſuch a popular Aſſembly, was very reaſonably aſſured, that He ſhould have nothing preſſed upon him that ſhould be ungrateful, with Reference to the Church or State.

The Character of the Houſe of Commons.

Particularly of the Preſbyterian Party in it.

IT is true, the *Preſbyterians* were very numerous in the Houſe, and many of them Men of good Parts, and had a great Party in the Army, and a greater in the City, and except with Reference to Epiſcopacy were deſirous to make themſelves grateful to the King in the ſettling all his Intereſt, and eſpecially in vindicating themſelves from the (9) odious

odious Murder of the King by loud and paſſionate Inveighing againſt that monſtrous Parricide, and with the higheſt Animoſity denouncing the ſevereſt Judgments not only againſt thoſe who were immediately guilty of it, but againſt thoſe principal Perſons who had moſt notoriouſly adhered to *Cromwell* in the Adminiſtration of his Government, that is, moſt eminently oppoſed them and their Faction. They took all Occaſions to declare, "that the "Power and Intereſt of the Party had been the chief "Means to bring Home the King;" and uſed all poſſible Endeavours that the King might be perſuaded to think ſo too, and that the very *Covenant* had at laſt done him Good and expedited his Return, by the cauſing it to be hung up in Churches, from whence *Cromwell* had caſt it out, and their Miniſters preſſing upon the Conſcience of all thoſe who had taken it, "that They were bound by "that Clauſe which concerned the Defence of the King's "Perſon, to take up Arms, if Need were, on his Behalf, and "to reſtore him to his rightful Government;" when the very ſame Miniſters had obliged them to take up Arms againſt the King his Father by Virtue of that *Covenant*, and to fight againſt him till They had taken him Priſoner, which produced his Murder. This Party was much diſpleaſed, that the King declared himſelf ſo poſitively on Behalf of Epiſcopacy, and would hear no other Prayers in his Chapel than thoſe contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and that all thoſe Formalities and Solemnities were now again reſumed and practiſed, which They had cauſed to be aboliſhed for ſo many Years paſt. Yet the King left all Churches to their Liberty, to uſe ſuch Forms of Devotion which They liked beſt; and ſuch of their chief Preachers who deſired it, or were deſired by their Friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the Surplice, or any other Habit than They made Choice of. But this Connivance would not do their Buſineſs: Their Preaching made no Proſelytes who were not ſo before; and the Reſort of the People to thoſe Churches, where the *Common Prayer* was again introduced, was Evidence enough of their Inclinations; and They ſaw the King's Chapel always full of thoſe, who had uſed to poſſeſs the chief Benches in their Aſſemblies: So that it was manifeſt that Nothing but the ſupreme Authority would be able to ſettle their Diſcipline; and therefore with their uſual Confidence They were very importunate in the Houſe of Commons,

Which urges the Settlement of Eccleſiaſtical Government according to the Covenant.

mons, "that the Eccleſiaſtical Government might be ſet-"tled and remain according to the *Covenant*, which had "been practiſed many Years, and ſo the People generally "well devoted to it, whereas the introducing the *Common* "*Prayer* (with which very few had ever been acquainted "or heard it read) would very much offend the People, "and give great Interruption to the compoſing the Peace "of the Kingdom." This was urged in the Houſe of Commons by eminent Men of the Party, who believed They had the major Part of their Mind. And their Preachers were as ſolicitous and induſtrious to inculcate the ſame Doctrine to the principal Perſons who had returned with the King, and every Day reſorted to the Court as if They preſided there, and had frequent Audiences of the King to perſuade him to be of the ſame Opinion; from whom They received no other Condeſcenſions than They had formerly had at the *Hague*, with the ſame gracious Affability and Expreſſions to their Perſons.

THAT Party in the Houſe that was in Truth devoted to the King, and to the old Principles of Church and of State, which every Day increaſed, thought not fit ſo to croſs the *Preſbyterians* as to make them deſperate in their Hopes of Satisfaction, but, with the Concurrence with thoſe who were of contrary Factions, diverted the Argument by propoſing other Subjects of more immediate Re-(10) lation to the publick Peace, as the *Act of Indemnity* which every Man impatiently longed for, and the raiſing Money towards the Payment of the Army and the Navy, without which that unſupportable Charge could not be leſſened, to be firſt conſidered and diſpatched; and the Model for Religion to be debated and prepared by that Committee, which had been nominated before his Majeſty's Return to that Purpoſe; They not doubting to croſs and puzzle any pernicious Reſolutions there, till Time and their own extravagant Follies ſhould put ſome End to their deſtructive Deſigns.

IN the mean Time there were two Particulars, which the King with much inward Impatience, though with little outward Communication, did moſt deſire, the diſbanding the Army, and ſettling the Revenue, the Courſe and Receipt whereof had been ſo broken and perverted, and a great Part extinguiſhed by the Sale of all the Crown-Lands, that the old Officers of the Exchequer, Auditors

or

or Receivers, knew not how to reſume their Adminiſtrations. Beſides that the great Receipt of Exciſe and Cuſtoms was not yet veſted in the King; nor did the Parliament make any Haſte to aſſign it, finding it neceſſary to reſerve it in the old Way, and not to divert it from thoſe Aſſignments, which had been made for the Payment of the Army and Navy, for which until ſome other Proviſion could be made, it was to no Purpoſe to mention the diſbanding the one or the other, though the Charge of Both was ſo vaſt and unſupportable, that the Kingdom muſt in a ſhort Time ſink under the Burden. For what concerned the Revenue and raiſing Money, the King was leſs ſolicitous, and yet there was not ſo much as any Aſſignation made for the Support of his Houſhold, which cauſed a vaſt Debt to be contracted before taken Notice of, the Miſchief of which is hardly yet removed. He ſaw the Parliament every Day doing ſomewhat in it, and it quickly diſſolved all Bargains, Contracts and Sales, which had been of any of the Crown-Lands, ſo that all that Royal Revenue (which had been too much waſted and impaired in thoſe improvident Times which had preceded the Troubles) was entirely remitted to thoſe to whom it belonged, the King and the Queen his Mother; but very little Money was returned out of the ſame into the Exchequer in the Space of the firſt Year; ſo difficult it was to reduce any Payments which had been made for ſo many Years irregularly, into the old Channel and Order. And every Thing elſe of this Kind was done, how ſlowly ſoever, with as much Expedition as from the Nature of the Affair, and the Crowd in which it was neceſſary to be agitated, could reaſonably be expected; and therefore his Majeſty was leſs troubled for thoſe Inconveniencies which He foreſaw muſt inevitably flow from thence.

The Nature and Inclination of the Army.

BUT the Delay in diſbanding the Army, how unavoidable ſoever, did exceedingly afflict him, and the more, becauſe for many Reaſons He could not urge it nor complain of it. He knew well the ill Conſtitution of the Army, the Diſtemper and Murmuring that was in it, and how many Diſeaſes and Convulſions their infant Loyalty was ſubject to; that how united ſoever their Inclinations and Acclamations ſeemed to be at *Blackheath*, their Affections were not the ſame: And the very Countenances then of many Officers as well as Soldiers did ſufficiently

manifeſt, that They were drawn thither to a Service They were not delighted in. The General, before He had formed any Reſolution to himſelf, and only valued himſelf upon the Preſbyterian Intereſt, had caſhiered ſome Regiments and Companies which He knew not to be devoted to his Perſon and Greatneſs; and after He found it neceſſary to fix his own Hopes and Dependance upon the King, He had diſmiſſed many Officers who He thought (11) might be willing and able to croſs his Deſigns and Purpoſes, when He ſhould think fit to diſcover them, and conferred their Charges and Commands upon thoſe who had been disfavoured by the late Powers; and after the Parliament had declared for and proclaimed the King, He caſhiered others, and gave their Offices to ſome eminent Commanders who had ſerved the King; and gave others of the loyal Nobility Leave to liſt Voluntiers in Companies to appear with them at the Reception of the King, who had all met and joined with the Army upon *Blackheath* in the Head of their Regiments and Companies: Yet, notwithſtanding all this Providence, the old Soldiers had little Regard for their new Officers, at leaſt had no Reſignation for them; and it quickly appeared, by the ſelect and affected Mixtures of ſullen and melancholick Parties of Officers and Soldiers, that as ill-diſpoſed Men of other Claſſes were left as had been diſbanded; and that much the greater Part ſo much abounded with ill Humours, that it was not ſafe to adminiſter a general Purgation. It is true that *Lambert* was cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, and as many of thoſe Officers who were taken and had appeared in Arms with him when He was taken, were likewiſe there or in ſome other Priſons, with others of the ſame Complexion, who were well enough known to have the preſent Settlement that was intended in perfect Deteſtation: But this Leproſy was ſpread too far to have the Contagion quickly or eaſily extinguiſhed. How cloſe ſoever *Lambert* himſelf was ſecured from doing Miſchief, his Faction was at Liberty and very numerous; his diſbanded Officers and Soldiers mingled and converſed with their old Friends and Companions, and found too many of them poſſeſſed with the ſame Spirit; They concurred in the ſame Reproaches and Revilings of the General, as the Man who had treacherouſly betrayed them, and led them into an Ambuſcade from whence They knew not how to diſentangle themſelves.

They

They looked upon him as the ſole Perſon who ſtill ſupported his own Model, and were well aſſured that if He were removed, the Army would be ſtill the ſame and appear in their old Retrenchments; and therefore They entered into ſeveral Combinations to aſſaſſinate him, which They reſolved to do with the firſt Opportunity. In a Word, They liked neither the Mien nor Garb nor Countenance of the Court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious Aſpect and Benignity of the King himſelf.

ALL this was well enough known to his Majeſty, and to the General, who was well enough acquainted and not at all pleaſed with the Temper and Diſpoſition of his Army, and therefore no leſs deſired it ſhould be diſbanded than the King did. In the mean Time, very diligent Endeavours were uſed to diſcover and apprehend ſome principal Perſons, who took as much Care to conceal themſelves; and every Day many dangerous or ſuſpected Men of all Qualities were impriſoned in all Counties: Spies were employed, who for the moſt Part had the ſame Affections which They were to diſcover in others, and received Money on both Sides to do, and not to do, the Work They were appointed to do. And in this melancholick and perplexed Condition the King and all his Hopes ſtood, when He appeared moſt gay and exalted, and wore a Pleaſantneſs in his Face that became him, and looked like as full an Aſſurance of his Security as was poſſible to put on.

Diſunion of the King's Friends.

THERE was yet added to this ſlippery and uneaſy Poſture of Affairs, another Mortification, which made a deeper Impreſſion upon the Kings Spirit than all the reſt, and without which the worſt of the other would have been in ſome Degree remediable; that was, the Conſtitution
(12) and Diſunion of thoſe who were called and looked upon as his own Party, which without Doubt in the whole Kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the Law to all the reſt; which had been the Ground of many unhappy Attempts in the late Time, that if any preſent Force could be drawn together, and poſſeſſed of any ſuch Place in which They might make a Stand without being overrun in a Moment, the general Concurrence of the Kingdom would in a ſhort Time reduce the Army, and make the King ſuperiour to all his Enemies; which Imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguiſhed, by the dearbought Ex-

perience in the woful Enterpriſe at *Worceſter*. However, it had been now a very juſtifiable Preſumption in the King, to believe as well as hope, that He could not be long in *England* without ſuch an Apparency of his own Party that wiſhed all that He himſelf deſired, and ſuch a Manifeſtation of their Authority, Intereſt and Power, that would prevent or be ſufficient to ſubdue any froward Diſpoſition that might grow up in the Parliament, or more extravagant Demands in the Army itſelf. And Apparence there was of that People, great enough, who had all the Wiſhes for the King which He entertained for himſelf. But They were ſo divided and diſunited by private Quarrels, Factions and Animoſities; or ſo unacquainted with each other; or, which was worſe, ſo jealous of each other; the Underſtandings and Faculties of many honeſt Men were ſo weak and ſhallow, that They could not be applied to any great Truſt; and others who wiſhed and meant very well had a Peeviſhneſs, Frowardneſs and Opiniatrety, that They would be engaged only in what pleaſed themſelves, nor would join in any Thing with ſuch and ſuch Men whom They diſliked. The ſevere and tyrannical Government of *Cromwell* and the Parliament had ſo often baniſhed and impriſoned them upon mere Jealouſies, that They were grown Strangers to one another, without any Communication between them: And there had been ſo frequent Betrayings and Treacheries uſed, ſo many Diſcoveries of Meetings privately contrived, and of Diſcourſes accidentally entered into, and Words and Expreſſions raſhly and unadviſedly uttered without any Deſign, upon which Multitudes were ſtill impriſoned and many put to Death; that the Jealouſy was ſo univerſal, that few Men who had never ſo good Affections for the King, durſt confer with any Freedom together.

A Review of the Cauſes of this Diſunion previous to the Reſtoration.

Most of thoſe of the Nobility who had with Conſtancy and Fidelity adhered to the laſt King, and had greateſt Authority with all Men who profeſſed the ſame Affections, were dead, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, and many other excellent Perſons. And of that *Claſſis*, that is, of a powerful Intereſt and unſuſpected Integrity (for there were ſome very good Men, who were without any Cauſe ſuſpected then, becauſe They were not equally perſecuted upon all Occaſions) there were only two who ſurvived, the Marquis of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*; who were Both great and

and worthy Men, looked upon with great Eſtimation by all the moſt valuable Men who could contribute moſt to the King's Reſtoration, and with Reverence by their greateſt Enemy, and had been courted by *Cromwell* himſelf till He found it to no Purpoſe. And though the Marquis had been prevailed with once and no more to give him a Viſit, the other, the Earl, could never be perſuaded ſo much as to ſee him; and when *Cromwell* was in the *New Foreſt* and reſolved one Day to viſit him, He being informed of it or ſuſpecting it, removed to another Houſe He had at a ſuch a Diſtance as exempted him from that Viſitation. But theſe two great Perſons had for ſeveral Years withdrawn themſelves into the Country, lived
(13) retired, ſent ſometimes ſuch Money as They could raiſe out of their long-ſequeſtered and exhauſted Fortunes, by Meſſengers of their own Dependance, with Advice to the King, "to ſit ſtill and expect a reaſonable Revolution, "without making any unadviſed Attempt;" and induſtriouſly declined any Converſation or Commerce with any who were known to correſpond with the King: So that now upon his Majeſty's Return, They were totally unacquainted with any of thoſe Perſons, who now looked as Men to be depended upon in any great Action and Attempt. And for themſelves, as the Marquis ſhortly after died, ſo the other with great Abilities ſerved him in his moſt ſecret and important Counſels, but had been never converſant in martial Affairs.

THERE had been ſix or eight Perſons of general good and confeſſed Reputation, and who of all who were then left alive had had the moſt eminent Charges in the War, and executed them with great Courage and Diſcretion; ſo that few Men could with any reaſonable Pretence refuſe to receive Orders from them, or to ſerve under their Commands. They had great Affection for and Confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an Expreſs of their own Number, whilſt the King remained in *France*, "that, "if They were approved and qualified by his Majeſty, "They would by joint Advice intend the Care of his "Majeſty's Service; and as They would not engage in "any abſurd and deſperate Attempt, but uſe all their "Credit and Authority to prevent and diſcountenance the "ſame, ſo They would take the firſt rational Opportu-"nity, which They expected from the Diviſions and Ani-"moſities which daily grew and appeared in the Army,

" to draw their Friends and old Soldiers who were ready " to receive their Commands together, and try the ut- " moſt that could be done with the Loſs or Hazard of " their Lives:" Some of them having, beſide their Experience in War, very conſiderable Fortunes of their own to loſe, and were Relations to the greateſt Families in *England*. And therefore They made it their humble Suit, " that this ſecret Correſpondence might be carried on and " known to none but to the Marquis of *Ormond* and to the " Chancellor; and that if any other Counſels were ſet on " Foot in *England* by the Activity of particular Perſons, " who too frequently with great Zeal and little Animad- " verſion embarked themſelves in impoſſible Undertak- " ings, his Majeſty upon Advertiſement thereof would " firſt communicate the Motives or Pretences which " would be offered to him, to them; and then They " would find Opportunity to confer with ſome ſober Man " of that Fraternity" (as there was no well-affected Perſon in *England*, who at that Time would not willingly receive Advice and Direction from moſt of thoſe Perſons) " and thereupon They would preſent their Opinion to his " Majeſty, and if the Deſign ſhould appear practicable to " his Majeſty, They would cheerfully embark themſelves " in it, otherwiſe uſe their own Dexterity to divert it." Theſe Men had been armed with all neceſſary Commiſſions and Inſtructions according to their own Deſires; the King conſented to all They propoſed; and the Ciphers and Correſpondence were committed to the Chancellor, in whoſe Hands, with the Privity only of the Marquis of *Ormond*, all the Intelligence with *England*, of what Kind ſoever, was intruſted.

UNDER this Conduct for ſome Years all Things ſucceeded well, many unſeaſonable Attempts were prevented, and thereby the Lives of many good Men preſerved: And though (upon the curſory Jealouſy of that Time, and the reſtleſs Apprehenſion of *Cromwell*, and the almoſt continual Commitments of all who had eminently ſerved the King and were able to do it again) theſe Perſons who were thus truſted, or the major Part of them, were ſeldom (14) out of Priſon, or free from the Obligation of good Sureties for their peaceable Behaviour; yet all the Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his moſt diligent Inquiſitors could never diſcover this ſecret Intercourſe between thoſe Confidants and the King, which did always paſs and was maintained by

Expreſſes

Expreſſes made Choice of by them, and ſupported at their Charge out of ſuch Monies as were privately collected for publick Uſes, of which They, who contributed moſt, knew little more than the Integrity of him who was intruſted, who did not always make ſkilful Contributions.

IT fell out unfortunately, that two of theſe principal Perſons fell out, and had a fatal Quarrel, upon a Particular leſs juſtifiable than any Thing that could reſult from or relate to the great Truſt They Both had from the King, which ought to have been of Influence enough to have ſuppreſſed or diverted all Paſſions of that Kind: But the Animoſities grew ſuddenly irreconcilable, and if not divided the Affections of the whole *Knot*, at leaſt interrupted or ſuſpended their conſtant Intercourſe and Confidence in each other, and ſo the diligent Accounts which the King uſed to receive from them. And the Cauſe growing more publick and notorious, though not known in a long Time after to the King, exceedingly leſſened Both their Reputations with the moſt ſober Men; inſomuch as They withdrew all Confidence in their Conduct, and all Inclination to embark in the Buſineſs which was intruſted in ſuch Hands. And which was worſe than all this, one Perſon amongſt them of as unblemiſhed a Reputation as either of them, and of much better Abilities and Faculties of Mind, either affected with this untoward Accident, or broken with frequent Impriſonments and Deſpair of any Reſurrection of the King's Intereſt, about this Time yielded to a foul Temptation; and for large Supplies of Money, which his Fortune ſtood in Need of, engaged to be a Spy to *Cromwell*, with a Latitude which He did not allow to others of that ignominious Tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any Deſign to prevent the Miſchief thereof, without expoſing any Man to the Loſs of his Life, or ever appearing himſelf to make good and juſtify any of his Diſcoveries. The reſt of his Aſſociates neither ſuſpected their Companion, nor leſſened their Affection or utmoſt Zeal for the King; though They remitted ſome of their Diligence in his Service, by the other unhappy Interruption.

THIS falling out during his Majeſty's Abode in *Cologne*, He was very long without Notice of the Grounds of that Jealouſy, which had obſtructed his uſual Correſpondence; and the Matter of Infidelity being not in the

leaſt Degree ſuſpected, He could not avoid receiving Advice and Propoſitions from other honeſt Men, who were of known Affection and Courage, and who converſed much with the Officers of the Army, and were unſkilfully diſpoſed to believe that all They, who They had Reaſon to believe did hate *Cromwell*, would eaſily be induced to ſerve the King: And many of the Officers in their Behaviour, Diſcourſes and Familiarity, contributed to that Belief; ſome of them, not without the Privity and Allowance of *Cromwell*, or his Secretary *Thurlow*. And upon Overtures of this Kind, and wonderful Confidence of Succeſs, even upon the Preparations which were in Readineſs, of and by his own Party, ſeveral Meſſengers were ſent to the King; and by all of them ſharp and paſſionate Complaints againſt thoſe Perſons, who were ſo much and ſtill in the ſame Confidence with him, as Men who were at Eaſe, and uninclined to venture themſelves upon dangerous or doubtful Enterpriſes. They complained, "that "when They imparted to them or any one of them" (for They knew not of his Majeſty's Reference to them, but had of themſelves reſorted to them as Men of the greateſt (15) Reputation for their Affections and Experience) "a De- "ſign which had been well conſulted and deliberated by "thoſe who meant to venture their own Lives in the Ex- "ecution of it, They made ſo many Excuſes and Argu- "ments and Objections againſt it, as if it were wholly "unadviſable and unpracticable; and when They pro- "poſed the meeting and conferring with ſome of the Of- "ficers, who were reſolved to ſerve his Majeſty, and were "willing to adviſe with them, as Men of more Intereſt "and who had managed greater Commands, upon the "Places of Rendezvous, and what Method ſhould be ob- "ſerved in the Enterpriſes, making no Scruple them- "ſelves to receive Orders from them, or to do all Things "They ſhould require which might advance his Majeſty's "Service, theſe Gentlemen only wiſhed them to take "Heed They were not deſtroyed, and poſitively refuſed "to meet or confer with any of the Officers of the Army; "And hereupon" They ſaid "all the King's Party was "ſo incenſed againſt them, that They no more would "have Recourſe to them, or make any Conjunction "with them." They informed his Majeſty at large of the Animoſity that was grown between two of the principal Perſons, and the original Cauſe thereof, and therefore

fore deſired "that ſome Perſon might be ſent, to whom "They might repair for Orders, until the King himſelf "diſcerned that all Preparations were in ſuch a Readineſs, "that He might reaſonably venture his Royal Perſon with "them."

THOUGH He was not at all ſatisfied with the Grounds of their Expectation and Proceedings, and therefore could not blame the Warineſs and Reſervedneſs of the other, and thought their Apprehenſion of being betrayed (which in the Language of that Time was called *trepanned*) which befel ſome Men every Day, very reaſonable; yet the Confidence of many honeſt Men who were ſure to pay dear for any raſh Undertaking, and their Preſumption in appointing a peremptory Day for a general Rendezvous over the Kingdom, but eſpecially the Diviſion of his Friends, and Sharpneſs againſt thoſe upon whom He principally relied, was the Cauſe of his ſending over the Lord *Rocheſter*, and of his own Concealment in *Zealand*; the Succeſs whereof, and the ill Conſequence of thoſe precipitate Reſolutions, in the Slaughter of many worthy and gallant Gentlemen with all the Circumſtances of Inſolence and Barbarity, are mentioned in their proper Places.

BUT theſe unhappy and fatal Miſcarriages, and the ſad Spectacles which enſued, made not thoſe Impreſſions upon the Affections and Spirits of the King's Friends, as they ought to have done; nor rendered the Warineſs and Diſcretion of thoſe who had diſſuaded the Enterpriſe, and who were always impriſoned upon Suſpicion, how innocent ſoever, the more valued and eſteemed: On the contrary it increaſed the Reproaches againſt the *Knot*, as if their *Lacheté* and Want of Appearance and engaging had been the ſole Cauſe of the Misfortune. And after ſome ſhort Fits of Dejection and Acquieſcence, upon the ſhedding ſo much Blood of their Friends and Confederates, and the notorious Diſcovery of being betrayed by thoſe, who had been truſted by them, of the Army; They began again to reſume Courage, to meet and enter upon new Counſels and Deſigns, imputing the former Want of Succeſs to the Want of Skill and Conduct in the Undertakers, not to the all-ſeeing Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his Inſtruments, or to the formed Strength of his Government not to be ſhaken by weak or ill ſeconded Conſpiracies. Young Men were grown up, who inherited

rited their Fathers Malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their Death, or to be even with their Oppreſſors, and ſo entered into new Combinations as unſkilful and (16) therefore as unfortunate as the former; and being diſcovered even before they were formed, *Cromwell* had Occaſion given him to make himſelf more terrible in new Executions, and to exerciſe greater Tyranny upon the whole Party in Impriſonments, Penalties and Sequeſtrations; making thoſe, who heartily deſired to be quiet, and who abhorred any raſh and deſperate Inſurrection, to pay their full Shares for the Folly of the other, as if all were animated by the ſame Spirit. And this unjuſt and unreaſonable Rigour increaſed the Reproaches and Animoſities in the King's Friends againſt each other: The wiſer and more ſober Part, who had moſt Experience, and knew how impoſſible it was to ſucceed in ſuch Enterpriſes, and had yet preſerved or redeemed enough of their Fortunes to ſit ſtill and expect ſome hopeful Revolution, were unexpreſſibly offended, and bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe, who without Reaſon diſturbed their Peace and Quiet, by provoking the State to freſh Perſecutions of them who had given them no Offence: And the other ſtirring and enraged Party, with more Fierceneſs and publick Diſdain proteſted againſt and reviled thoſe, who refuſed to join with them, as Men who had ſpent all their Stock of Allegiance, and meant to acquieſce with what They had left under the Tyranny and in the Subjection of *Cromwell*. And thus, They who did really wiſh the ſame Things, and equally the Overthrow of that Government, which hindered the Reſtoration of the King, grew into more implacable Jealouſies and Virulencies againſt each other, than againſt that Power that oppreſſed them Both, and *poured out their Blood like Water*. And either Party conveyed their Apologies and Accuſations to the King: One inſiſting upon the Impertinency of all ſuch Attempts; and the other inſiſting that They were ready for a very ſolid and well grounded Enterpriſe, were ſure to be poſſeſſed of good Towns, if, by his Majeſty's poſitive Command, the reſt, who profeſſed ſuch Obedience to him, would join with them.

It was at this Time, and upon theſe Reaſons, that the King ſent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *England*, to find out and diſcover whether in Truth there were any ſober

ſober Preparations and Readineſs for Action, and then to head and conduct it; or if it was not ripe, to compoſe the ſeveral Diſtempers, and unite, as far as was poſſible, all who wiſhed well, to concur in the ſame Patience for the preſent, and in the ſame Activity when it ſhould be ſeaſonable. And He, upon full Conference with the principal Perſons of the moſt contradictory Judgments, quickly found that They who were accuſed to be lazy and unactive, were in Truth diſcreet Men, and as ready vigorouſly to appear as the other, when the Seaſon ſhould be adviſable, which He clearly diſcerned it was not then; and that the Preſumption of the other, upon Perſons as well as Places, was in no Degree to be depended upon. And ſo, after He had done what was poſſible towards making a good Intelligence between Tempers and Underſtandings ſo different, the Marquis had the ſame good Fortune to retire from thence and bring himſelf ſafe to the King; which was the more wonderful Preſervation, in that, during the whole Time of his Abode in *London*, He had truſted no Man more, nor conferred with any Man ſo much, as with that Perſon of the *ſelect Knot*, who had been corrupted to give all Intelligence to *Cromwell:* And as He had now baſted and diverted ſome ill laid Deſigns, ſo He had diſcovered the Marquis his Arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his Lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every Change, or to contrive any Way for his Apprehenſion; on the contra-
(17) ry, as in all his Conferences with him He appeared a Man of great Judgment and Perſpicacity, and the moſt ready to engage his Perſon in any Action that might be for his Majeſty's Advantage, ſo He ſeemed beſt to underſtand the Temper of the Time, and the Parts, Faculties and Intereſt of all the King's Party; and left the Marquis abundantly ſatisfied with him, and of the general good Reputation He had with all Men: Which had afterwards an ill Effect, for it kept the King and thoſe who were truſted by him from giving Credit to the firſt Information He received, from a Perſon who could not be deceived, of his Tergiverſation; his late Fidelity to the Marquis of *Ormond* weighing down with them all the Intimations, until the Evidence was ſo pregnant, that there was no Room for any Doubt.

AFTER

AFTER all theſe Endeavours by the King to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs all unſeaſonable Action amongſt his Party, and to infuſe into them a Spirit of Peace and Quiet till He himſelf could appear in the Head of ſome foreign Forces, which He looked upon as the only reaſonable Encouragement that could animate his Friends to declare for him; the generous Diſtemper and Impatience of their Nature was incorrigible. They thought the Expectation of Miracles from God Almighty was too lazy and ſtupid a Confidence, and that God no leſs required their Endeavours and Activity, than They hoped for his Benediction in their Succeſs. New Hopes were entertained, and Counſels ſuitable entered upon. Mr. *Mordaunt* the youger Son and Brother to the Earls of *Peterborough*, who was too young in the Time of the late War to act any Part in it, had lately undergone, after *Cromwell* himſelf had taken great Pains in the Examination of him, a ſevere Trial before the High Court of Juſtice; where by his own ſingular Addreſs and Behaviour, and his Friends having wrought by Money upon ſome of the Witneſſes to abſent themſelves, He was by one ſingle Voice acquitted; and after a longer Detention in Priſon by the Indignation of *Cromwell*, who well knew his Guilt, and againſt the Rules and Forms of their own Juſtice, He was diſcharged, after moſt of his Aſſociates were publickly and barbarouſly put to ſeveral Kinds of Death. And He no ſooner found himſelf at Liberty, than He engaged in new Intrigues, how He might deſtroy that Government that was ſo near deſtroying him. The State of the Kingdom was indeed altered, and He had Encouragement to hope well, which former Undertakers, and himſelf in his, had been without. *Cromwell* had entered into a War with *Spain*; and the King was received and permitted to live in *Flanders*, with ſome Exhibition from that King for his Support, and Aſſurance of an Army to embark for *England*, (which made a great Noiſe, and raiſed the broken Hearts of his Friends after ſo many Diſtreſſes) which his Majeſty was contented ſhould be generally reputed to be greater and in more Forwardneſs, than there was Cauſe for. He had likewiſe another Advantage much ſuperiour and of more Importance than the other, by the Death of *Cromwell*, which fell out without or beyond Expectation, which ſeemed to put an End to all his Stratagems, and to diſſolve the whole Frame

Frame of Government in the three Kingdoms, and to open many Doors to the King to enter upon that which every Body knew to be his own. And though this reaſonable Hope was, ſooner than could be imagined, blaſted and extinguiſhed, by an univerſal Submiſſion to the Declaration that *Cromwell* had made at his Death, "that his "Son *Richard* ſhould ſucceed him;" upon which He was declared Protector by the Council, Army, Navy, with the Concurrence of the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and the Addreſſes of all the Counties in *England*, with Vows of their Obedience; inſomuch as He appeared in the (18) Eyes of all Men as formidably ſettled as his Father had been: Yet Mr. *Mordaunt* proceeded with Alacrity in his Deſign, contrary to the Opinion and Advice of thoſe with whom He was obliged to conſult, who thought the Conjuncture as unfavourable as any that was paſt, and looked upon Mr. *Mordaunt* as a raſh young Man, of a daring Spirit, without any Experience in military Affairs, and upon themſelves as unkindly treated by thoſe about the King, in being expoſed to the Importunity of a Gentleman who was a Stranger to them, and who was not equally qualified with them for the forming any Reſolution, which They could concur in.

BUT the Intermiſſion of the ſevere Perſecution, which had been formerly practiſed againſt the Royal Party, in this Nonage of *Richard*'s Government, gave more Liberty to Communication; and the Preſbyterian Party grew more diſcontented and daring, and the Independent leſs concerned to prevent any Inconvenience or Trouble to the weak Son of *Oliver*, whom They reſolved not to obey. Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had gained much Reputation by his ſteady Carriage in his late Mortification, and by his ſo briſk Carriage ſo ſoon after, found Credit with many Perſons of great Fortune and Intereſt; as Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the greateſt Men in *Cheſhire* and *North Wales*, who were reputed *Preſbyterians*, and had been Both very active againſt the King, and now reſolved to declare for him; Sir *Horatio Townſend*, who was newly become of Age, and the moſt powerful Perſon in *Norfolk*, where there were many gallant Men ready to follow him; and many others the moſt conſiderable Men in moſt of the Counties of *England*: Who all agreed in ſo many ſeveral Counties of *England* to appear upon a Day, in ſuch Bodies as They could draw together;

gether; many conſiderable Places being prepared for their Reception or too weak to oppoſe them. And Mr. *Mordaunt* ſecretly tranſported himſelf and waited upon the King at *Bruſſels*, with that Warineſs that He was known to none, but to them with whom He was to conſult. The King received by him a full Information of the Engagement of all thoſe Perſons to do him Service with the utmoſt Hazard, and of the Method They meant to proceed in, and the Probability, moſt like Aſſurance, of their being to be poſſeſſed of *Gloceſter*, *Cheſter*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, all *Kent*, and the moſt conſiderable Places in the *Weſt*, where indeed his own Friends were very conſiderable.

Upon the whole Matter the King thought it ſo reaſonable to approve the whole Deſign, that He appointed the Day, with a Promiſe to be himſelf, with his Brother the Duke of *York*, concealed at *Calais* or thereabout, that They might divide themſelves to thoſe Parts which ſhould be thought moſt proper for the Work in Hand. Mr. *Mordaunt* lamented the Warineſs and Want of Confidence in thoſe Perſons upon whom the King depended, and acknowledged them moſt worthy of that Truſt, and of much Reputation in the Nation; and imputed their much Reſervation to the Troubles and Impriſonments which They had been ſeldom free from, and their Obſervation how little Ground there had been for former Enterpriſes, without the leaſt Suſpicion of Want of Affection and Reſolution in any one of them, and leſs of Integrity. But the King was by this Time fully convinced where the Treachery was, without any Blemiſh to any one of the reſt, who needed not to be aſhamed of being deceived by a Man, whom all the Kingdom would have truſted. The ridiculous Dethroning of *Richard* by the Army, and the reaſſembling that Part of the old Parliament which was called the *Rump*, and which was more terrible than any ſingle Perſon could be, becauſe They preſently returned into their old Track, and renewed their former Rigour (19) againſt their old, more than their new Enemies, rather advanced than reſtrained this Combination; too much being known to too many to be ſecure any other Way than by purſuing it. So the King and Duke according to their former Reſolution went to *Calais* and *Boulogne*, and prepared as well to make a Deſcent into *Kent* with ſuch Numbers of Men, as the Condition They were in would permit.

permit. How, many of thoſe Deſigns came to be wonderfully and even miraculouſly diſappointed, and Sir *George Booth* defeated by *Lambert*, are particularly ſet down by thoſe who have taken upon them to mention the Tranſactions of thoſe Times. And from thence the Univerſality of all who were, or were ſuſpected to be, of the King's Party, were according to Cuſtom impriſoned, or otherwiſe cruelly entreated; and thereupon a new Fire kindled amongſt themſelves: They who had done Nothing reproaching them who had brought that Storm upon them; and They who had been engaged, more loudly and bitterly curſing the other as Deſerters of the King, and the Cauſe of the Ruin of his Cauſe through their Want of Courage, or what was worſe, of Affection. And ſo all Mens Mouths were opened wider to accuſe and defame each other, than to defend their own Integrity and their Lives.

The unhappy Conſtitution of the King's Friends at his Return farther exemplified.

I HAVE thought myſelf obliged to renew the Memory of all theſe Particulars, that the ſeveral Viciſſitudes and Stages may be known, by which the Jealouſies, Murmurs and Diſaffections, in the Royal Party amongſt themſelves and againſt each other, had mounted to that Height, which the King found them at when He returned; when in Truth very few Men of active Minds, and upon whom He could depend in any ſudden Occaſion that might probably preſs him, can be named, who had any Confidence in each other. All Men were full of bitter Reflections upon the Actions and Behaviour of others, or of Excuſes and Apologies for themſelves for what They thought might be charged upon them. The woful Vice of Drinking, from the Uneaſineſs of their Fortune, or the Neceſſity of frequent Meetings together, for which Taverns were the moſt ſecure Places, had ſpread itſelf very far in that *Claſſis* of Men, as well as upon other Parts of the Nation, in all Counties; and had exceedingly weakened the Parts, and broken the Underſtandings of many, who had formerly competent Judgments, and had been in all Reſpects fit for any Truſt; and had prevented the Growth of Parts in many young Men, who had good Affections, but had been from their Entring into the Word ſo corrupted with that Exceſs, and other Licenſe of the Time, that They only made much Noiſe, and, by their extravagant and ſcandalous Debauches, brought many Calumnies and Diſeſtimation upon that Cauſe which They pretended to advance.

Many of them much addicted to Drinking.

advance. They who had ſuffered much in their Fortunes and by frequent Impriſonments and Sequeſtrations and Compoſitions, expected large Recompenſes and Reparations in Honours which They could not ſupport, or Offices which They could not diſcharge, or Lands and Money which the King had not to give; as all diſpaſſioned Men knew the Conditions which the King was obliged to perform, and that the Act of Indemnity diſcharged all thoſe Forfeitures, which could have been applied to their Benefit: And therefore They who had been without Compariſon the greateſt Sufferers in their Fortunes, and in all Reſpects had merited moſt, never made any inconvenient Suits to the King, but modeſtly left the Memory and Conſideration of all They had done or undergone, to his Majeſty's own gracious Reflections. They were obſerved to be moſt importunate who had deſerved leaſt, and were leaſt capable to perform any notable Service; and none had more Eſteem of themſelves, and believed Preferment to be more due to them, than a Sort of Men, who had (20) moſt loudly began the King's Health in Taverns, eſpecially if for any Diſorders which had accompanied it They had ſuffered Impriſonment, without any other Pretence of Merit, or running any other Hazard.

Thoſe who had done leaſt the moſt importunate.

Though it was very evident (humanly ſpeaking) that the late Combination entered into, and the brave Attempt and Engagement of Sir *George Booth*, how unſucceſsful ſoever in the Inſtant, had contributed very much to the wonderful Change that had ſince enſued, by the Diſcovery of the general Affections and Diſpoſition of the Kingdom, and their Averſion from any Kind of Government that was not founded upon the old Principles; and the publick or private Engagement of very many Perſons who had never been before ſuſpected, whereof though many of the moſt conſiderable Perſons had been by the Treachery heretofore mentioned committed to ſeveral Priſons, yet many others of equal Intereſt remained ſtill in Liberty, and had a great Influence upon the Counſels both in the Parliament and Army: Yet I ſay, notwithſtanding this was notorious, a greater Animoſity had been kindled in the Royal Party, and was ſtill purſued and improved amongſt them from that Combination and Engagement, than from all the other Accidents and Occaſions, and gave the King more Trouble and Perplexity. It had introduced a great Number of Perſons, who had formerly no Pre-

Pretence of Merit from the King, rather might have been the Objects of his Juſtice, to a juſt Title to the greateſt Favours the King could confer; and which, from that Time, They had continually improved by repeated Offices and Services, which being of a later Date might be thought to cloud and eclipſe the Luſtre of thoſe Actions which had before been performed by the more ancient Cavaliers, eſpecially of thoſe who had been obſerved to be remiſs in that Occaſion: And therefore They were the more ſolicitous in undervaluing the Undertaking, and the Perſons of the Undertakers, whom They mentioned under ſuch Characters, and to whom They imputed ſuch Weakneſs and Levities, as They had collected from the ſeveral Parts of their Lives, as might render them with much Diſadvantage; and would by no Means admit, "that "any of the Good that afterwards befell the King, re- "ſulted in any Degree from that raſh Enterpriſe; but "that thereby the King's Friends were ſo weakened, and "more compleatly undone, that They were diſabled to "appear in that Conjuncture when the Army was di- "vided, and in which They might otherwiſe have been "conſiderable enough to have given the Law to all "Parties." *And undervalue the more eminent Services of others.*

MR. *Mordaunt*, whom the King had created a Viſcount before his Return into *England*, and had been moſt eminent in the other Contrivances, in a Time when a general Conſternation had ſeized upon the Spirits of thoſe who wiſhed beſt to his Majeſty; for when He reſumed his former Reſolutions, ſo ſoon after his Head was raiſed from the Block, and when the Blood of his Confederates watered ſo many Streets in the City and the Suburbs, the moſt truſted by the King had totally withdrawn their Correſpondence, and deſired that for ſome Time no Account or Information might be expected from them; and therefore it muſt not be denied, that his Vivacity, Courage and Induſtry, revived the Hearts which were ſo near broken, before *Cromwell's* Death, and afterwards prevailed with many to have more active Spirits, than They had before appeared to have: This Gentleman, I ſay, moſt unjuſtly underwent the heavieſt Weight of all their Cenſures and Reproaches. He was the Butt at which all their Arrows of Envy, Malice and Jealouſy, were aimed and ſhot; He was the Object and Subject of all their ſcurrilous (21) Jeſts, and depraving Diſcourſes and Relations; and They *Particularly of Mr.* Mordaunt, *who had moſt ſignally ſerved the King.*

who agreed in Nothing elſe, were at Unity and of one Mind, in telling ridiculous Stories to the King himſelf of his Vanity and Behaviour, and laying thoſe Aſperſions upon him, as were moſt like to leſſen the King's Opinion of him, and to perſuade him that the Recompenſes He had already received, were abundantly more than the Services He had performed: Which Kind of Inſinuations from ſeveral Perſons, who ſeemed not to do it by Concert, together with ſome Prejudice the noble Perſon did himſelf by ſome unſeaſonable Importunities, as if He thought He had deſerved very much, did for ſome Time draw a more ungracious Countenance from the King towards him, than his own Nature diſpoſed him to, or than the other's ſingular and uſeful Activity, though liable to ſome Levity or Vanity, did deſerve; and which the ſame Perſons, who procured it, made Uſe of againſt thoſe who were in moſt Truſt about the King, as Arguments of the little Eſteem They had of thoſe who had done the King moſt Service, when a Man of ſo eminent Merit, as Mr. *Mordaunt*, was ſo totally neglected; and did all They could to infuſe the ſame Apprehenſions into him. When the Truth is, moſt Men were affected, and more grieved and diſcontented, for any Honour and Preferment which They ſaw conferred upon another Man, than for being diſappointed in their own particular Expectations; and looked upon every Obligation beſtowed upon another Man, how meritorious ſoever, as upon a Reproach to them, and an Upbraiding of their Want of Merit.

This perplexing State of the King's Friends much affects his Spirits.

THIS unhappy Temper and Conſtitution of the Royal Party, with whom He had always intended to have made a firm Conjunction againſt all Accidents and Occurrences which might happen at home or from abroad, did wonderfully diſpleaſe and trouble the King; and, with the other Perplexities which are mentioned before, did ſo break his Mind, and had that Operation upon his Spirits, that finding He could not propoſe any ſuch Method to himſelf, by which He might extricate himſelf out of thoſe many Difficulties and Labyrinths in which He was involved, nor expedite thoſe important Matters which depended upon the Good-Will and Diſpatch of the Parliament, which would proceed by its own Rules and with its accuſtomed Formalities, He grew more diſpoſed to leave all Things to their natural Courſe, and God's Providence; and by Degrees unbent his Mind from the knot-

He gives himſelf up to his Pleaſures.

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ty and ungrateful Part of his Buſineſs, grew more remiſs in his Application to it, and indulged to his Youth and Appetite that Licenſe and Satisfaction that it deſired, and for which He had Opportunity enough, and could not be without Miniſters abundant for any ſuch Negotiations; the Time itſelf; and the young People thereof of either Sex having been educated in all the Liberty of Vice without Reprehenſion or Reſtraint. All Relations were confounded by the ſeveral Sects in Religion, which diſcountenanced all Forms of Reverence and Reſpect, as Reliques and Marks of Superſtition. Children aſked not Bleſſing of their Parents; nor did They concern themſelves in the Education of their Children, but were well content that They ſhould take any Courſe to maintain themſelves, that They might be free from that Expenſe. The young Women converſed without any Circumſpection or Modeſty, and frequently met at Taverns and common Eatinghouſes; and They who were ſtricter and more ſevere in their Comportment, became the Wives of the ſeditious Preachers or of Officers of the Army. The Daughters of noble and illuſtrious Families beſtowed themſelves upon the Divines of the Time, or other low and unequal Matches. Parents had no Manner of Authority over their Children, nor Children any Obedience or Submiſſion to their Parents; (22) but *every one did that which was good in his own Eyes.* This unnatural Antipathy had its firſt Riſe from the beginning of the Rebellion, when the Fathers and Sons engaged themſelves in the contrary Parties, the one chooſing to ſerve the King, and the other the Parliament; which Diviſion and Contradiction of Affections was afterwards improved to mutual Animoſities and direct Malice, by the Help of the Preachers and the ſeveral Factions in Religion, or by the Abſence of all Religion: So that there were never ſuch Examples of Impiety between ſuch Relations in any Age of the World, Chriſtian or Heathen, as that wicked Time from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the King's Return; of which the Families of *Hotham* and *Vane* are ſufficient Inſtances, though other more illuſtrious Houſes may be named, where the ſame accurſed Fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the World. The Relation between Maſters and Servants had been long ſince diſſolved by the Parliament, that their Army might be increaſed by the Prentices againſt their Maſters Conſent, and that They might have Intelligence of the ſecret Meet-

Wickedneſs of all Kind introduced by the late Anarchy.

ings and Tranſactions in thoſe Houſes and Families which were not devoted to them; from whence iſſued the fouleſt Treacheries and Perfidiouſneſs that were ever practiſed: And the Blood of the Maſter was frequently the Price of the Servant's Villany.

CROMWELL had been moſt ſtrict and ſevere in the forming the Manners of his Army, and in chaſtiſing all Irregularities; inſomuch that ſure there was never any ſuch Body of Men, ſo without Rapine, Swearing, Drinking, or any other Debauchery, but the Wickedneſs of their Hearts: And all Perſons cheriſhed by him were of the ſame Leven, and to common Appearance without the Practice of any of thoſe Vices, which were moſt infamous to the People, and which drew the publick Hatred upon thoſe who were notoriouſly guilty of them. But then He was well pleaſed with the moſt ſcandalous Lives of thoſe who pretended to be for the King, and wiſhed that all his were ſuch, and took all the Pains He could that They might be generally thought to be ſuch; whereas in Truth the greateſt Part of thoſe who were guilty of thoſe Diſorders, were young Men who had never ſeen the King, and had been born and bred in thoſe corrupt Times *when there was no King in Iſrael.* He was equally delighted with the Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs of the *Preſbyterians*, who in Contempt of the Thrift, Sordidneſs and affected ill Breeding of the *Independents*, thought it became them to live more generouſly, and were not ſtrict in reſtraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate Appetite of Fleſh and Blood, but indulged it with too much and too open Scandal, from which He reaped no ſmall Advantage; and wiſhed all thoſe who were not his Friends ſhould not only be infected, but given over to the Practice of the moſt odious Vices and Wickedneſs.

In a Word, the Nation was corrupted from that Integrity, good Nature and Generoſity that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been ſignal and celebrated throughout the World; in the Room whereof the vileſt Craft and Diſſembling had ſucceeded. The Tenderneſs of the Bowels which is the Quinteſſence of Juſtice and Compaſſion, the very Mention of good Nature, was laughed at and looked upon as the Mark and Character of a Fool; and a Roughneſs of Manners, or Hardheartedneſs and Cruelty was affected. In the Place of Generoſity, a vile and ſordid Love of Money was entertained as the trueſt

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Wiſdom, and any Thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total Decay, or rather a final Expiration, of all Friendſhip; and to diſſuade a Man from any Thing He affected, or to reprove him for any
(23) Thing He had done amiſs, or to adviſe him to do any Thing He had no Mind to do, was thought an Impertinence unworthy a wiſe Man, and received with Reproach and Contempt. Theſe Dilapidations and Ruins of the ancient Candour and Diſcipline were not taken enough to Heart, and repaired with that early Care and Severity that they might have been, for they were not then incorrigible; but by the Remiſſneſs of applying Remedies to ſome, and the Unwarineſs in giving a Kind of Countenance to others, too much of that Poiſon inſinuated itſelf into Minds not well fortified againſt ſuch Infection: So that much of the Malignity was tranſplanted inſtead of being extinguiſhed, to the Corruption of many wholſome Bodies, which, being corrupted, ſpread the Diſeaſes more powerfully and more miſchievouſly.

THAT the King might be the more vacant to thoſe Thoughts and Divertiſements which pleaſed him beſt, He appointed the Chancellor and ſome other, to have frequent Conſultations with ſuch Members of the Parliament, who were moſt able and willing to ſerve him; and to concert all the Ways and Means, by which the Tranſactions in the Houſes might be carried with the more Expedition, and attended with the beſt Succeſs. Theſe daily Conferences proved very beneficial to his Majeſty's Service; the Members of both Houſes being very willing to receive Advice and Direction, and to purſue what They were directed; and all Things were done there in good Order, and ſucceeded well. All the Courts of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-Hall* were preſently filled with grave and learned Judges, who had either deſerted their Practice and Profeſſion during all the rebellious Times, or had given full Evidence of their Affection to the King and the eſtabliſhed Laws in many weighty Inſtances: And They were then quickly ſent in their ſeveral Circuits, to adminiſter Juſtice to the People according to the old Forms of Law, which was univerſally received and ſubmitted to with all poſſible Joy and Satisfaction. All Commiſſions of the Peace were renewed, and the Names of thoſe Perſons inſerted therein, who had been moſt eminent Sufferers for the King, and were known to have entire Affections for his Majeſty and the

The old Courſe of Juſtice reſtored.

Laws; though it was not poſſible, but ſome would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful Inclinations, by their not being known to him whoſe Province it was to depute them. Denied it cannot be, that there appeared, ſooner than was thought poſſible, a general Settlement in the civil Juſtice of the Kingdom; that no Man complained without Remedy, and *every Man dwelt again under the Shadow of his own Vine*, without any Complaint of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion.

THE King expoſed himſelf with more Condeſcenſion than was neceſſary to Perſons of all Conditions, heard all that They had a Mind to ſay to him, and gave them ſuch Anſwers as for the preſent ſeemed full of Grace. He was too well pleaſed to hear both the Men and the Women of all Factions and Fancies in Religion diſcourſe in their own Method, and enlarged himſelf in Debate with them; which made every one believe that They were more favoured by him than They had Cauſe: Which Kind of Liberty, though at firſt it was accompanied with Acclamations and Acknowledgment of his being a Prince of rare Parts and Affability, yet it was attended afterwards with ill Conſequences, and gave many Men Opportunity to declare and publiſh, that the King had ſaid many Things to them which He had never ſaid, and made many Conceſſions and Promiſes to them which He had never uttered or thought upon.

The Chancellor principally engaged in the publick Tranſactions.

THE Chancellor was generally thought to have moſt Credit with his Maſter, and moſt Power in the Counſels, becauſe the King referred all Matters of what Kind ſo- (24)
ever to him. And whoſoever repaired to him for his Direction in any Buſineſs was ſent to the Chancellor, not only becauſe He had a great Confidence in his Integrity, having been with him ſo many Years, and of whoſe indefatigable Induſtry He and all Men had great Experience; but becauſe He ſaw thoſe Men, whom He was as willing to truſt, and who had at leaſt an equal Share in his Affections, more inclined to Eaſe and Pleaſure, and willing that the Weight of the Work ſhould lie on the Chancellor's Shoulders, with whom They had an entire Friendſhip, and knew well that They ſhould with more Eaſe be conſulted by him in all Matters of Importance. Nor was it poſſible for him, at the firſt Coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the Counſels, of how diſtinct a Nature ſoever, becauſe He had been beſt acquainted with all

Tranſactions

Tranſactions whilſt the King was abroad; and therefore Communication with him in all Things was thought neceſſary by thoſe, who were to have any Part in them: Beſides that He continued ſtill Chancellor of the Exchequer by Virtue of the Grant formerly made to him by the laſt King, during whoſe Time He executed that Office, but reſolved to ſurrender it into the King's Hand as ſoon as his Majeſty ſhould reſolve on whom to confer it; He propoſing Nothing to himſelf, but to be left at Liberty to intend only the Diſcharge of his own Office, which He thought himſelf unequal to, and hoped only to improve his Talent that Way by a moſt diligent Application, well knowing the great Abilities of thoſe who had formerly ſate in that Office, and that They found it required their full Time and all their Faculties. And therefore He did moſt heartily deſire to meddle with Nothing but that Province, which though in itſelf and the conſtant Perquiſites of it is not ſufficient to ſupport the Dignity of it, yet was then, upon the King's Return; and, after it had been ſo many Years without a lawful Officer, would unqueſtionably bring in Money enough to be a Foundation to a future Fortune competent to his Ambition, and enough to provoke the Envy of many, who believed They deſerved better than He. And that this was the Temper and Reſolution He brought with him into *England*, and how unwillingly He departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three Inſtances which ſhall be given in their proper Place. However, He could not expect that Freedom, till the Council ſhould be ſettled (into which the King admitted all who had been Counſellors to his Father and had not eminently forfeited that Promotion by their Revolt, and many of thoſe who had been and ſtill were recommended by the General, amongſt whom there were ſome, who would not have been received upon any other Title) and until thoſe Officers could be ſettled, who might take particular Care of their ſeveral Provinces.

THE King had upon great Deliberation whilſt He was beyond the Seas, after his Return appeared in View, firmly reſolved to reform thoſe Exceſſes which were known to be in the great Offices, eſpecially in thoſe of his Houſhold, whilſt the Places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant Expenſes there; and firſt himſelf to gratify thoſe who had followed and ſerved him, in ſettling them in ſuch inferiour Offices and Places, as Cuſ-

tom had put in the Diſpoſal of the great Officers when they ſhould become vacant after their Admiſſion. And of this Kind He had made many Promiſes, and given many Warrants under his Sign Manual to Perſons who to his own Knowledge had merited thoſe Obligations. But moſt of thoſe Predeterminations, and many other Reſolutions of that Kind, vaniſhed and expired in the Jollity of the Return, and new Inclinations and Affections ſeemed to be more ſeaſonable. The General, who was the ſole Pillar of the King's Confidence, had by the Parliament been inveſted (before the King's Return) in all the Offices and Commands which *Cromwell* had enjoyed. He was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and General of all the Armies and Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, in the three Kingdoms; and it was not fit that He ſhould be degraded from either upon his Majeſty's Arrival: Therefore all Diligence was uſed in diſpatching Grants of all thoſe Commands to him under the Great Seal of *England*. And that He might be obliged to be always near his Majeſty's Perſon, He was preſently ſworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber; and might chooſe what Office He liked beſt in the Court, whilſt Titles of Honour were preparing by the Attorney, and Particulars of Lands enquired after by the Auditors and Receivers, which in all Reſpects might raiſe him to that Height which would moſt pleaſe him. He made Choice to be Maſter of the Horſe, and was immediately gratified with it; and thereby all thoſe poor Gentlemen, who had Promiſes and Warrants for ſeveral Places depending upon that great Officer, were diſappointed, and offered the King's Sign Manual to no Purpoſe for their Admiſſion. The General in his own Nature was an immoderate Lover of Money, and yet would have gratified ſome of the Pretenders upon his Majeſty's Recommendation, if the vile good Huſwifery of his Wife had not engroſſed that Province, and preferred him who offered moſt Money before all other Conſiderations or Motives. And hereby not only many honeſt Men, who had ſeveral Ways ſerved the King, and ſpent the Fortunes They had been Maſters of, were denied the Recompenſes the King had deſigned to them; but ſuch Men who had been moſt notorious in the Malice againſt the Crown from the Beginning of the Rebellion, or had been employed in all the active Offices to affront and oppreſs his Party, were for Money preferred and admitted into

The General confirmed in the Offices aſſigned him by the Parliament.

Alſo ſworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Maſter of the Horſe.

(25)

thoſe

thoſe Offices, and became the King's Servants very much againſt his Will, and with his manifeſt Regret on the Behalf of the honeſt Men who had been ſo unworthily rejected. And this occaſioned the firſt Murmur and Diſcontent, which appeared after the King's Return, amongſt thoſe who were not inclined to it, yet found every Day freſh Occaſions to nouriſh and improve it.

THE ſettling this great Officer in the Stables, made it neceſſary to appoint a Lord Steward of the Houſhold, who was a neceſſary Officer for the Parliament, being by the Statute appointed to ſwear all the Members of the Houſe of Commons; and to this Charge the Marquis of *Ormond* had been long deſigned, and was then ſworn. And They had Both their Tables erected according to the old Models, and all thoſe Exceſſes which the irregular Precedents of former Times had introduced, and which the King had ſo ſolemnly reſolved to reform before it could be ſaid to trench upon the Rights of particular Perſons. But the good Humour the King was in, and the Plenty which generally appeared, how much ſoever without a Fund to ſupport it, and eſpecially the natural Deſire his Majeſty had to ſee every Body pleaſed, baniſhed all Thoughts of ſuch Providence; inſtead whereof He reſolved forthwith to ſettle his Houſe according to former Rules, or rather without any Rule, and to appoint the Officers who impatiently expected their Promotion. He directed his own Table to be more magnificently furniſhed than it had ever been in any Time of his Predeceſſors, which Example was eaſily followed in all Offices.

The Marquis of Ormond *made Lord Steward of the Houſhold.*

THAT He might give a lively Inſtance of his Grace to thoſe who had been of the Party which had been faulty, according to his Declaration from *Breda*, He made of his own free Inclination and Choice the Earl of *Mancheſter* (who was looked upon as one of the principal Heads of (26) the Preſbyterian Party) Lord Chamberlain of his Houſe; who, continuing ſtill to perform all good Offices to his old Friends, complied very punctually with all the Obligations and Duties which his Place required, never failed being at Chapel and at all the King's Devotions with all imaginable Decency; and, by his extraordinary Civilities and Behaviour towards all Men, did not only appear the fitteſt Perſon the King could have choſen for that Office in that Time, but rendered himſelf ſo acceptable to all Degrees of Men, that none, but ſuch who were implacable

The Earl of Mancheſter *Lord Chamberlain.*

ble towards all who had ever differved the King, were ſorry to ſee him ſo promoted. And it muſt be confeſſed, that as He had expreſſed much Penitence for what He had done amiſs, and was mortally hated and perſecuted by *Cromwell*, even for his Life, and had done many Acts of Merit towards the King; ſo He was of all Men who had ever borne Arms againſt the King, both in the Gentleneſs and Juſtice of his Nature, in the Sweetneſs and Evenneſs of his Converſation, and in his real Principles for Monarchy, the moſt worthy to be received into the Truſt and Confidence in which He was placed. With his, the two other white Staves were diſpoſed to thoſe to whom they were deſigned, when the King was Prince of *Wales*, by his Father: And all other inferiour Officers were made, who were to take Care of the Expenſes of the Houſe, and were a great Part of it.

And thus the King's Houſe quickly appeared in its full Luſtre, the Eating and Drinking very grateful to all Men, and the Charge and Expenſe of it much exceeding the Precedents of the moſt luxurious Times; and all this before there was any Proviſion of ready Money, or any Aſſignation of a future Fund, to diſcharge or ſupport it. All Men were ready to deliver their Goods upon Truſt, the Officers too remiſs in computing the Diſburſements; inſomuch as the Debts contracted by thoſe Exceſſes in leſs than the firſt Year broke all the Meaſures in that Degree, that they could not ſuddenly be retrenched for the future; and the Debt itſelf was not diſcharged in many Years.

The King had in his Purpoſe, long before his Return, to make the Earl of *Southampton* (who was the moſt valued and eſteemed of all the Nobility, and generally thought worthy of any Honour or Office) Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; but He deſired firſt to ſee ſome Revenue ſettled by the Parliament, and that Part of the old, which had been ſold and diſperſed by extravagant Grants and Sales, reduced into the old Channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the Cuſtoms to be put in ſuch Order (which were not yet granted, and only continued by Orders as illegal as the late Times had been accuſtomed to, and to the Authority whereof He had no Mind to adminiſter) before He was willing to receive the Staff. And ſo the Office of the Treaſury was by Commiſſion executed by ſeveral Lords of the Council, whereof the

the Chancellor, as well by the Dignity of his Place, as by his ſtill being Chancellor of the Exchequer, was one, and ſo engaged in the putting the Cuſtoms likewiſe into Commiſſioners Hands, and ſettling all the other Branches of the Revenue in ſuch Manner as was thought moſt reaſonable; in all Debates whereof his Majeſty himſelf was ſtill preſent, and approved the Concluſion. But after a Month or two ſpent in this Method, in the Crowd of ſo much Buſineſs of ſeveral Natures, the King found ſo little Expedition that He thought it beſt to determine that Commiſſion, and ſo gave the Staff to the Earl of *Southampton*, and made him Treaſurer. And the Chancellor at the ſame Time ſurrendering his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer into the King's Hands, his Majeſty upon the humble Deſire of the Earl conferred that (27) Office upon Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, who had married his Niece, and whoſe Parts well enough qualified him for the Diſcharge thereof; though ſome other Qualities of his, as well known, brought no Advantage to his Majeſty by that Promotion. And from this Time the Chancellor would never intermeddle in the Buſineſs of the Exchequer, nor admit any Applications to him in it: However, the Friendſhip was ſo great between the Treaſurer and him, and ſo notorious from an ancient Date, and from a joint Confidence in each other in the Service of the laſt King, that neither of them concluded any Matter of Importance without conſulting with the other. And ſo the Treaſurer, Marquis of *Ormond*, the General, with the two Secretaries of State, were of that ſecret Committee with the Chancellor, which, under the Notion of foreign Affairs, were appointed by the King to conſult all his Affairs before they came to a publick Debate; and in which there could not be a more united Concurrence of Judgments and Affections.

The Earl of Southampton *Lord High Treaſurer.*

And Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

YET it was the Chancellor's Misfortune to be thought to have the greateſt Credit with the King, for the Reaſons mentioned before, and which for ſome Time ſeemed to be without Envy, by Reaſon of his many Years Service of the Crown, and conſtant Fidelity to the ſame, and his long Attendance upon the Perſon of his Majeſty, and the Friendſhip He had with the moſt eminent Perſons who had adhered to that Intereſt. Yet He foreſaw, and told many of his Friends, "that the Credit He was "thought to have with the King, and which He knew

"was

"was much leſs than it was thought to be, and his being "obliged by the King to conduct many Affairs, which "were foreign to thoſe which principally concerned and "related to his Office, would in a ſhort Time raiſe ſuch "a Storm of Envy and Malice againſt him, that He "ſhould not be able to ſtand the Shock." All Mens Impatience to get, and Immodeſty in aſking, when the King had Nothing to give, with his Majeſty's Eaſineſs of Acceſs, and that *Imbecillitas Frontis* which kept him from denying, together with reſcuing himſelf from the moſt troubleſome Importunities by ſending Men to the Chancellor, could not but in a ſhort Time make him be looked upon as the Man that obſtructed all their Pretences; in which They were confirmed by his own Carriage towards them, which though They could not deny to be full of Civility, yet He always diſſuaded them from purſuing the Suits They had made to the King, as unfit or unjuſt for his Majeſty to grant, how inclinable ſoever He had ſeemed to them. And ſo, inſtead of promiſing to aſſiſt them, He poſitively denied ſo much as to endeavour it, when the Matter would not bear it; but where He could do Courteſies, no Man proceeded more cheerfully and more unaſked, which very many of all Conditions knew to be true; nor did He ever receive Recompenſe or Reward for any ſuch Offices. Of which Temper of his there will be Occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

The Chancellor foreſees a Storm of Envy ariſing againſt him.

A Diſcovery of the Duke of York's Marriage with the Chancellor's Daughter.

THE firſt Matter of general and publick Importance, and which reſulted not from any Debate in Parliament, was the Diſcovery of a great Affection that the Duke had for the Chancellor's Daughter, who was a Maid of Honour to the King's Siſter the Princeſs Royal of *Orange*, and of a Contract of Marriage between them: With which Nobody was ſo ſurpriſed and confounded as the Chancellor himſelf, who being of a Nature free from any Jealouſy, and very confident of an entire Affection and Obedience from all his Children, and particularly from that Daughter, whom He had always loved dearly, never had in the leaſt Degree ſuſpected any ſuch Thing; though He knew afterwards, that the Duke's Affection and Kindneſs had been much ſpoken of beyond the Seas, but without the leaſt Suſpicion in any Body that it (28) could ever tend to Marriage. And therefore it was cheriſhed and promoted in the Duke by thoſe, and only by thoſe, who were declared Enemies to the Chancellor, and

and who hoped from thence, that ſome ſignal Diſgrace and Diſhonour would befall the Chancellor and his Family; in which They were the more reaſonably confirmed by the Manner of the Duke's living towards him, which had never any Thing of Grace in it, but very much of Diſfavour, to which the Lord *Berkley*, and moſt of his other Servants to pleaſe the Lord *Berkley*, had contributed all They could; and the Queen's notorious Prejudice to him had made it Part of his Duty to her Majeſty, which had been a very great Diſcomfort to the Chancellor in his whole Adminiſtration beyond the Seas. But now, upon this Diſcovery and the Conſequence thereof, He looked upon himſelf as a ruined Perſon, and that the King's Indignation ought to fall upon him as the Contriver of that Indignity to the Crown, which as himſelf from his Soul abhorred, and would have had the Preſumption of his Daughter to be puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity, ſo He believed the whole Kingdom would be inflamed to the Puniſhment of it, and to prevent the Diſhonour which might reſult from it. And the leaſt Calamity that He expected upon himſelf and Family, how innocent ſoever, was an everlaſting Baniſhment out of the Kingdom, and to end his Days in foreign Parts in Poverty and Miſery. All which undoubtedly muſt have come to paſs upon that Occaſion, if the King had either had that Indignation, which had been juſt in him; or if He had withdrawn his Grace and Favour from him, and left him to be ſacrificed by the Envy and Rage of others; though at this Time He was not thought to have many Enemies, nor indeed any who were Friends to any other honeſt Men. But the King's own Knowledge of his Innocence, and thereupon his gracious Condeſcenſion and Interpoſition, diverting any rough Proceeding, and ſo a contrary Effect to what hath been mentioned having been produced from thence; the Chancellor's Greatneſs ſeemed to be thereby confirmed, his Family eſtabliſhed above the Reach of common Envy, and his Fortune to be in a growing and proſperous Condition not like to be ſhaken. Yet after many Years Poſſeſſion of this Proſperity, an unexpected Guſt of Diſpleaſure took again its Riſe from this Original, and overwhelmed him with Variety and Succeſſion of Misfortunes.

THE Chancellor, as ſoon as the King was at *Whitehall*, had ſent for his Daughter, having a Deſign preſently to marry

marry her; to which Purpoſe He had an Overture from a noble Family, on the Behalf of a well-bred hopeful young Gentleman, who was the Heir of it. His Daughter quickly arrived at her Father's Houſe, to his great Joy, having always had a great Affection for her; and She being his eldeſt Child, He had more Acquaintance with her than with any of his Children; and being now of an Age fit for Marriage, He was well pleaſed that He had an Opportunity to place her in ſuch a Condition, as with God's Bleſſing was like to yield her much Content.

The Duke's Declaration of it to the King.

She had not been long in *England*, when the Duke informed the King "of the Affection and Engagement that "had been long between them; that They had been long "contracted, and that She was with Child:" And therefore with all imaginable Importunity He begged his Majeſty's Leave and Permiſſion upon his Knees "that He "might publickly marry her, in ſuch a Manner as his "Majeſty thought neceſſary for the Conſequence thereof." The King was much troubled with it, and more with his Brother's Paſſion, which was expreſſed in a very wonderful Manner and with many Tears, proteſting "that if "his Majeſty ſhould not give his Conſent, He would im- [29] "mediately leave the Kingdom, and muſt ſpend his Life "in foreign Parts." His Majeſty was very much perplexed to reſolve what to do: He knew the Chancellor ſo well, that He concluded that He was not privy to it, nor would ever approve it; and yet that it might draw much Prejudice upon him, by the Jealouſy of thoſe who were not well acquainted with his Nature. He preſently ſent for the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who He well knew were his Boſom-Friends, and informed them at large and of all Particulars which had paſſed from the Duke to him, and commanded them preſently to ſee for the Chancellor to come to his own Chamber at *Whitehall*, where They would meet him upon a Buſineſs of great Importance, which the King had commended to them for their joint Advice. They no ſooner met, than the Marquis of *Ormond* told the Chancellor, "that He had a Matter to inform him of, that He doubted "would give him much Trouble;" and therefore adviſed him to compoſe himſelf to hear it: And then told him, "that the Duke of *York* had owned a great Affection for "his Daughter to the King, and that He much doubted "that She was with Child by the Duke, and that the King

The King ſends two of the Chancellor's Boſom-Friends to open the Matter to him.

"King required the Advice of them and of him what He "was to do."

THE Manner of the Chancellor's receiving this Advertiſement made it evident enough, that He was ſtruck with it to the Heart, and had never had the leaſt Jealouſy or Apprehenſion of it. He broke out into a very immoderate Paſſion againſt the Wickedneſs of his Daughter, and ſaid with all imaginable Earneſtneſs, "that as ſoon as He "came Home, He would turn her out of his Houſe, as "a Strumpet, to ſhift for herſelf, and would never ſee "her again." They told him, "that his Paſſion was too "violent to adminiſter good Counſel to him, that They "thought that the Duke was married to his Daughter, "and that there were other Meaſures to be taken, than "thoſe which the Diſorder He was in had ſuggeſted to "him." Whereupon He fell into new Commotions, and ſaid, "if that were true, He was well prepared to "adviſe what was to be done: That He had much rather "his Daughter ſhould be the Duke's Whore than his "Wife: In the former Caſe Nobody could blame him for "the Reſolution He had taken, for He was not obliged "to keep a Whore for the greateſt Prince alive; and the "Indignity to himſelf He would ſubmit to the good Plea-"ſure of God. But if there were any Reaſon to ſuſpect "the other, He was ready to give a poſitive Judgment, "in which He hoped their Lordſhips would concur with "him; that the King ſhould immediately cauſe the Wo-"man to be ſent to the *Tower*, and to be caſt into a Dun-"geon, under ſo ſtrict a Guard, that no Perſon living "ſhould be admitted to come to her; and then that an "Act of Parliament ſhould be immediately paſſed for the "cutting off her Head, to which He would not only "give his Conſent, but would very willingly be the firſt "Man that ſhould propoſe it:" And whoever knew the Man, will believe that He ſaid all this very heartily.

The Chancellor ſtruck with it to the Heart.

And breaks out into a very immoderate Paſſion.

IN this Point of Time the King entered the Room, and ſate down at the Table; and perceiving by his Countenance the Agony the Chancellor was in, and his ſwollen Eyes from whence a Flood of Tears were fallen, He aſked the other Lords, "what They had done, and whether "They had reſolved on any Thing." The Earl of *Southampton* ſaid, "his Majeſty muſt conſult with ſoberer Men; "that He" (pointing to the Chancellor) "was mad, and "had propoſed ſuch extravagant Things, that He was no

"more

"more to be conſulted with." Whereupon his Majeſty looking upon him with a wonderful Benignity, ſaid, "Chancellor, I knew this Buſineſs would trouble you; (30) "and therefore I appointed your two Friends to confer "firſt with you upon it, before I would ſpeak with you "myſelf: But You muſt now lay aſide all Paſſion that "diſturbs you, and conſider that this Buſineſs will not do "itſelf; that it will quickly take Air; and therefore it is "fit that I firſt reſolve what to do, before other Men un-"called preſume to give their Counſel: Tell me there-"fore what You would have me do, and I will follow "your Advice." Then his Majeſty enlarged upon the Paſſion of his Brother, and the Expreſſions He had often uſed, "that He was not capable of having any other "Wife, and the like." Upon which the Chancellor aroſe, and with a little Compoſedneſs ſaid, "Sir, I hope I need "make no Apology to you for myſelf, and of my own "in this Matter, upon which I look with ſo much De-"teſtation, that though I could have wiſhed, that your "Brother had not thought it fit to have put this Diſgrace "upon me, I had much rather ſubmit and bear it with "all Humility, than that it ſhould be repaired by making "her his Wife; the Thought whereof I do ſo much abo-"minate, that I had much rather ſee her dead, with all "the Infamy that is due to her Preſumption." And then He repeated all that He had before ſaid to the Lords, of ſending her preſently to the *Tower*, and the reſt; and concluded, "Sir, I do upon all my Oaths which I have "taken to you to give you faithful Counſels, and from "all the ſincere Gratitude I ſtand obliged to you for ſo "many Obligations, renew this Counſel to you; and do "beſeech you to purſue it, as the only Expedient that "can free you from the Evils that this Buſineſs will "otherwiſe bring upon you." And obſerving by the King's Countenance that He was not pleaſed with his Advice, He continued and ſaid, "I am the dulleſt Crea-"ture alive, if, having been with your Majeſty ſo many "Years, I do not know your Infirmities better than other "Men. You are of too eaſy and gentle a Nature to con-"tend with thoſe rough Affronts, which the Iniquity and "Licenſe of the late Times is like to put upon you, be-"fore it be ſubdued and reformed. The Preſumption "all Kind of Men have upon your Temper is too no-"torious to all Men, and lamented by all who wiſh

"you

"you well: And, truſt me, an Example of the higheſt "Severity in a Caſe that ſo nearly concerns you, and that "relates to the Perſon who is neareſt to you, will be ſo "ſeaſonable, that your Reign, during the remaining Part "of your Life, will be the eaſier to you, and all Men "will take Heed, how They impudently offend you."

HE had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when the Duke of *York* came in; whereupon the King ſpake of ſome other Buſineſs, and ſhortly after went out of the Room with his Brother, whom (as was ſhortly known) He informed of all that the Chancellor had ſaid, who, as ſoon as He came to his Houſe, ſent his Wife to command his Daughter to keep her Chamber, and not to admit any Viſits; whereas before She had always been at Dinner and Supper, and had much Company reſorting to her: Which was all that He thought fit to do, upon the firſt Aſſault, and till He had ſlept upon it, (which He did very unquietly) and reflected upon what was like to be the Effect of ſo extravagant a Cauſe. And this was quickly known to the Duke, who was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the King, as of an Indignity offered to him. And the next Morning the King chid the Chancellor for proceeding with ſo much Precipitation, and required him "to take off that Reſtraint, and to leave her to the Li-"berty She had been accuſtomed to." To which He replied, "that her having not diſcharged the Duty of a "Daughter ought not to deprive him of the Authority of
(31) "a Father; and therefore He muſt humbly beg his Ma-"jeſty not to interpoſe his Commands, againſt his doing "any Thing that his own Dignity required: That He "only expected what his Majeſty would do upon the Ad-"vice He had humbly offered to him, and when He ſaw "that, He would himſelf proceed as He was ſure would "become him:" Nor did He take off any of the Reſtraint He had impoſed. Yet He diſcovered after, that even in that Time the Duke had found Ways to come to her, and to ſtay whole Nights with her, by the Adminiſtration of thoſe who were not ſuſpected by him, and who had the Excuſe, "that They knew that They were "married."

THIS Subject was quickly the Matter of all Mens Diſcourſe, and did not produce thoſe Murmurs and diſcontented Reflections, which were expected. The Parliament was ſitting, and took not the leaſt Notice of it; nor

This Affair produces not thoſe Murmurs and Diſcontents the Chancellor expected.

nor could it be diſcerned, that many were ſcandalized at it. The Chancellor received the ſame Reſpects from all Men, which He had been accuſtomed to. And the Duke himſelf, in the Houſe of Peers, frequently ſate by him upon the Wool-Sack, that He might the more eaſily confer with him upon the Matters which were debated, and receive his Advice how to behave himſelf; which made all Men believe, that there had been a good Underſtanding between them. And yet it is very true, that, in all that Time, the Duke never ſpake one Word to him of that Affair. The King ſpake every Day about it, and told the Chancellor, "that He muſt behave himſelf "wiſely, for that the Thing was remedileſs; and, that "his Majeſty knew that They were married, which would "quickly appear to all Men, who knew that Nothing "could be done upon it." In this Time the Chancellor had conferred with his Daughter without any Thing of Indulgence, and not only diſcovered, that They were unqueſtionably married, but by whom, and who were preſent at it, who would be ready to avow it; which pleaſed him not, though it diverted him from uſing ſome of that Rigour, which He intended. And He ſaw no other Remedy could be applied, but that which He had propoſed to the King, who thought of Nothing like it.

At this Time, there was News of the Princeſs Royal's Embarkation in *Holland*, which obliged the King and the Duke of *York* to make a Journey to *Dover* to receive her, who came for no other Reaſon, but to congratulate with the King, her Brother, and to have her Share in the publick Joy. The Morning that They began their Journey, the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor's Houſe; and the King, after He had ſpoken to him of ſome Buſineſs that was to be done in his Abſence, going out of the Room, the Duke ſtayed behind, and whiſpered the Chancellor in the Ear, becauſe there were others at a little Diſtance, "that He knew that He had "heard of the Buſineſs between him and his Daughter, "and of which He confeſſed He ought to have ſpoken "with him before; but that when He returned from "*Dover*, He would give him full Satisfaction: In the "mean Time" He deſired him "not to be offended with "his Daughter." To which the Chancellor made no other Anſwer, than "that it was a Matter too great for "him to ſpeak of."

When

WHEN the Princeſs Royal came to the Town, there grew to be a great Silence in that Affair. The Duke ſaid Nothing to the Chancellor, nor came nor ſent to his Daughter, as He had conſtantly uſed to do. And it was induſtriouſly publiſhed about the Town, that that Buſineſs was broken off, and that the Duke was reſolved never to think more of it. The Queen had before written a very
(32) ſharp Letter to the Duke, full of Indignation, that He ſhould have ſo low Thoughts as to marry ſuch a Woman; to whom He ſhewed the Letter, as not moved by it. And now She ſent the King Word, "that She was "on the Way to *England*, to prevent, with her Autho- "rity, ſo great a Stain and Diſhonour to the Crown;" and uſed many Threats and paſſionate Expreſſions upon the Subject. The Chancellor ſate unconcerned in all the Rumours which were ſpread, "that the Queen was com- "ing with a Purpoſe to complain to the Parliament againſt "the Chancellor, and to apply the higheſt Remedies to "prevent ſo great a Miſchief."

The Queen Mother greatly incenſed at it.

IN the mean Time it was reported abroad, that the Duke had diſcovered ſome Diſloyalty in the Lady, which He had never ſuſpected, but had now ſo full Evidence of it, that He was reſolved never more to ſee her; and that He was not married. And all his Family, whereof the Lord *Berkley* and his Nephew were the chief, who had long hated the Chancellor, ſpake very loudly and ſcandalouſly of it. The King carried himſelf with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor, and was with him more, and ſpake upon all Occaſions and before all Perſons more graciouſly of him, than ever. He told him with much Trouble, "that his Brother was abuſed; and "that there was a wicked Conſpiracy ſet on Foot by Vil- "lains, which, in the End, muſt prove of more Diſho- "nour to the Duke, than to any Body elſe."

The King carries himſelf with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor.

THE Queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and haſtened by this Occaſion; and it was fit for the King and the Duke, to wait on her at the Shore. But before his Majeſty's Going, He reſolved of himſelf to do a Grace to the Chancellor, that ſhould publiſh, how far He was from being ſhaken in his Favour towards him, and to do it with ſuch Circumſtances, as gave it great Luſtre. From the Time of his Coming into *England*, He had often offered the Chancellor to make him a Baron, and told him, "that He was aſſured by many of

"the Lords, that it was moſt neceſſary for his Service in "the Parliament." But He had ſtill refuſed it, and beſought his Majeſty "not to think of it; that it would in- "creaſe the Envy againſt him, if He ſhould confer that "Honour upon him ſo ſoon; but that hereafter, when "his Majeſty's Affairs ſhould be ſettled, and He, out of "the extraordinary Perquiſites of his Office, ſhould be "able to make ſome Addition to his ſmall Fortune, He "would with that Humility that became him, receive "that Honour from him." The King, in few Days after, coming to him, and being alone with him in his Cabinet, at going away gave him a little Billet into his Hand, that contained a Warrant of his own Handwriting to Sir *Stephen Fox*, to pay to the Chancellor the Sum of twenty thouſand Pounds; which was Part of the Money, which the Parliament had preſented to the King at the *Hague*, and for which He had been compelled to take Bills of Exchange again from *Amſterdam* upon *London*; which was only known to the King, the Chancellor, and Sir *Stephen Fox*, who was intruſted to receive it, as He had done all the King's Monies for many Years beyond the Seas. This Bounty flowing immediately from the King, at ſuch a melancholick Conjuncture, and of which Nobody could have Notice, could not but much raiſe the Spirits of the Chancellor. Nor did the King's Goodneſs reſt here, but the Night before He began his Journey towards the Queen, He ſent for the Attorney General, whom He knew to be moſt devoted to the Chancellor, and told him, "that He muſt intruſt him in an Affair, that He "muſt not impart to the Chancellor;" and then gave him a Warrant ſigned for the Creation of him a Baron, which He commanded "to be ready to paſs the Seal, againſt "the Hour of his Majeſty's Return, and He would then (33) "ſee it ſealed himſelf: But if the Chancellor came firſt to "know it, He would uſe great Importunity to ſtop it." The Attorney ſaid, "it would be impoſſible to conceal it "from him, becauſe, without his Privity and Direction, "He knew not what Title to give him for his Barony." The King replied with Warmth, "that He ſhould confer "with ſome of his Friends of the Way; but that He "would take it ill of him, if there were any Delay in it, "and if it were not ready for the Seal at the Time of his "Return, which would be in few Days." The Attorney came to the Chancellor and told him, "He would "break

Makes him a Preſent of 20,000 Pounds.

"break a Truſt to do him a Service; and therefore He "preſumed, that He would not be ſo unjuſt to let him "ſuffer by it:" And then told him all that had paſſed between the King and him. And the Chancellor confeſſed, "that the King's obliging Manner of Proceeding, and "the Conjuncture in which this Honour was given," though He had before refuſed it with Obſtinacy, "made "it now very grateful to him:" And ſo without Heſitation He told him what Title He would aſſume. And all was ready againſt the King's Return, and ſigned by him, and ſealed the ſame Night. *And creates him a Baron.*

THE Queen had expreſſed her Indignation to the King and Duke, with her natural Paſſion, from the Time of their Meeting; and the Duke had aſked her Pardon, "for "having placed his Affection ſo unequally, of which He "was ſure there was now an End; that He was not mar-"ried, and had now ſuch Evidence of her Unworthineſs, "that He ſhould no more think of her." And it was now avowedly ſaid, that Sir *Charles Berkley*, who was Captain of his Guard, and in much more Credit and Favour with the Duke than his Uncle, (though a young Man of a diſſolute Life, and prone to all Wickedneſs in the Judgment of all ſober Men) had informed the Duke; "that He was "bound in Conſcience, to preſerve him from taking to "Wife a Woman ſo wholly unworthy of him; that He "himſelf had lain with her; and that for his Sake He "would be content to marry her, though He knew well "the Familiarity the Duke had with her." This Evidence, with ſo ſolemn Oaths preſented by a Perſon ſo much loved and truſted by him, made a wonderful Impreſſion in the Duke; and now confirmed by the Commands of his Mother, as He had been before prevailed upon by his Siſter, He reſolved to deny that He was married, and never to ſee the Woman again, who had been ſo falſe to him. And the Queen being ſatisfied with this Reſolution, They came all to *London*, with a full Hope that They ſhould prevail to the utter Overthrow of the Chancellor; the King having, without any Reply or Debate, heard all They ſaid of the other Affair, and his Mother's Bitterneſs againſt him. But when, the very next Morning after their Arrival at *London*, They ſaw the Chancellor (who had not ſeen the King) appear in the Parliament in the Robes of a Peer; They thought it to no Purpoſe to proſecute their Deſign againſt him, whom

Sir Charles Berkley *traduces the Dutcheſs of* York's *Reputation.*

Upon which the Duke reſolves to deny his Marriage.

his Majeſty was reſolved to protect from any unjuſt Perſecution. But the other Reſolution was purſued with Noiſe and much Defamation.

THE next Day after the Queen's Arrival, all the Privy Council in a Body waited upon the Queen, to congratulate her Return into *England*; and the Chancellor was obliged to go in the Head of them, and was received with the ſame Countenance that the reſt were, which was very cheerful, and with many gracious Expreſſions. And from this Time He put not himſelf in her Majeſty's Preſence, nor appeared at all concerned at the ſcandalous Diſcourſes againſt his Daughter. The Earl of *St. Albans* and all who were near the Queen in any Truſt, and the Lord *Berkley* and his Faction about the Duke, lived in Defiance of the Chancellor, and ſo imprudently, that They did him no (34) Harm, but underwent the Reproach of moſt ſober Men. The King continued his Grace towards him without the leaſt Diminution, and not only to him, but to many others who were truſted by him; which made it evident, that He believed Nothing of what Sir *Charles Berkley* avowed, and looked on him as a Fellow of great Wickedneſs: Which Opinion the King was long known to have of him, before his coming into *England*, and after.

IN the mean Time, the Seaſon of his Daughter's Delivery was at Hand. And it was the King's Chance to be at his Houſe with the Committee of Council, when She fell in Labour: Of which being advertiſed by her Father, the King directed him "to ſend for the Lady Mar-"chioneſs of *Ormond*, the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, and other "Ladies of known Honour and Fidelity to the Crown, "to be preſent with her:" Who all came, and were preſent till She was delivered of a Son. The Biſhop of *Winchester*, in the Interval of her greateſt Pangs, and ſometimes when they were upon her, was preſent, and aſked her ſuch Queſtions as were thought fit for the Occaſion; "whoſe the Child was of which She was in Labour," whom She averred, with all Proteſtations, to be the Duke's; "whether She had ever known any other Man," which She renounced with all Vehemence, ſaying, "that "She was confident the Duke did not think She had;" and being aſked, "whether She was married to the Duke," She anſwered, "She was, and that there were Witneſſes "enough, who in due Time, She was confident, would "avow it." In a Word, her Behaviour was ſuch as abundantly

The Dutcheſs delivered of a Son.

abundantly ſatisfied the Ladies who were preſent, of her Innocence from the Reproach; and They were not reſerved in the Declaration of it, even before the Perſons who were leaſt pleaſed with their Teſtimony. And the Lady Marchioneſs of *Ormond* took an Opportunity to declare it fully to the Duke himſelf, and perceived in him ſuch a Kind of Tenderneſs, that perſuaded her that He did not believe any Thing amiſs. And the King enough publiſhed his Opinion and Judgment of the Scandal.

THE Chancellor's own Carriage, that is, his doing Nothing, nor ſaying any Thing from whence They might take Advantage, exceedingly vexed them. Yet They undertook to know, and informed the Duke confidently, "that the Chancellor had a great party in the Parliament; and that He was reſolved within few Days to "complain there, and to produce the Witneſſes, who "were preſent at the Marriage, to be examined, that their "Teſtimony might remain there; which would be a great "Affront to him;" with many other Particulars, which might incenſe his Highneſs. Whereupon the Duke, who had been obſerved never to have ſpoken to him in the Houſe of Peers, or any where elſe, ſince the Time of his going to meet his Siſter, finding the Chancellor one Day in the Privy Lodgings, whiſpered him in the Ear, "that "He would be glad to confer with him in his Lodging," whither He was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the Duke ſent all his Servants out of Diſtance; and then told him with much Warmth, "what He had been informed of his Purpoſe "to complain to the Parliament againſt him, which He "did not value or care for: However, if He ſhould pro-"ſecute any ſuch Courſe, it ſhould be the worſe for "him;" implying ſome Threats, "what He would do, "before He would bear ſuch an Affront;" adding then, "that for his Daughter, She had behaved herſelf ſo "foully (of which He had ſuch Evidence as was as con-"vincing as his own Eyes, and of which He could make "no Doubt) that Nobody could blame him for his Be-"haviour towards her;" concluding with ſome other
(35) Threats, "that He ſhould repent it, if He purſued his "Intention of appealing to the Parliament."

As ſoon as the Duke diſcontinued his Diſcourſe, the Chancellor told him, "that He hoped He would diſcover "the Untruth of other Reports which had been made to

"him by the Falſehood of this, which had been raiſed "without the leaſt Ground or Shadow of Truth. That "though He did not pretend to much Wiſdom, yet no "Man took him to be ſuch a Fool, as He muſt be, if He "intended to do ſuch an Act as He was informed. That "if his Highneſs had done any Thing towards or againſt "him which He ought not to have done, there was One "who is as much above him, as his Highneſs was above "him, and who could both cenſure and puniſh it. For "his own Part, He knew too well whoſe Son He was, "and whoſe Brother He is, to behave himſelf towards "him with leſs Duty and Submiſſion than was due to him, "and ſhould be always paid by him." He ſaid, "He was "not concerned to vindicate his Daughter from any the "moſt improbable Scandals and Aſperſions: She had "diſobliged and deceived him too much, for him to be "over-confident, that She might not deceive any other "Man: And therefore He would leave that likewiſe to "God Almighty, upon whoſe Bleſſing He would always "depend, whilſt himſelf remained innocent, and no "longer." The Duke replied not, nor from that Time mentioned the Chancellor with any Diſpleaſure; and related to the King, and ſome other Perſons, the Diſcourſe that had paſſed, very exactly.

THERE did not after all this appear, in the Diſcourſes of Men, any of that Humour and Indignation which was expected. On the contrary, Men of the greateſt Name and Reputation ſpake of the Foulneſs of the Proceeding with great Freedom, and with all the Deteſtation imaginable againſt Sir *Charles Berkley*, whoſe Teſtimony Nobody believed; not without ſome Cenſure of the Chancellor, for not enough appearing and proſecuting the Indignity: But He was not to be moved by any Inſtances, which He never afterwards repented. The Queen's implacable Diſpleaſure continued in the full Height, doing all She could to keep the Duke firm to his Reſolution, and to give all Countenance to the Calumny. As before the Diſcovery of this Engagement of the Duke's Affection, the Duke of *Gloceſter* had died of the Smallpox, to the extraordinary Grief of the King and the whole Kingdom; ſo, at this Time, it pleaſed God to viſit the Princeſs Royal with the ſame Diſeaſe, and of which She died within few Days; having in her laſt Agonies expreſſed a diſlike of the Proceedings in that Affair, to which She had contributed

buted too much. The Duke himſelf grew melancholick and diſpirited, and cared not for Company, nor thoſe Divertiſements in which He formerly delighted: Which was obſerved by every Body, and which in the End wrought ſo far upon the Conſcience of the lewd Informer, that He, Sir *Charles Berkley*, came to the Duke, and clearly declared to him; "that the general Diſcourſe of Men, of "what Inconvenience and Miſchief, if not abſolute Ruin, "ſuch a Marriage would be to his Royal Highneſs, had "prevailed with him to uſe all the Power He had to diſ-"ſuade him from it; and when He found He could not "prevail with him, He had formed that Accuſation, "which He preſumed could not but produce the Effect "He wiſhed; which He now confeſſed to be falſe, and "without the leaſt Ground; and that He was very confi-"dent of her Virtue:" And therefore beſought his Highneſs "to pardon a Fault, that was committed out of pure "Devotion to him; and that He would not ſuffer him to (36) "be ruined by the Power of thoſe, whom He had ſo un-"worthily provoked; and of which He had ſo much "Shame, that He had not Confidence to look upon "them." The Duke found himſelf ſo much relieved in that Part that moſt afflicted him, that He embraced him, and made a ſolemn Promiſe, "that He ſhould not ſuffer "in the leaſt Degree in his own Affection, for what had "proceeded ſo abſolutely from his Good-Will to him; "and that He would take ſo much Care of him, that "in the compounding that Affair He ſhould be ſo com-"prehended, that He ſhould receive no Diſadvantage."

The Duke grows melancholick.

Sir Charles Berkley *confeſſes the Falſehood of his Charge againſt the Dutcheſs.*

AND now the Duke appeared with another Countenance, writ to her whom He had injured "that He "would ſpeedily viſit her," and gave her Charge "to "have a Care of his Son." He gave the King a full Account of all, without concealing his Joy; and took moſt Pleaſure in conferring with them, who had ſeemed leaſt of his Mind when He had been moſt tranſported, and who had always argued againſt the Probability of the Teſtimony which had wrought upon him. The Queen was not pleaſed with this Change, though the Duke did not yet own to her, that He had altered his Reſolution. She was always very angry at the King's Coldneſs, who had been ſo far from that Averſion which She expected, that He found Excuſes for the Duke, and endeavoured to divert her Paſſions; and now preſſed the Diſcovery of the Truth

The Duke greatly pleaſed with this Confeſſion.

Truth by Sir *Charles Berkley's* Confeſſion, as a Thing that pleaſed him. They about her who had moſt inflamed and provoked her to the ſharpeſt Reſentment, appeared more calm in their Diſcourſes, and either kept Silence, or ſpake to another Tune than They had done formerly, and wiſhed that the Buſineſs was well compoſed; all which mightily increaſed the Queen's Paſſion. And having come to know, that the Duke had made a Viſit at the Place She moſt abhorred, She brake into great Paſſion, and publickly declared, "that whenever that Woman ſhould "be brought into *Whitehall* by one Door, her Majeſty "would go out of it by another Door, and never come "into it again." And for ſeveral Days her Majeſty would not ſuffer the Duke to be in her Preſence; at leaſt, if He came with the King, She forbore to ſpeak to him, or to take any Notice of him. Nor could They, who had uſed to have moſt Credit with her, ſpeak to her with any Acceptation; though They were all weary of the Diſtances They had kept, and diſcerned well enough where the Matter muſt end. And many deſired to find ſome Expedient, how the Work might be facilitated, by ſome Application and Addreſs from the Chancellor to the Queen: But He abſolutely refuſed to make the leaſt Advance towards it, or to contribute to her Indignation by putting himſelf into her Majeſty's Preſence. He declared, "that "the Queen had great Reaſon for the Paſſion She expreſſed for the Indignity that had been done to her, and "which He would never endeavour to excuſe; and that "as far as his low Quality was capable of receiving an "Injury from ſo great a Prince, He had himſelf to complain of a Tranſgreſſion, that exceeded the Limits of all "Juſtice, divine and human."

The Queen highly offended at this Change in the Duke.

The Queen had made this Journey out of *France* into *England* much ſooner than She intended, and only, upon this Occaſion, to prevent a Miſchief She had great Reaſon to deprecate. And ſo, upon her Arrival, She had declared, "that She would ſtay a very ſhort Time, being "obliged to return into *France* for her Health, and to uſe "the Waters of *Bourbon*, which had already done her "much Good, that the enſuing Seaſon would with God's "Bleſſing make perfect." And the Time was now come, that Orders were ſent for the Ships to attend her Embarkation at *Portſmouth*; and the Day was appointed, for the beginning her Journey from *Whitehall:* So that the Duke's (37)

Affair,

Affair, which He now took to Heart, was (as every Body thought) to be left in the State it was, at leaſt under the Renunciation and Interdiction of a Mother. When on a ſudden, of which Nobody then knew the Reaſon, her Majeſty's Countenance and Diſcourſe was changed; She treated the Duke with her uſual Kindneſs, and confeſſed to him, "that the Buſineſs that had offended her ſo much "She perceived was proceeded ſo far, that no Remedy could "be applied to it; and therefore that ſhe would trouble "herſelf no farther in it, but pray to God to bleſs him, "and that He might be happy:" So that the Duke had now Nothing to wiſh, but that the Queen would be reconciled to his Wife, who remained ſtill at her Father's, where the King had viſited her often; to which the Queen was not averſe, and ſpake graciouſly of the Chancellor, and ſaid, "She would be good Friends with him." But Both theſe required ſome Formalities; and They, who had behaved themſelves the moſt diſobligingly, expected to be comprehended in any Atonement that ſhould be made. And it was exceedingly laboured, that the Chancellor would make the firſt Approach, by viſiting the Earl of *St. Albans*; which He abſolutely refuſed to do: And very well acquainted with the Arts of that Court, whereof Diſſimulation was the Soul, did not believe that thoſe Changes, for which He ſaw no reaſonable Motive, could be real; until Abbot *Mountague* (who had ſo far complied with the Faction of that Court, as not to converſe with an Enemy) viſited him with all Openneſs, and told him, "that this Change in the Queen had proceeded from a "Letter She had newly received from the Cardinal, in "which He had plainly told her, *that She would not receive* "*a good Welcome in* France, *if She left her Sons in her Diſ-* "*pleaſure, and profeſſed an Animoſity againſt thoſe Miniſters,* "*who were moſt truſted by the King. He extolled the Services* "*done by the Chancellor, and adviſed her to comply with what* "*could not be avoided, and to be perfectly reconciled to her* "*Children, and to thoſe who were nearly related to them or* "*were intruſted by them:* And that He did this in ſo "powerful a Style, and with ſuch powerful Reaſons, that "her Majeſty's Paſſions were totally ſubdued. And this," He ſaid, "was the Reaſon of the ſudden Change that "every Body had obſerved; and therefore that He ought "to believe the Sincerity of it, and to perform that Part "which might be expected from him, in Compliance "with

Her Majeſty ſuddenly alters her Behaviour.

The Cauſe of this Change in the Queen.

"with the Queen's Inclinations to have a good Intelli-
"gence with him.

THE Chancellor had never looked upon the Abbot as his Enemy, and gave Credit to all He ſaid, though He did little underſtand from what Fountain that Good-Will of the Cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all thoſe Profeſſions of Duty to the Queen that became him, and "how happy He "ſhould think himſelf in her Protection, which He had "Need of, and did with all Humility implore; and that "He would gladly caſt himſelf at her Majeſty's Feet, "when She would vouchſafe to admit it." But for the adjuſting this, there was to be more Formality; for it was neceſſary that the Earl of *St. Albans* (between whom and the Chancellor there had never been any Friendſhip) ſhould have ſome Part in this Compoſition, and do many good Offices towards it, which were to precede the final Concluſion. The Duke had brought Sir *Charles Berkley* to the Dutcheſs, at whoſe Feet He had caſt himſelf, with all the Acknowledgment and Penitence He could expreſs; and She, according to the Command of the Duke, accepted his Submiſſion, and promiſed to forget the Offence. He came likewiſe to the Chancellor with thoſe profeſſions which He could eaſily make; and the other was (38) obliged to receive him civilly. And then his Uncle, the Lord *Berkley*, waited upon the Dutcheſs; and afterwards viſited her Father, like a Man (which He could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing ſo difficult a Matter to ſo good an End, and expected Thanks from all; having that Talent in ſome Perfection, that after He had croſſed and puzzled any Buſineſs as much as was in his Power, He would be thought the only Man, who had untied all Knots, and made the Way ſmooth, and removed all Obſtructions.

The King and Duke greatly pleaſed with this Change in the Queen.

THE Satisfaction the King and the Duke had in this Diſpoſition of the Queen was viſible to all Men. And They Both thought the Chancellor too reſerved in contributing his Part towards, or in meeting the Queen's Favour, which He could not but diſcern was approaching towards him; and that He did not entertain any Diſcourſes, which had been by many entered upon to him upon that Subject, with that Cheerfulneſs and Serenity of Mind, that might juſtly be expected. And of this the Duke made an Obſervation, and a Kind of Complaint, to the

the King, who thereupon came one Day to the Chancellor's Houſe; and being alone with him, his Majeſty told him many Particulars which had paſſed between him and the Queen, and the good Humour her Majeſty was in: "That the next Day the Earl of *St. Albans* would viſit "him, and offer him his Service in accompanying him to "the Queen, which He conjured him to receive with all "Civility, and Expreſſions of the Joy He took in it; in "which," He told him, "He was obſerved to be too ſul-"len, and that when all other Mens Minds appeared to "be cheerful, his alone appeared to be more cloudy than "it had been, when that Affair ſeemed moſt deſperate; "which was the more taken Notice of, becauſe it was "not natural to him."

THE Chancellor anſwered, "that He did not know, "that He had failed in any Thing, that in good Manners "or Decency could be required from him: But He con-"feſſed, that lately his Thoughts were more perplexed, "and troubleſome to himſelf, than they had ever been "before; and therefore it was no Wonder, if his Looks "were not the ſame they had uſed to be. That though "He had been ſurpriſed to Amazement, upon the firſt "Notice of that Buſineſs; yet He had been ſhortly able "to recollect himſelf, and, upon the Teſtimony of his own "Conſcience, to compoſe his Mind and Spirits, and with-"out any Reluctancy to abandon any Thought of his "Daughter, and to leave her to that Miſery She had de-"ſerved and brought upon herſelf. Nor did the Viciſſi-"tudes which occurred after in that Tranſaction, or the "Diſpleaſure and Menaces of the Duke, make any other "Impreſſion upon him, than to know how unable He "was to enter into any Conteſt in that Matter (which in "all Reſpects was too difficult and ſuperiour to his Un-"derſtanding and Faculties) and to leave it entirely to "the Direction and Diſpoſal of God Almighty: And in "this Acquieſcence He had enjoyed a Repoſe with much "Tranquillity of Mind, being prepared to undergo any "Misfortune that might befall him from thence. But "that now He was awakened by other Thoughts and "Reflections, which He could leſs range and govern. "He ſaw thoſe Difficulties removed, which He had "thought inſuperable; that his own Condition muſt be "thought exalted above what He thought poſſible; and "that He was far leſs able to bear the Envy that was un-

"avoidable,

"avoidable, than the Indignation and Contempt that
"alone had threatened him. That his Daughter was now
"received in the Royal Family, the Wife of the King's
"only Brother and the Heir Apparent of the Crown,
"whilſt his Majeſty himſelf remained unmarried. The
"great Truſt his Majeſty repoſed in him, infinitely above (39)
"and contrary to his Deſire, was in itſelf liable to Envy;
"and how inſupportable that Envy muſt be, upon this
"new Relation, He could not but foreſee; together with
"the Jealouſies, which artificial Men would be able to
"inſinuate into his Majeſty, even when They ſeemed to
"have all poſſible Confidence in the Integrity of the
"Chancellor, and when They extolled him moſt; and
"that how firm and conſtant ſoever his Majeſty's Grace
"and Favour was to him at preſent (of which He had
"lately given ſuch lively Teſtimony) and how reſolved
"ſoever He was to continue it, his Majeſty himſelf could
"not know how far ſome Jealouſies, cunningly ſuggeſted
"by ſome Men, might by Degrees be entertained by
"him. And therefore that, upon all the Revolvings He
"had with himſelf, He could not think of any Thing,
"that could contribute equally to his Majeſty's Service
"and his Quiet, and to the Happineſs and Security of
"himſelf, as for him to retire from the active Station He
"was in, to an abſolute Solitude, and viſible Inactivity in
"all Matters relating to the State: And which He
"thought could not be ſo well, under any Retirement
"into the Country or any Part of the Kingdom, as by
"his leaving the Kingdom, and fixing himſelf in ſome
"Place beyond the Seas remote from any Court." And
having ſaid all this, or Words to the ſame Effect, He
fell on his Knees; and with all poſſible Earneſtneſs de-
ſired the King, "that He would conſent to his Retire-
"ment as a Thing moſt neceſſary for his Service, and
"give his Paſs to go and reſide in any ſuch Place, be-
"yond the Seas, as his Majeſty would make Choice of."

THE King heard him patiently, yet with Evidence enough that He was not pleaſed with what He ſaid; and when He kneeled, took him up with ſome Paſſion; "He
"did not expect this from him, and that He had ſo lit-
"tle Kindneſs for him, as to leave him in a Time, when
"He could not but know that He was very neceſſary for
"his Service. That He had Reaſon to be very well aſ-
"ſured, that it could never be in any Man's Power to

"leſſen

"leſſen his Kindneſs towards him, or Confidence in him; "and if any ſhould preſume to attempt it, They would "find Cauſe to repent their Preſumption." He ſaid, "there were many Reaſons, why He could never have "deſigned or adviſed his Brother to this Marriage; yet "ſince it was paſt, and all Thing ſo well reconciled, He "would not deny that He was glad of it, and promiſed "himſelf much Benefit from it." He told him, "his "Daughter was a Woman of great Wit and excellent "Parts, and would have a great Power with his Brother; "and that He knew that She had an entire Obedience for "him, her Father, who He knew would always give her "good Counſel, by which," He ſaid, "He was confident "that naughty People which had too much Credit with "his Brother, and which had ſo often miſled him, would "be no more able to corrupt him; but that She would "prevent all ill and unreaſonable Attempts: And there-"fore He again confeſſed that He was glad of it;" and ſo concluded with many gracious Expreſſions, and conjured the Chancellor "never more to think of thoſe un-"reaſonable Things, but to attend and proſecute his Bu-"ſineſs with his uſual Alacrity, ſince his Kindneſs could "never fail him."

THE next Morning, which was of the laſt Day that the Queen was to ſtay, the Earl of *St. Albans* viſited the Chancellor with all thoſe Compliments, Profeſſions and Proteſtations, which were natural, and which He did really believe every Body elſe thought to be very ſincere; for He had that Kindneſs for himſelf, that He thought every Body did believe him. He expreſſed "a wonder-"ful Joy, that the Queen would now leave the Court (40) "united, and all the King's Affairs in a very hopeful Con-"dition, in which the Queen confeſſed that the Chancel-"lor's Counſels had been very proſperous, and that She "was reſolved to part with great and a ſincere Kindneſs "towards him; and that He had Authority from her to "aſſure him ſo much, which She would do herſelf when "She ſaw him:" And ſo offered "to go with him to her "Majeſty, at ſuch an Hour in the Afternoon as She "ſhould appoint." The other made ſuch Returns to all the Particulars as were fit, and "that He would be ready "to attend the Queen, at the Time She ſhould pleaſe to "aſſign:" And in the Afternoon the Earl of *St. Albans* came again to him; and They went together to *White-hall*,

hall, where They found the Queen in her Bedchamber, where many Ladies were preſent, who came then to take their Leave of her Majeſty, before She begun her Journey.

The Queen reconciled to the Dutcheſs of York.

THE Duke of *York* had before preſented his Wife to his Mother, who received her without the leaſt Shew of Regret, or rather with the ſame Grace as if She had liked it from the Beginning, and made her ſit down by her. When the Chancellor came in, the Queen roſe from her Chair, and received him with a Countenance very ſerene. The Ladies, and others who were near, withdrawing, her Majeſty told him, "that He could not "wonder, much leſs take it ill, that She had been much "offended with the Duke, and had no Inclination to "give her Conſent to his Marriage; and if She had, in "the Paſſion that could not be condemned in her, ſpake "any Thing of him that He had taken ill, He ought to "impute it to the Provocation She had received, though "not from him. She was now informed by the King, "and well aſſured, that He had no Hand in contriving "that Friendſhip, but was offended with that Paſſion that "really was worthy of him. That She could not but "confeſs, that his Fidelity to the King her Huſband was "very eminent, and that He had ſerved the King her "Son with equal Fidelity and extraordinary Succeſs. And "therefore as She had received his Daughter as her "Daughter, and heartily forgave the Duke and her, and "was reſolved ever after to live with all the Affection of

And to the Chancellor.

"a Mother towards them; ſo She reſolved to make a "Friendſhip with him, and hereafter to expect all the "Offices from him, which her Kindneſs ſhould deſerve." And when the Chancellor had made all thoſe Acknowledgements which He ought to do, and commended her Wiſdom and Indignation in a Buſineſs, "in which She "could not ſhew too much Anger and Averſion, and had "too much forgotten her own Honour and Dignity if "She had been leſs offended," and magnified her Mercy and Generoſity "in departing ſo ſoon from her neceſſary "Severity, and pardoning a Crime in itſelf ſo unpardonable;" He made thoſe Profeſſions of Duty to her which were due to her, and "that He ſhould always depend upon "her Protection as his moſt gracious Miſtreſs, and pay "all Obedience to her Commands." The Queen appeared well pleaſed, and ſaid "She ſhould remain very

"confident

"confident of his Affection," and ſo diſcourſed of ſome Particulars; and then opening a Paper that She had in her Hand, She recommended the Diſpatch of ſome Things to him, which immediately related to her own Service and Intereſt, and then ſome Perſons, who had either ſome Suits to the King, or ſome Controverſies depending in Chancery. And the Evening drawing on, and very many Ladies and others waiting without to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand, He thought it Time to take his Leave; and after having repeated ſome ſhort Profeſſions of his Duty, He kiſſed her Majeſty's Hand: And from that Time there did never appear any Want of Kindneſs (41) in the Queen towards him, whilſt He ſtood in no Need of it, nor until it might have done him Good.

THUS an Intrigue, that without Doubt had been entered into and induſtriouſly contrived by thoſe, who deſigned to affront and bring Diſhonour upon the Chancellor and his Family, was, by God's good Pleaſure, turned to their Shame and Reproach, and to the Increaſe of the Chancellor's Greatneſs and Proſperity. And ſo We return to the Time from whence this Digreſſion led us, and ſhall take a particular View of all thoſe Accidents, which had an Influence upon the Quiet of the Kingdom, or which were the Cauſe of all the Chancellor's Misfortunes; which, though the Effect of them did not appear in many Years, were diſcerned by himſelf as coming and unavoidable, and foretold by him to his two Boſom-Friends, the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who conſtantly adhered to him with all the Integrity of true Friendſhip.

The Chancellor not elated with this Marriage of his Daughter.

THE Greatneſs and Power of the Chancellor, by this Marriage of his Daughter with all the Circumſtances which had accompanied and attended it, ſeemed to all Men to have eſtabliſhed his Fortune, and that of his Family: I ſay, to all Men but to himſelf, who was not in the leaſt Degree exalted with it. He knew well upon how ſlippery Ground He ſtood, and how naturally averſe the Nation was from approving an exorbitant Power in any Subject. He ſaw that the King grew every Day more inclined to his Pleaſures, which involved him in Expenſe, and Company that did not deſire that He ſhould intend his Buſineſs or be converſant with ſober Men. He knew well, that the Servants who were about the Duke were as much his Enemies as ever, and intended their own

Profit only, by what Means ſoever, without conſidering his Honour; that They formed his Houſhold, Officers and Equipage, by the Model of *France*, and againſt all the Rules and Precedents of *England* for a Brother of the Crown; and every Day put into his Head, "that if He were not "ſupplied for all thoſe Expenſes, it was the Chancellor's "Fault, who could effect it if He would." Nor was He able to prevent thoſe Infuſions, nor the Effects of them, becauſe they were ſo artificially adminiſtered, as if their End was to raiſe a Confidence in him of the Chancellor, not to weaken it; though He knew well, that their Deſign was to create by Degrees in him a Jealouſy of his Power and Credit with the King, as if it eclipſed his. But this was only in their own dark Purpoſes, which had been all blaſted if they had been apparent; for the Duke did not only profeſs a very great Affection for the Chancellor, but gave all the Demonſtration of it that was poſſible, and deſired Nothing more, than that it ſhould be manifeſt to all Men, that He had an entire Truſt from the King in all his Affairs, and that He would employ all his Intereſt to ſupport that Truſt: Whilſt the Chancellor himſelf declined all the Occaſions which were offered for the Advancement of his Fortune, and deſired wholly to be left to the Diſcharge of his Office, and that all other Officers might diligently look to their own Provinces, and be accountable for them; and deteſted Nothing more than that Title and Appellation, which He ſaw He ſhould not alway be able to avoid, of principal Miniſter or Favourite, and which was never caſt on him by any Deſignation of the King, (who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any ſingle Perſon) but by his preferring his Pleaſures before his Buſineſs, and ſo ſending all Men to the Chancellor to receive Advice. And hereby the Secretaries of State, not finding a preſent Acceſs to him when the Occaſions preſſed, reſorted to the Chancellor, with whom his Majeſty ſpent moſt Time, to be reſolved by him; which Method exceedingly grieved him, and to which He endeavoured to apply a Remedy, by putting all Things in their proper Channel, and by (42) prevailing with the King, when He ſhould be a little ſatiated with the Divertiſements He affected, to be vacant to ſo much of his Buſineſs, as could not be managed and conducted by any Body elſe.

AND

AND here it may be ſeaſonable to inſert at large ſome Inſtances, which I promiſed before, and by which it will be manifeſt, how far the Chancellor was from an immoderate Appetite to be rich, and to raiſe his Fortune, which He propoſed only to do by the Perquiſites of his Office which were conſiderable at the firſt, and by ſuch Bounty of the King as might hereafter, without Noiſe or Scandal, be conferred on him in proper Seaſons and Occurrences; and that He was as far from affecting ſuch an unlimited Power as He was believed afterwards to be poſſeſſed of (and of which no Footſteps could ever be diſcovered in any of his Actions, or in any one Particular that was the Effect of ſuch Power), or from deſiring any other Extent of Power, than was agreeable to the great Office He held, and which had been enjoyed by moſt of thoſe, who had been his Predeceſſors in that Truſt. *Some Inſtances of his Diſintereſtedneſs.*

THE King had not been many Weeks in *England*, when the Marquis of *Ormond* came to him with his uſual Friendſhip, and aſked him, "whether it would not be "now Time to think of making a Fortune, that He "might be able to leave to his Wife and Children, if He "ſhould die." And when He found that He was leſs ſenſible of what He propoſed than He expected, and that He only anſwered, "that He knew not which Way "to go about it;" the Marquis told him, "that He "thought He could commend a proper Suit for him "to make to the King; and if his Modeſty would not "permit him to move the King for himſelf, He would "undertake to move it for him, and was confident that "the King would willingly grant it:" And thereupon ſhewed him a Paper, which contained the King's juſt Title to ten thouſand Acres of Land in the *Great Level of the Fens*, which would be of a good yearly Value; or They, who were unjuſtly poſſeſſed of it, would be glad to purchaſe the King's Title with a very conſiderable Sum of Money. And, in the End, He frankly told him, "that He made this Overture to him with the King's "Approbation, who had been moved in it, and thought "at the firſt Sight, out of his own Goodneſs, that it "might be fit for him, and wiſhed the Marquis to pro-"poſe it to him." *He refuſed a conſiderable Offer of Crown-Lands.*

WHEN the Chancellor had extolled the King's Generoſity, that He could, in ſo great Neceſſities of his own,

think of diſpenſing ſo great a Bounty upon a poor Servant, who was already recompenſed beyond what He could be ever able to deſerve; He ſaid, "that He knew "very well the King's Title to that Land, of which He "was in Poſſeſſion before the Rebellion began, which "the old and new *Adventurers* now claimed by a new "Contract, confirmed by an Ordinance of Parliament, "which could not deprive the Crown of its Right; which "all the *Adventurers* (who for the greateſt Part were wor-"thy Men) well knew, and would for their own Sakes "not diſpute, ſince it would inevitably produce a new In-"undation, which all their Unity and Conſent in main-"taining the Banks would and could with Difficulty "enough but prevent. That He would adviſe his Ma-"jeſty to give all the Countenance He could, to the car-"rying on and perfecting that great Work, which was of "great Benefit as well as Honour to the Publick, at the "Charge of private Gentlemen, who had paid dear for "the Land They had recovered; but that He would never "adviſe him, to begin his Reign with the Alienation of "ſuch a Parcel of Land from the Crown to any one par- (43)
"ticular Subject, who could never bear the Envy of it. "That his Majeſty ought to reſerve that Revenue to "himſelf, which was great, though leſs than it was ge-"nerally reputed to be; at leaſt, till the Value thereof "ſhould be clearly underſtood (and the detaining it in his "own Hands for ſome Time, would be the beſt Expe-"dient towards the finiſhing all the Banks, when the Sea-"ſon ſhould be fit, which elſe would be neglected by the "Diſcord among the *Adventurers*) and the King knew "what He gave. He muſt remember, that He had two "Brothers" (for the Duke of *Gloceſter* was yet alive) "who "were without any Revenue, and towards whom his "Bounty was to be firſt extended; and that this Land "would be a good Ingredient towards an Appanage for "them Both. And that till They were reaſonably pro-"vided for, no private Man in his Wits would be the "Object of any extraordinary Bounty from the King, "which would unavoidably make him the Object of an "univerſal Envy and Hatred. That, for his own Part, "He held by the King's Favour the greateſt Office of the "Kingdom in Place; and though it was not near the Va-"lue it was eſteemed to be, and that many other Offices "were more profitable, yet it was enough for him, and

"would

"would be a good Foundation to improve his Fortune: "So that," He ſaid, "He had made a Reſolution to "himſelf, which He thought He ſhould not alter, not to "*make Haſte to be rich.* That it was the principal Part "or Obligation of his Office, to diſſuade the King from "making any Grants of ſuch a Nature (except where the "Neceſſity or Convenience was very notorious) and even "to ſtop thoſe which ſhould be made of that Kind, and "not to ſuffer them to paſs the Seal, till He had again "waited upon the King, and informed him of the evil "Conſequence of thoſe Grants; which Diſcharge of his "Duty could not but raiſe him many Enemies, who "ſhould not have that Advantage, to ſay that He ob-"ſtructed the King's Bounty towards other Men, when "He made it very profuſe towards himſelf. And there-"fore, that He would never receive any Crown-Land "from the King's Gift, and did not wiſh to have other "Honour or any Advantage, but what his Office brought "him, till ſeven Years ſhould paſs; in which all the Diſ-"tractions of the Kingdom might be compoſed, and the "Neceſſities thereof ſo provided for, that the King might "be able, without hurting himſelf, to exerciſe ſome Libe-"rality towards his Servants who had ſerved him well." How He ſeemed to part from this Reſolution in ſome Particulars afterwards, and why He did ſo, may be collected out of what hath been truly ſet down before.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had given the King a large Account of the Conference between him and the Chancellor, and "that He abſolutely refuſed to receive "that Grant;" his Majeſty ſaid, "He was a Fool for his "Labour, and that He would be much better in being "envied than in being pitied." And though the Inheritance of thoſe Lands was afterwards given to the Duke, yet there were ſuch Eſtates granted for Years to many particular Perſons, moſt whereof had never merited by any Service, that Half the Value thereof never came to his Highneſs.

He declined being made Knight of the Garter.

As ſoon as the King and Duke returned from *Portſmouth*, where They had ſeen the Queen embarked for *France*, the King had appointed a Chapter, for the electing ſome Knights of the *Garter* into the Places vacant. Upon which the Duke deſired him "to nominate the Chancellor," which his Majeſty ſaid "He would willingly do, "but He knew not whether it would be grateful to him;

"for He had refuſed ſo many Things, that He knew not "what He would take;" and therefore wiſhed him "to "take a Boat to *Worceſter-Houſe*, and propoſe it to him, "and He would not go to the Chapter till his Highneſs (44) "returned." The Duke told the Chancellor what had paſſed between the King and him, and, "that He was come "only to know his Mind, and could not imagine but "that ſuch an Honour would pleaſe him." The Chancellor, after a Million of humble Acknowledgments of the Duke's Grace and of the King's Condeſcenſion, ſaid, "that the Honour was indeed too great by much for him "to ſuſtain; that there were very many worthy Men, who "well remembered him of their own Condition when "He firſt entered into his Father's Service, and believed "that He was advanced too much before them." He beſought his Highneſs, "that his Favours and Protection "might not expoſe him to Envy that would break him to "Pieces." He aſked "what Knights the King meant to "make;" the Duke named them, all Perſons very eminent: The Chancellor ſaid, "no Man could except "againſt the King's Choice; many would juſtly, if He "were added to the Number." He deſired his Highneſs "to put the King in Mind of the Earl of *Lindſey*, "Lord High Chamberlain of *England*" (with whom He was known to have no Friendſhip, on the contrary, that there had been Diſguſts between them in the laſt King's Time); "that his Father had loſt his Life with the *Gar-* "*ter* about his Neck, when this Gentleman his Son, en- "deavouring to relieve him, was taken Priſoner; that "He had ſerved the King to the End of the War with "Courage and Fidelity, being an excellent Officer: For "all which, the King his Father had admitted him a Gen- "tleman of his Bedchamber, which Office He was now "without: And not to have the *Garter* now upon his Ma- "jeſty's Return, would in all Men's Eyes look like a De- "gradation, and an Inſtance of his Majeſty's Diſeſteem; "eſpecially if the Chancellor ſhould ſupply the Place, "who was not thought his Friend:" And, upon the whole Matter, entreated the Duke "to reſerve his Fa- "vour towards him for ſome other Occaſion, and excuſe "him to the King for the declining this Honour, which "He could not ſupport." The Duke replied with an offended Countenance, "that He ſaw He would not ac- "cept any Honour from the King that proceeded by his "Mediation;"

"Mediation;" and ſo left him in apparent Diſpleaſure. However, at that Chapter the Earl of *Lindſey* was created Knight of the *Garter*, with the reſt; and coming afterwards to hear by what Chance it was, He ever lived with great Civility towards the Chancellor to his Death.

AND when the Chancellor afterwards complained to his Majeſty "of his Want of Care of him, in his ſo eaſily "gratifying his Brother in a Particular that would be of "ſo much Prejudice to him," and ſo enlarged upon the Subject, and put his Majeſty in Mind of *Solomon's* Interrogation, "*who can ſtand againſt Envy?*" The King ſaid no more, than "that He did really believe when He ſent "his Brother, that He would refuſe it;" and added, "I "tell you, Chancellor, that You are too ſtrict and appre-"henſive in thoſe Things, and truſt me, it is better to "be envied than pitied." The Duke did not diſſemble his Reſentment, and told his Wife, "that He took it "very ill; that He deſired that the World might take "Notice of his Friendſhip to her Father, and that, after "former Unkindneſs, He was heartily reconciled to him; "but that her Father cared not to have that believed, "nor would have it believed that his Intereſt in the King "was not enough, to have no Need of good Offices from "the Duke:" Which Diſcourſe He uſed likewiſe to the Marquis of *Ormond* and others, who He thought would inform the Chancellor of it. And the Dutcheſs was much troubled at it, and took it unkindly of her Father, who thought himſelf obliged to wait upon his Royal Highneſs,
(45) and to vindicate himſelf from that Folly He was charged with; in which He proteſted to him, "that He ſo abſo-"lutely and entirely depended upon his Protection, that "He would never receive any Favour from the King, but "by his Mediation and Interpoſition:" To which the Duke anſwered, "that He ſhould ſee whether He would "have that Deference to him ſhortly."

AND it was not long before the Day for the Coronation was appointed, when the King had appointed to make ſome Barons, and to raiſe ſome who were Barons to higher Degrees of Honour; moſt of whom were Men not very grateful, becauſe They had been faulty, though They had afterwards redeemed what was paſt, by having performed very ſignal Services to his Majeſty, and were able to do him more: Upon which the King had re-

He refuſed to be made an Earl.

ſolved to confer thoſe Honours upon them, and in Truth had promiſed it to them, or to ſome of their Friends, before He came from beyond the Seas. At this Time the Duke came to the Chancellor, and ſaid, He ſhould now "diſcover whether He would be as good as his Word;" and ſo gave him a Paper, which was a Warrant under the King's Sign Manual to the Attorney General, to prepare a Grant, by which the Chancellor ſhould be created an Earl. To which, upon the Reading, He began to make Objections; when the Duke ſaid, "my Lord, I have "thought fit to give you this Earneſt of my Friendſhip, "you may reject it if You think fit;" and departed. And the Chancellor, upon Recollection, and Conference with his two Friends, the Treaſurer aad the Marquis of *Ormond*, found He could not prudently refuſe it. And ſo, the Day or two before the Coronation, He was with the others created an Earl by the King in the *Banqueting-Houſe*; and, in the very Minute of his Creation, had an Earneſt of the Envy that would enſue, in the Murmurs of ſome, who were ancienter Barons, at the Precedence given to him before them; of which He was totally ignorant, it being reſolved by the King upon the Place, and the View of the Precedents of all Times when any Officers of State were created with others. Yet one of the Lords concerned ſwore in the Ears of two or three of his Friends, at the ſame Time, "that He would be re-"venged for that Affront;" which related not to the Chancellor's Precedence, for the other was no Baron, but for the Precedence given to another, whom He thought his Inferiour, and imputed the Partiality to his Power, who had not the leaſt Hand in it, nor knew it before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his Word, and took the very firſt Opportunity that was offered for his Revenge.

But at length unwillingly conſented.

I will add one Inſtance more, ſufficient, if the other were away, to convince all Men, how far He was from being tranſported with that Ambition, of which He was accuſed, and for which He was condemned. After the firm Conjunction in the Royal Family was notorious, and all the neighbour Princes had ſent their ſplendid Embaſſies of Congratulation to the King, and deſired to renew all Treaties with this Crown, and the Parliament proceeded, how ſlowly ſoever, with great Duty and Reverence towards the King; the Marquis of *Ormond* (whom the

the King had by this Time made Duke of *Ormond*) came one Day to him, and being in private, ſaid, "He came "to ſpeak to him of himſelf, and to let him know not "only his own Opinion, but the Opinion of his beſt "Friends, with whom He had often conferred upon the "Argument: And that They all wondered, that He ſo "much affected the Poſt He was in, as to continue in the "Office of Chancellor, which took up moſt of his Time, "eſpecially all the Mornings, in Buſineſs that many o-"ther Men could diſcharge as well as He. Whereas He "ought to leave that to ſuch a Man as He thought fit for (46) "it, and to betake himſelf to that Province, which No-"body knew ſo well how to diſcharge. That the Credit "He had with the King was known to all Men, and that "He did in Truth remit that Province to him, which He "would not own, and could not diſcharge by the Multi-"plicity of the Buſineſs of his Office, which was not of "that Moment. That the King every Day took leſs Care "of his Affairs, and affected thoſe Pleaſures moſt which "made him averſe from the other. That He ſpent moſt "of his Time with confident young Men, who abhorred "all Diſcourſe that was ſerious, and, in the Liberty They "aſſumed in Drollery and Raillery, preſerved no Reve-"rence towards God or Man, but laughed at all ſober "Men, and even at Religion itſelf; and that the Cuſtom "of this Licenſe, that did yet only make the King merry "for the preſent, by Degrees would grow acceptable to "him; and that theſe Men would by Degrees have the "Preſumption (which yet They had not, nor would He "in Truth then ſuffer it) to enter into his Buſineſs, and "by adminiſtering to thoſe Exceſſes, to which his Nature "and Conſtitution moſt inclined him, would not only "powerfully foment thoſe Inclinations, but intermeddle "and obſtruct his moſt weighty Counſels. That, for the "Prevention of all this Miſchief, and the preſerving the "excellent Nature and Underſtanding of the King from "being corrupted by ſuch lewd Inſtruments, who had "only a ſcurrilous Kind of Wit to procure Laughter, but "had no Senſe of Religion, or Reverence for the Laws; "there was no Remedy in View, but his giving up his "Office, and betaking himſelf wholly to wait upon the "Perſon of the King, and to be with him in thoſe Seaſons, "when that looſe People would either abſtain from com-"ing, or, if They were preſent, would not have the

He was ſtrongly urged to reſign his Office of Chancellor.

And to aſſume the Character of Prime Miniſter.

"Con-

" Confidence to ſay or do thoſe Things which They had " been accuſtomed to do before the King. By this Means, " He would find frequent Opportunities to inform the " King of the true State of his Affairs, and the Danger " He incurred by not throughly underſtanding them, " and by being thought to be negligent in the Duties of " Religion and ſettling the Diſtractions in the Church; at " leaſt, He would do ſome Good in all theſe Particulars, " or keep the Licenſe from ſpreading farther, which in " Time it would do, to the robbing him of the Hearts of " his People. That the King, from the long Knowledge " of his Fidelity, and the Eſteem He had of his Virtue, " received any Advertiſements and Animadverſions, and " even ſuffered Reprehenſions, from him, better than " from any other Man; therefore He would be able to " do much Good, and to deſerve more than ever He had " done from the whole Kingdom. And He did verily be- " lieve, that this would be acceptable to the King him- " ſelf, who knew He could not enough attend to the " many Things, which, being left undone, muſt much " diſorder the whole Machine of his Government, or, " being ill done, would in Time diſſolve it; and that his " Majeſty would aſſign ſuch a liberal Allowance for this " Service, that He ſhould find himſelf well rewarded, and " a great Gainer by accepting it and putting off his Of- " fice."

Which would be more beneficial to him.

He concluded, " That was the Deſire and Advice of " all his Friends; and that the Duke was ſo far of the " ſame Judgment, that He reſolved to be very inſtant " with him upon it, and only wiſhed, that He ſhould firſt " break the Matter to him, that He might not be ſurpriſed " when his Royal Highneſs entered upon the Diſcourſe." And he added, " that this Province muſt inevitably at laſt " be committed to ſome one Man, who probably would " be without that Affection to the King's Perſon, that Ex- " perience in Affairs, and that Knowledge of the Laws " and Conſtitution of the Kingdom, as all Men knew to " be in the Chancellor."

When the Marquis had ended, with the Warmth of [47] Friendſhip which was ſuperiour to any Temptation, and in which no Man ever excelled him, nor delivered what He had a Mind to ſay more clearly, or with a greater Weight of Words; the Chancellor ſaid, " that He did not much " wonder that many of his Friends, who had not the Op-

" portunity

"portunity to know him enough, and who might propoſe "to themſelves ſome Benefit from his unlimited Great- "neſs, might in Truth out of their Partiality to him, and "by their not knowing the King's Nature, believe, that "his Warineſs and Integrity, and his Knowledge of the "Conſtitution of the Government and the Nature of the "People, would conduct the King's Counſels in ſuch a "Way, as would lead beſt to his Power and Greatneſs, "and to the Good and Happineſs of the Nation, which "would be the only ſecure Support of his Power aud Au- "thority: But that He, who knew both the King and "him ſo well, that no Man living knew either of them "ſo well, ſhould be of that Opinion He had expreſſed, "was Matter of Admiration and Surpriſal to him." He appealed to him, "how often He had heard him ſay to "the King in *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, when They "two took all the Pains They could to fix the King's "Mind to a lively Senſe of his Condition; *That He muſt* "*not think now to recover his three Kingdoms by the dead Title* "*of his Deſcent and Right, which had been ſo notoriouſly* "*baffled and diſhonoured, but by the Reputation of his Vir-* "*tue, Courage, Piety, and Induſtry; that all theſe Virtues* "*muſt center in himſelf, for that his Fate depended upon his* "*Perſon; and that the* Engliſh *Nation would ſooner ſubmit* "*to the Government of* Cromwell, *than to any other Subject* "*who ſhould be thought to govern the King. That* England "*would not bear a Favourite, nor any one Man, who ſhould* "*out of his Ambition engroſs to himſelf the Diſpoſal of the* "*publick Affairs.*

HE ſaid, "He was more now of the ſame Mind, and "was confident that no honeſt Man, of a competent "Underſtanding, would undertake that Province; and "that for his own Part, if a Gallows were erected, and "if He had only the Choice to be hanged or to execute "that Office, He would rather ſubmit to the firſt than "the laſt. In the one, He ſhould end his Life with the "Reputation of an honeſt Man; in the other, He ſhould "die with Diſgrace and Infamy, let his Innocence be "what it would." He put the Marquis in Mind, "how "far the King was from obſerving the Rules He had "preſcribed to himſelf before He came from beyond the "Seas, and was ſo totally unbent from his Buſineſs, and "addicted to Pleaſures, that the People generally began "to take Notice of it; that there was little Care taken "to

But this He abſolutely refuſed.

(47)]

"to regulate Expenſes, even when He was abſolutely "without Supply; that He would on a ſudden be over- "whelmed with ſuch Debts, as would diſquiet him, and "diſhonour his Counſels;" of which the Lord Trea- ſurer was ſo ſenſible, that He was already weary of his Staff, before it had been in his Hands three Months. "That the Confidence the King had in him, beſides the "Aſſurance He had of his Integrity and Induſtry, pro- "ceeded more from his Averſion to be troubled with "the Intricacies of his Affairs, than from any Violence "of Affection, which was not ſo fixed in his Nature as "to be like to tranſport him to any one Perſon: And "that as He could not, in ſo ſhort a Time, be acquaint- "ed with many Men, whom in his Judgment He could "prefer before the Chancellor for the Managery of his "Buſineſs, who had been ſo long acquainted with it; ſo "He would, in a ſhort Time, be acquainted with many, "who would by finding Fault with all that was done be "thought much wiſer Men; it being one of his Ma- (48) "jeſty's greateſt Infirmities, that He was apt to think too "well of Men at the firſt or ſecond Sight."

He ſaid, "Whilſt He kept the Office He had "(which could better bear the Envy of the Bulk of the "Affairs, than any other Qualification could) and that "it ſupported him in the Execution of it, the King felt "not the Burden of it; becauſe little of the Profit of it "proceeded out of his own Purſe, and, if He were dead "Tomorrow, the Place ſtill muſt be conferred upon an- "other. Whereas, if He gave over that Adminiſtration, "and had Nothing to rely upon for the Support of him- "ſelf and Family, but an Extraordinary Penſion out of "the Exchequer, under no other Title or Pretence but "of being Firſt Miniſter (a Title ſo newly tranſlated out "of *French* into *Engliſh*, that it was not enough under- "ſtood to be liked, and every Man would deteſt it for "the Burden it was attended with); the King himſelf, "who was not by Nature immoderately inclined to give, "would be quickly weary of ſo chargeable an Officer, "and be very willing to be freed from the Reproach of "being governed by any (the very Suſpicion whereof "He doth exceedingly abhor) at the Price and Charge "of the Man, who had been raiſed by him to that in- "convenient Height above other Men. That whilſt He "had that Seal, He could have Admiſſion to his Ma-

"jeſty

"jeſty as often as He deſired, becauſe it was more Eaſe "to receive an Account of his Buſineſs from him, than "to be preſent at the whole Debate of it; And He well "knew, the Chancellor had too much Buſineſs to deſire "Audiences from his Majeſty without neceſſary Reaſon. "But if the Office were in another Hand, and He ſhould "haunt his Preſence with the ſame Importunity as a Spy "upon his Pleaſures, and a Diſturber of the Jollities of "his Meetings; his Majeſty would quickly be nau-"ſeated with his Company, which for the preſent He "liked in ſome Seaſons; and They, who for the preſent "had ſubmitted to ſome Conſtraint by the Gravity of "his Countenance, would quickly diſcover that their "Talents were more acceptable, and by Degrees make "him appear grievous to his Majeſty, and ſoon after ri-"diculous. That all his Hope was, that the King would "ſhortly find ſome Lady fit to be his Wife, which all "honeſt Men ought to perſuade him to, and that being "married, He made no Doubt, He would decline many "of thoſe Delights to which He was yet expoſed, and "which expoſed him too much; and till that Time He "could not think that his beſt Servants could enjoy any "pleaſant Lives. That He preſumed the Parliament "would, after They had raiſed Money enough to diſ-"band the Armies, and to pay off the Seamen" (towards Both which ſomewhat was every Day done, and Both which amounted to an incredible and inſupportable Charge) "ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon the Crown, as the "King might conform his Expenſe to; and that it ſhould "not be in any Body's Power, to make that Revenue "be eſteemed by him to be greater, than in Truth it "would be. That when theſe two Things ſhould be "brought to paſs, He did hope, that the King would "take Pleaſure in making himſelf Maſter of every Part "of his Buſineſs, and not charge any one Man with a "greater Share of it than He can diſcharge, or than "will agree with his own Dignity and Honour. In the "mean Time," He beſought the Marquis, "that He "would convert the Duke of *York* and all other Perſons "from that Opinion, which could not but appear erro-"neous to himſelf by the Reaſons He had heard; and "that if He could be brought to conſent to what had "been propoſed to him (and which rather than He "would do, He would ſuffer a thouſand Deaths), as it

"would

"would inevitably prove his own Ruin and Deſtruction, "ſo it would bring an irreparable Damage to the King."(49) And therefore He conjured him "to invite the King by "his own Example, and by aſſuming his own Share of "the Work," which for ſome Time He had declined ſince the Return into *England*; "and by being himſelf "conſtantly with his Majeſty, to whom He was accept- "able at all Hours, He would obſtruct the Operation of "that ill Company, which neither knew how to behave "themſelves, nor could reaſonably propoſe ſo much Be- "nefit to themſelves, as by the Propagation of their "Follies and Villanies; and by Degrees induce his Ma- "jeſty more proportionably to mingle his Buſineſs with "his Pleaſures, which He could not yet totally abandon."

THE Marquis could not deny, but that many of the Reaſons alleged by the Chancellor were of that Weight as ought to prevail with him; and therefore forbore ever after to preſs him upon the ſame Particular. And the Duke of *York* ſhortly undertook a Conference with him upon the ſame Argument, upon which the other durſt not enlarge with the ſame Freedom as He had done to the Marquis; both becauſe his Eyes could not bear the Proſpect of ſo many Things at once, as likewiſe that He knew He communicated with ſome Perſons, who, whatever They pretended, had Nothing like good Affection for him: So that He rather pacified his Royal Highneſs upon that Subject, and diverted him from urging it, than ſatisfied him with his Grounds. And others who wiſhed well to him, and better to the Publick, acquieſced with his peremptory Reſolution, without believing that He reſolved well either for his own Particular, or the King's Affairs; and did always think that He might have prevented his own Fate, if He had at that Time ſubmitted to the Judgment of his beſt Friends; though himſelf remained ſo poſitive to the contrary, that He often ſaid, "that He would not have redeemed himſelf "by that Expedient, and that He could never have "borne that Fate with that Tranquillity of Mind, which "God enabled him to do, if He had paſſed to it through "that Province."

WHILST the general Affairs of *England*, by the long Debates in Parliament, remained thus unſettled, the King was no leſs troubled and perplexed how to compoſe his two other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; from

from Both which there were ſeveral Perſons of the beſt Condition of either Kingdom ſent, with the Tender and Preſentation of their Allegiance to his Majeſty, and expected his immediate Direction to free them from the Diſtractions They were in; and, by taking the Government upon himſelf into his own Hands, to be freed from thoſe extraordinary Commiſſions, under which they had been Both governed with a Rod of Iron by the late Powers; the ſhifting of which from one Faction to another had adminiſtered no Kind of Variety to them, but they had remained ſtill under the ſame full Extent of Tyranny. *Commiſſioners ſent to the King from* Scotland *and* Ireland.

THE whole Frame of the ancient Government of *Scotland* had been ſo entirely confounded by *Cromwell*, and new-modelled by the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, that is, thoſe Laws and Cuſtoms which the Commonwealth had eſtabliſhed; that He had hardly left Footſteps by which the old might be traced out again. The Power of the Nobility was ſo totally ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, that their Perſons found no more Reſpect or Diſtinction from the common People, than the Acceptation They found from *Cromwell*, and the Credit He gave them by ſome particular Truſt, drew to them. Their beloved Preſbytery was become a Term of Reproach, and ridiculous; the Pride and Activity of their Preachers ſubdued, and reduced to the loweſt Contempt; and the Standard of their Religion remitted to the ſole Order and Direction of their Commander in chief. All criminal Caſes (except where the General thought it more expedient to proceed (50) by martial Law) were tried and puniſhed before Judges ſent from *England*, and by the Laws of *England*; and Matters of civil Intereſt before itinerant Judges, who went twice a Year in Circuits through the Kingdom, and determined all Matters of Right by the Rules and Cuſtoms which were obſerved in *England*. They had Liberty to ſend a particular Number that was aſſigned to them to ſit in the Parliament of *England*, and to vote there with all Liberty; which They had done. And in Recompenſe thereof, all ſuch Monies were levied in *Scotland*, as were given by the Parliament of *England*, by which ſuch Contributions were raiſed, as were proportionable to the Expenſe, which the Army and Garriſons which ſubdued them put the Kingdom of *England* to. Nor was there any other Authority to raiſe Money in *Scotland*, *The State of* Scotland *at that Time.*

Scotland, but what was derived from the Parliament or General of *England*.

And all this prodigious Mutation and Transformation had been ſubmitted to with the ſame Reſignation and Obedience, as if the ſame had been tranſmitted by an uninterrupted Succeſſion from King *Fergus*: And it might well be a Queſtion, whether the Generality of the Nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old Road of Subjection. But the King would not build according to *Cromwell's* Models, and had many Reaſons to continue *Scotland* within its own Limits and Bounds, and ſole Dependance upon himſelf, rather than unite it to *England* with ſo many Hazards and Dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any Government leſs tyrannical than that of *Cromwell*. And the reſettling that Kingdom was to be done with much leſs Difficulty than the other of *Ireland*, by Reaſon that all who appeared concerned in it or for it, as a Committee for that Kingdom, were united between themſelves, and did, or did pretend to, deſire the ſame Things. They all appeared under the Protection and Recommendation of the General; and their Dependance was the more upon him, becauſe He ſtill commanded thoſe Garriſons and Forces in *Scotland*, which kept them to their Obedience. And He was the more willing to give them a Teſtimony of their Affection to the King, and that without their Help He could not have been able to have marched into *England* againſt *Lambert*, that They might ſpeak the more confidently, "that They gave him that Aſſiſtance, be-"cauſe They were well aſſured that his Intention was to "ſerve the King:" Whereas They did indeed give him only what They could not keep from him; nor did They know any of his Intentions, or himſelf at that Time intend any Thing for the King. But it is very true, They were all either Men who had merited beſt from the King, or had ſuffered moſt for him, or at leaſt had acted leaſt againſt him, and (which They looked upon as the moſt valuable Qualification) They were all, or pretended to be, the moſt implacable Enemies to the Marquis of *Argyle*, which was the *Shibboleth* by which the Affections of that whole Nation were beſt diſtinguiſhed.

Some Account of the Scotch *Commiſſioners.*

The Chief of the Commiſſioners was the Lord *Selkirk*, a younger Son of the Marquis of *Douglaſs*, who had been known to the King in *France*, where He had been bred a *Ro-*

a *Roman Catholick*, which was the Religion of his Family, but had returned into *Scotland* after it had been ſubdued by *Cromwell*; and being a very handſome young Man, was eaſily converted from the Religion of his Father, in which He had been bred, to that of his elder Brother the Earl of *Angus*, that He might marry the Daughter and Heir of *James* Duke *Hamilton*, who from the Battle of *Worceſter*, where her Uncle Duke *William* was killed, had inherited the Title of Dutcheſs, with the fair Seat of *Hamilton*, and all the Lands which belonged to her Father. *Of the Earl of* Selkirk.

(51) And her Huſband now, according to the Cuſtom of *Scotland*, aſſumed the ſame Title with her, and appeared in the Head of the Commiſſioners under the Style of Duke *Hamilton*, with the Merit of having never diſſerved the King, and with the Advantage of whatſoever his Wife could claim by the Death of her Father, which deſerved to wipe out the Memory of whatever had been done amiſs in his Life.

THE Earl of *Glencarne* was another of the Commiſſioners, a Man very well born and bred, and of very good Parts. As He had rendered himſelf very acceptable to the King, during his being in *Scotland*, by his very good Behaviour towards him, ſo even after that fatal Blow at *Worceſter* He did not diſſemble his Affection to his Majeſty; but withdrawing himſelf into the *Highlands*, during the Time that *Cromwell* remained in *Scotland*, He ſent over an Expreſs to aſſure the King of his Fidelity, and that He would take the firſt Opportunity to ſerve him. And when upon his Deſire *Middleton* was deſigned to command there, He firſt retired into the *Highlands*, and drew a Body of Men together to receive him. He was a Man of Honour, and good Principles as well with Reference to the Church as to the State, which few others, even of thoſe which now appeared moſt devoted to the King, avowed to be; for the Preſbytery was yet their Idol. From the Time that He had received a Protection and Safeguard from General *Monk*, after there was little Hope of doing Good by Force, He lived quietly at his Houſe, and was more favoured by the General than any of thoſe who ſpoke moſt loudly againſt the King, and was moſt truſted by him when He was at *Berwick* upon his March into *England*; and was now preſented by him to the King, as a Man worthy of his Truſt in an eminent Poſt of that Kingdom. *Of the Earl of* Glencarne.

WITH theſe there were others of leſs Name, but of good Affections and Abilities, who came together from *Scotland* as Commiſſioners; but They found others in *London* as well qualified to do their Country Service, and whoſe Names were wiſely inſerted in their Commiſſion by thoſe who aſſumed the Authority to ſend the other. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, who had been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the King's Service when his Majeſty was crowned in *Scotland*, and thereby had wrought himſelf into a very particular Eſteem with the King, had marched with him into *England*, and behaved himſelf well at *Worceſter*, where He was taken Priſoner; had, beſides that Merit, the ſuffering an Impriſonment from that very Time with ſome Circumſtances of extreme Rigour, being a Man againſt whom *Cromwell* had always profeſſed a more than ordinary Animoſity. And though the Scene of his Impriſonment had been altered according to the Alteration of the Governments which ſucceeded, yet He never found himſelf in complete Liberty till the King was proclaimed by the Parliament, and then He thought it not neceſſary to repair into *Scotland* for Authority or Recommendation; but ſending his Advice thither to his Friends, He made Haſte to tranſport himſelf with the Parliament Commiſſioners to the *Hague*, where He was very well received by the King, and left Nothing undone on his Part that might cultivate thoſe old Inclinations, being a Man of as much Addreſs and Inſinuation, in which that Nation excels, as was then amongſt them. He applied himſelf to thoſe who were moſt truſted by the King with a marvellous Importunity, and eſpecially to the Chancellor, with whom, as often as They had ever been together, He had had a perpetual War. He now magnified his Conſtancy with loud Elogiums, as well to his Face as behind his Back; remembered "many ſharp Expreſſions (52) "formerly uſed by the Chancellor, which He confeſſed "had then made him mad, though upon Recollection af- "terwards He had found them to be very reaſonable." He was very polite in all his Diſcourſes, called himſelf and his Nation "a thouſand Traitors and Rebels," and in his Diſcourſes frequently ſaid, "when I was a Traitor," or, "when I was in Rebellion," and ſeemed not equally delighted with any Argument, as when He ſcornfully ſpake of the *Covenant*, upon which He brake a hundred Jeſts. In Sum, all his Diſcourſes were ſuch as pleaſed all

Of the Earl of Lautherdale.

the

the Company, who commonly believed all He ſaid, and concurred with him. He renewed his old Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Middleton* by all the Proteſtations of Friendſhip, aſſured him "of the unanimous Deſire of "*Scotland* to be under his Command," and declared to the King, "that He could not ſend any Man into *Scot-*"*land*, who would be able to do him ſo much Service in "the Place of Commiſſioner as *Middleton*, and that it "was in his Majeſty's Power to unite that whole King-"dom to his Service as one Man." All which pleaſed the King well: So that, by the Time that the Commiſſioners appeared at *London*, upon ſome old Promiſe in *Scotland*, or new Inclination upon his long Sufferings, which He magnified enough, the King gave him the Signet, and declared him to be Secretary of State of that Kingdom; and at the ſame Time declared that *Middleton* ſhould be his Commiſſioner; the Earl of *Glencarne* his Chancellor; the Earl *Rothes*, who was likewiſe one of the Commiſſioners, and his Perſon very agreeable to the King, Preſident of the Council; and conferred all other inferiour Offices upon Men moſt notable for their Affection to the old Government of Church and State.

Many of the great Offices of that Kingdom diſpoſed of.

AND the firſt Propoſition that the Commiſſioners made after their Meeting together, and before They entered upon Debate of the Publick, was, "that his Majeſty "would add to the Council of *Scotland*, which ſhould re-"ſide near his Perſon, the Chancellor and Treaſurer of "*England*, the General, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Se-"cretary *Nicholas*, who ſhould be always preſent when any "Thing ſhould be debated and reſolved concerning that "Kingdom:" Which Deſire, ſo different from any that had been in Times paſt, perſuaded the King that their Intentions were very ſincere. Whatever Appearance there was of Unity amongſt them, for there was Nothing like Contradiction, there was a general Diſlike by them all of the Power *Lautherdale* had with the King, who They knew preſſed many Things without Communication with them, as He had prevailed that the Earl of *Crawford Lindſey* ſhould continue in the Office He formerly had of being High Treaſurer of that Kingdom, though He was known to be a Man incorrigible in his Zeal for the Preſbytery, and all the Madneſſes of Kirk, and not firm to other Principles upon which the Authority of the Crown muſt be eſtabliſhed; ſo that They could not ſo much as

Of the Earl of Crawford Lindſey.

conſult in his Preſence of many Particulars of the higheſt Moment and Importance to the publick Settlement. Yet his having behaved himſelf well towards the King, whilſt He was in that Kingdom, and his having undergone great Perſecution under *Cromwell*, and profeſſing now all Obedience to his Majeſty, prevailed that He ſhould not be diſplaced upon his Majeſty's firſt Entrance upon his Government, but that a new Occaſion ſhould be attended to, which was in View, and when the King reſolved, without communicating his Purpoſe to *Lautherdale*, to confer that Office upon *Middleton*, when He ſhould have proceeded the firſt Stage in his Commiſſion; and of this his Reſolution He was graciouſly pleaſed to inform him.

The Marquis of Argyle *ſent to the* Tower.

THE Marquis of *Argyle* (without mentioning of whom (53) there can hardly be any Mention of *Scotland*) though He was not of this Fraternity, yet thought He could tell as fair a Story for himſelf as any of the reſt, and contribute as much to the King's abſolute Power in *Scotland*. And therefore He had no ſooner unqueſtionable Notice of the King's being in *London*, but He made Haſte thither with as much Confidence as the reſt. But the Commiſſioners who were before him wrought ſo far with the King, that in the very Minute of his Arrival He was arreſted by a Warrant under the King's Hand, and carried to the *Tower*, upon a Charge of High Treaſon.

His Character.

HE was a Man like *Drances* in *Virgil*,

Largus Opum, et Linguâ melior, ſed frigida Bello
Dextera, Conſiliis habitus non futilis Auctor,
Seditione potens.

Without Doubt He was a Perſon of extraordinary Cunning, well bred; and though, by the Ill-Placing of his Eyes, He did not appear with any great Advantage at firſt Sight, yet He reconciled even thoſe who had Averſion to him very ſtrangely by a little Converſation: Inſomuch as after ſo many repeated Indignities (to ſay no worſe) which He had put upon the late King, and when He had continued the ſame Affronts to the preſent King, by hindering the *Scots* from inviting him, and as long as was poſſible kept him from being received by them; when there was no Remedy, and that He was actually landed, no Man paid him ſo much Reverence and outward Reſpect, and gave ſo good an Example to all others, with what Veneration their King ought to be treated, as the Marquis of *Argyle* did, and in a very ſhort Time made himſelf agreeable

and

and acceptable to him. His Wit was pregnant, and his Humour gay and pleaſant, except when He liked not the Company or the Argument. And though He never conſented to any one Thing of Moment, which the King aſked of him, and even in thoſe Seaſons in which He was uſed with moſt Rudeneſs by the Clergy, and with ſome Barbarity by his Son the Lord *Lorne*, whom He had made Captain of his Majeſty's Guard, to guard him from his Friends and from all who He deſired ſhould have Acceſs to him; the Marquis ſtill had that Addreſs, that He perſuaded him all was for the beſt. When the other Faction prevailed, in which there were likewiſe crafty Managers, and that his Counſels were commonly rejected, He carried himſelf ſo, that They who hated him moſt were willing to compound with him, and that his Majeſty ſhould not withdraw his Countenance from him. But He continued in all his Charges, and had a very great Party in that Parliament that was moſt devoted to ſerve the King; ſo that his Majeſty was often put to deſire his Help to compaſs what He deſired. He did heartily oppoſe the King's marching with his Army into *England*, the ill Succeſs whereof made many Men believe afterwards, that He had more Reaſons for the Counſels He gave, than They had who were of another Opinion. And the King was ſo far from thinking him his Enemy, that when it was privately propoſed to him by thoſe He truſted moſt, that He might be ſecured from doing Hurt when the King was marched into *England*, ſince He was ſo much againſt it; his Majeſty would by no Means conſent to it, but parted with him very graciouſly, as with One He expected good Service from. All which the Commiſſioners well remembered, and were very unwilling that He ſhould be again admitted into his Preſence, to make his own Excuſes for any Thing He could be charged with. And
(54) his Behaviour afterwards, and the good Correſpondence He had kept with *Cromwell*, but eſpecially ſome confident Averments of ſome particular Words or Actions which related to the Murder of his Father, prevailed with his Majeſty not to ſpeak with him, which He laboured by many Addreſſes, in Petitions to the King and Letters to ſome of thoſe who were truſted by him, which were often preſented by his Wife and his Son, and in which He only deſired "to ſpeak with the King or with ſome of thoſe "Lords," pretending "that He ſhould inform and com-

"municate ſomewhat that would highly concern his Ma-
"jeſty's Service." But the King not vouchſafing to admit him to his Preſence, the *Engliſh* Lords had no Mind to have any Conference with a Man who had ſo dark a Character, or to meddle in an Affair that muſt be examined and judged by the Laws of *Scotland:* And ſo it was reſolved, that the Marquis of *Argyle* ſhould be ſent by Sea into *Scotland*, to be tried before the Parliament there when the Commiſſioner ſhould arrive, who was diſpatched thither with the reſt of the Lords, as ſoon as the Seals and other Badges of their ſeveral Offices could be prepared. And what afterwards became of the Marquis is known to all Men; as it grew quickly to appear, that what Bitterneſs ſoever the Earl of *Lautherdale* had expreſſed towards him in his general Diſcourſes, He had in Truth a great Mind to have preſerved him, and ſo kept ſuch a Pillar of Preſbytery againſt a good Occaſion, which was not then ſuſpected by the reſt of the Commiſſioners.

Sent into Scotland *to be tried.*

The Lords of the *Engliſh* Council, who were appointed to ſit with the *Scots*, met with them to conſult upon the Inſtructions which were to be given to the King's Commiſſioner, who was now created Earl of *Middleton*. The *Scots* ſeemed all reſolute and impatient to vindicate their Country from the Infamy of delivering up the laſt King (for all Things relating to the former Rebellion had been put in Oblivion by his late Majeſty's *Act of Indemnity* at his laſt being in *Scotland*) and ſtrictly to examine who of that Nation had contributed to his Murder, of which They were confident *Argyle* would be found very guilty. *Middleton* was very earneſt, "that He might for the Hu-
"miliation of the Preachers, and to prevent any unruly
"Proceeding of theirs in their Aſſembly, begin with re-
"ſcinding the *Act of the Covenant*, and all other Acts
"which had invaded the King's Power Eccleſiaſtical, and
"then proceed to the erecting of Biſhops in that King-
"dom, according to the ancient Inſtitution:" And with him *Glencarne*, *Rothes*, and all the reſt (*Lautherdale* only excepted) concurred; and averred, "that it would be very
"eaſily brought to paſs, becauſe the tyrannical Proceed-
"ings of the Aſſemblies and their ſeveral Preſbyteries had
"ſo far incenſed Perſons of all Degrees, that not only the
"Nobility, Gentry, and common People would be glad
"to be freed from them, but that the moſt learned and
"beſt Part of the Miniſters deſired the ſame, and to be
"ſubject

The Earl of Middleton *propoſes the Reeſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy in* Scotland.

In which all the Commiſſioners concur except Lautherdale.

" ſubject again to the Biſhops; and that there would be " enough found of the *Scots* Clergy, very worthy and very " willing to ſupply thoſe Charges."

LAUTHERDALE, with a Paſſion ſuperiour to the reſt, inveighed againſt the *Covenant*, called " it a wicked, " traiterous Combination of Rebels againſt their lawful " Sovereign, and expreſsly againſt the Laws of their own " Country; proteſted his own hearty Repentance for the " Part He had acted in the Promotion thereof, and that " He was confident that God, who was Witneſs of his " Repentance, had forgiven him that foul Sin: That no " Man there had a greater Reverence for the Government " by Biſhops than He himſelf had; and that He was moſt " confident, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* could never be " happy in itſelf, nor ever be reduced to a perfect Sub- " miſſion and Obedience to the King, till the Epiſcopal (55)" Government was again eſtabliſhed there. The Scruple " that only remained with him, and which made him dif- " fer with his Brethren, was, of the Manner how it ſhould " be attempted, and of the Time when it ſhould be en- " deavoured to be brought to paſs." And then with his uſual Warmth when He thought it neceſſary to be warm (for at other Times He could be as calm as any Man, though not ſo naturally) He deſired " that the Commiſ- " ſioner might have no Inſtruction for the preſent to make " any Approach towards either; on the contrary, that He " might be reſtrained from it by his Majeſty's ſpecial Di- *Who artfully attempts to get it delayed.* " rection: For though his own Prudence, upon the Ob- " ſervation He ſhould quickly make when He came thi- " ther, would reſtrain him from doing any Thing which " might be inconvenient to his Majeſty's Service; yet " without that He would hardly be able to reſtrain others, " who for Want of Underſtanding, or out of Ill-Will to " particular Men, might be too forward to ſet ſuch a De- " ſign on Foot."

HE deſired " that in the firſt Seſſion of Parliament no " farther Attempt might be made, than in Purſuance of " what had been firſt mentioned, the vindicating their " Country from all Things which related to the Murder " of the late King, which would comprehend the Deli- " very up of his Perſon, the aſſerting the King's Royal " Power, by which all future Attempts towards Rebel- " lion would be prevented, and the Trial of the Marquis " of *Argyle*; all which would take up more Time than

"Parliaments in that Kingdom, till the late ill Times, had "uſed to continue together. That after the Expiration "of the firſt Seſſion, in which a good Judgment might "be made of the Temper of that Kingdom, and the "Commiſſioner's Prudence might have an Influence upon "many leading Men to change their preſent Temper, "ſuch farther Advance might be made for the Reforma-"tion of the Kirk as his Majeſty ſhould judge beſt; and "then He made no Doubt, but all would by Degrees be "compaſſed in that Particular which could be deſired, "and which was the more reſolutely to be deſired, be-"cauſe He ſtill confeſſed that the King could not be ſe-"cure nor the Kingdom happy, till the Epiſcopal Go-"vernment could be reſtored. But He undertook to "know ſo well the Nature of that People" (though He had not been in that Kingdom ſince his Majeſty left it) "that if it were undertaken preſently, or without due "Circumſtances in preparing more Men than could in a "ſhort Time be done, it would not only miſcarry, but "with it his Majeſty be diſappointed of many of the "other Particulars, which He would otherwiſe be ſure to "obtain."

He named many of the Nobility and leading Men, who, He ſaid, "were ſtill ſo infatuated with the *Covenant*, "that They would with equal Patience hear of the Re-"jection of the four Evangeliſts, who yet, by Converſa-"tion and other Information and Application, might in "Time be wrought upon." He frequently appealed to the King's own Memory, and Obſervation when He was in that Kingdom, "how ſuperſtitious They, who were "moſt devoted to do him Service, were at his Diſ-"poſal in all Things, were towards the *Covenant:* That "all They did for him, which was all that He deſired "them to do, was looked upon as the Effects of thoſe Obli-"gations which the *Covenant* had laid upon them." He appealed to the General ("who," He ſaid, "knew *Scotland* "better than any one Man of that Nation could pretend "to do) whether He thought this a proper Seaſon to "attempt ſo great a Change in that Kingdom, before "other more preſſing Acts were compaſſed; and whether "He did not know, that the very preſſing the Obliga-"tions in the *Covenant* lately in *England* had not con-"tributed very much to the Reſtoration of the King, "which the *London* Miniſters confidently urged at pre-(56)

"ſent

"ſent as an Argument for his Indulgence towards them. "And," He ſaid, "though He well knew, that his Ma- "jeſty was fully reſolved to maintain the Government of "the Church of *England* in its full Luſtre, which He "thanked God for, being in his Judgment the beſt Go- "vernment Eccleſiaſtical in the World; yet He could not "but obſerve, that the King's Prudence had yet forborne "to make any new Biſhops, and had upon the Matter "ſuſpended the *Engliſh Liturgy* by not enjoining it, out "of Indulgence to Diſſenters, and to allow them Time "to conſider and to be well informed and inſtructed in "thoſe Forms, which had been for ſo many Years re- "jected or diſcontinued, that the People in general and "many Miniſters had never ſeen or heard it uſed: So "that the *Preſbyterians* here remained ſtill in Hope of his "Majeſty's Favour and Condeſcenſion, that They ſhould "be permitted to continue their own Forms, or no "Forms, in their Devotions and publick Worſhip of "God. In Condeſcenſion of all which, He thought it "very incongruous, and ſomewhat againſt his Majeſty's "Dignity, ſuddenly and with Precipitation to begin and "attempt ſuch an Alteration in *Scotland*, againſt a Go- "vernment that had more Antiquity there, and was more "generally ſubmitted to and accepted, than it had been "in *England*, before He himſelf had declared his own "Judgment againſt it in this Kingdom; which He pre- "ſumed He would ſhortly do, and which would be the "beſt Introduction to the ſame in *Scotland*, where all the "King's Actions and Determinations would be looked "upon with the higheſt Veneration."

HE concluded, "that if the other more vigorous Courſe "ſhould be reſolved upon, the Marquis of *Argyle* would be "very glad of it; for though He was generally odious "to all Degrees of Men, yet He was not ſo much hated "as the *Covenant* was beloved and worſhipped: And that "when They ſhould diſcern that They muſt be deprived "of that, They would rather deſire to preſerve Both. "And therefore," He ſaid, "his Advice ſtill was, that "He ſhould be firſt out of the Way, who was looked "upon as the Upholder of the *Covenant* and the chief "Pillar of the Kirk, before any viſible Attempt ſhould be "made againſt the other, which would aſſuredly be done "by Degrees."

MANY

MANY Particulars in this Diſcourſe confidently urged, and with more Advantage of Elocution than the Fatheſs of his Tongue, that ever filled his Mouth, uſually was attended with, ſeemed reaſonable to many, and worthy to be anſwered; and his frequent Appeals to the King, in which there were always ſome ridiculous Inſtances of the Uſe made of the *Covenant*, with Reference to the Power of the Preachers in the domeſtick Affairs of other Men, and the like, (which though it made it the more odious, was ſtill Argument of the Reverence that was generally paid to it, all which Inſtances were well remembered by the King, who commonly added others of the ſame Standard from his own Memory) made his Majeſty in Suſpenſe, or rather inclined that Nothing ſhould be attempted that concerned the Kirk till the next Seſſion of Parliament, when *Lautherdale* himſelf confeſſed it might be ſecurely effected. To this the General ſeemed to incline, not a little moved by what had been ſaid of *Argyle* to whom He was no Friend, but much more by the Diſadvantage which might ariſe, by a precipitate Proceeding in *Scotland*, to the Preſbyterian Party here, and eſpecially to the Preachers, to whom He wiſhed well for his Wife's Sake, or rather for his own Peace with his Wife, who was deeply engaged to that People for their ſeaſonable Determination of ſome nice Caſes of Conſcience, whereby He had been induced to repair a Treſpaſs He (57) had committed, by marrying her; which was an Obligation never to be forgotten.

His Diſcourſe makes ſome Impreſſion on the King.

MIDDLETON, and moſt of the *Scots* Lords, were highly offended by the Preſumption of *Lautherdale*, in undertaking to know the Spirit and Diſpoſition of a Kingdom which He had not ſeen in ten Years; and eaſily diſcerned that his affected Raillery and Railing againſt the *Covenant*, and his magnifying Epiſcopal Government, were but Varniſh to cover the Rottenneſs of his Intentions, till He might more ſecurely and efficaciouſly manifeſt his Affection to the one, and his Malignity to the other. They contradicted poſitively all that He had ſaid of the Temper and Affections of *Scotland*, and named many of thoſe Lords, who had been mentioned by him as the moſt zealous Aſſerters of the *Covenant*, "who," They undertook, "ſhould upon the firſt Opportunity declare their Abomi-"nation of it to the World; whereof They knew there "were ſome who had written againſt it, and were reſolved

Middleton and the other Lords diſcover Lautherdale's Deſign.

"to

" to publiſh it as ſoon as They might do it with Safety." They adviſed his Majeſty, " that He would not chooſe to " do his Buſineſs by Halves, when He might with more " Security do it all together, and the dividing it would " make Both the more difficult. However," They beſought him, " to put no ſuch Reſtraint, as had been ſo " much preſſed, upon his Commiſſioner, that though He " ſhould find the Parliament moſt inclined to do that now, " which every Body confeſſed neceſſary to be done at " ſome Time, He ſhould not accept their Good-Will, " but hinder them from purſuing it, as very ungrateful " to the King; which," They ſaid, " would be a greater " Countenance to and Confirmation of the *Covenant* than " it had ever yet received, and a greater Wound to Epiſ- " copacy." And that indeed was conſented to by all. And thereupon the King reſolved to put Nothing like Reſtraint upon his Commiſſioner from effecting that He wiſhed might be done Tomorrow if it could be, but to leave it entirely to his Prudence to judge of the Conjuncture, with Caution " not to permit it to be attempted, if " He ſaw it would be attended with any ill Conſequence " or Hazard to his Service." And ſo the Commiſſioner, with the other Officers for *Scotland*, were diſmiſſed to their full Content; and therewith the King was at preſent eaſed, by having ſeparated one very important Affair from the Crowd of the reſt, which remained to perplex him. *And prevent it.*

THAT in *Ireland* was much more intricate, and the Intricacy in many Reſpects ſo involved, that Nobody had a Mind to meddle with it. The Chancellor had made it his humble Suit to the King, " that no Part of it might ever " be referred to him;" and the Duke of *Ormond* (who was moſt concerned in his own Intereſt that all Mens Intereſts in that Kingdom might be adjuſted, that He might enjoy his, which was the greateſt of all the reſt) could not ſee any Light in ſo much Darkneſs, that might lead him to any Beginning. The King's Intereſt had been ſo totally extinguiſhed in that Kingdom for many Years paſt, that there was no Perſon of any Conſideration there, who pretended to wiſh that it were revived. At *Cromwell's* Death, and at the Depoſition of *Richard*, his younger Son *Harry* was inveſted in the full Authority, by being Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The two Preſidents of the two Provinces, were the Lord *Broghill* in that of *Munſter*, *The State of* Ireland *at that Time.*

ter, and Sir *Charles Coote* in that of *Conaught*; Both equally depending upon the Lieutenant: And They more depended upon him and courted his Protection, by their not loving one another, and being of ſeveral Complexions and Conſtitutions, and Both of a long Averſion to the King by Multiplications of Guilt. When *Richard* was thrown out, the ſupreme Power of the Militia was veſted in *Ludlow*, and all the civil Juriſdiction in Perſons who had been Judges of the King, and poſſeſſed ample Fortunes, which They could no longer hold than their Authority ſhould be maintained. But the two Preſidents remained in their ſeveral Provinces with their full Power, either becauſe They had not deſerved to be ſuſpected, or becauſe They could not eaſily be removed, being ſtill ſubject to the Commiſſioners at *Dublin*. The next Change of Government removed *Ludlow* and the reſt of that deſperate Crew, and committed the Government to others of more moderate Principles, yet far enough from wiſhing well to the King. In thoſe Revolutions Sir *Charles Coote* took an Opportunity to ſend an Expreſs to the King, who was then at *Bruſſels*, with the Tender of his Obedience, with great Cautions as to the Time of appearing; only deſired "to have ſuch Commiſſions in his "Hands as might be applied to his Majeſty's Service in "a proper Conjuncture," which were ſent to him, and never made Uſe of by him. He expreſſed great Jealouſy of *Broghill*, and an Unwillingneſs that He ſhould know of his Engagement. And the Alterations ſucceeded ſo faſt one upon another, that They Both choſe rather to depend upon General *Monk* than upon the King, imagining, as They ſaid afterwards, "that He intended No-"thing but the King's Reſtoration, and beſt knew how "to effect it." And by ſome private Letter, for there was no Order ſent, to *Coote* and ſome other Officers there, "that They would adhere to his Army for the Service of "the Parliament againſt *Lambert*," *Coote* found Aſſiſtance to ſeize upon the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and the Perſons of thoſe who were in Authority, who were impriſoned by them, and the Government ſettled in that Manner as They thought moſt agreeable to the Preſbyterian Humour, until the General was declared Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who ſent Commiſſions to the ſame Perſons, who, as ſoon as the King was proclaimed, ſent their Commiſſioners to the King, who were called Commiſſioners from the (58)

Commiſſioners from the different Parties in Ireland.

the State, and brought a Preſent of Money to the King from the ſame, with all Profeſſions of Duty which could be expected from the beſt Subjects.

THESE were the Lord *Brogbill*, Sir *Audley Mervin*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, much the greater Number whereof had been always notorious for the Diſſervice They had done the King; but upon the Advantage of having been diſcountenanced, and ſuffered long Impriſonment and other Damages, under *Cromwell*, They called themſelves the King's Party, and brought Expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as ſuch. Amongſt them was a Brother, and other Friends, made Choice of and more immediately truſted by Sir *Charles Coote*, who remained in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and preſided in that Council that ſupplied the Government, and was thought to have the beſt Intereſt in the Army as well as in his own Province. "And "theſe Men," He ſaid, "had been privy to the Service He "meant to have done the King, and expected the Per- "formance of ſeveral Promiſes He had then made them "by Virtue of ſome Authority had been ſent to him to "aſſure thoſe, who ſhould join with him to do his Majeſty "Service." All theſe Commiſſioners from the State had Inſtructions, to which They were to conform in deſiring Nothing from the King, but "the ſettling his own Au- "thority amongſt them, the ordering the Army, the re- "viving the Execution of the Laws, and ſettling the "Courts of Juſtice" (all which had been diſſolved in the late Uſurpation), "and ſuch other Particulars as purely related to the Publick." And their publick Addreſſes were to this and no other Purpoſe. But then to their private Friends, and ſuch as They deſired to make their Friends, moſt of them had many Pretences of Merit, and many (59) Expedients by which the King might reward them, and out of which They would be able liberally to gratify their Patrons. And by this Means all who ſerved the King were furniſhed with Suits enough to make their Fortunes, in which They preſently engaged themſelves with very troubleſome Importunity to the King himſelf, and to all others who They thought had Credit or Power to advance their Deſires. Nor was there any other Art ſo much uſed by the Commiſſioners in their ſecret Conferences, as to deprave one another, and to diſcover the ill Actions They had been guilty of, and how little They deſerved to be truſted,

1. *Commiſſioners from the State.*

truſted, or had Intereſt to accompliſh. The Lord *Broghill* was the Man of the beſt Parts, and had moſt Friends by his great Alliance to promiſe for him. And He appeared very generous, and to be without the leaſt Pretence to any Advantage for himſelf, and to be ſo wholly devoted to the King's Intereſt and to the eſtabliſhing of the Government of the Church, that He quickly got himſelf believed. And having free Acceſs to the King, by mingling Apologies for what He had done with Promiſes of what He would do, and utterly renouncing all thoſe Principles as to the Church or State (as He might with a good Conſcience do) which made Men unfit for Truſt, He made himſelf ſo acceptable to his Majeſty, that He heard him willingly, becauſe He made all Things eaſy to be done and compaſſed; and gave ſuch Aſſurances to the Bedchamber Men, to help them to good Fortunes in *Ireland*, which They had Reaſon to deſpair of in *England*, that He wanted not their Teſtimony upon all Occaſions, nor their Defence and Vindication, when any Thing was reflected upon to his Diſadvantage or Reproach.

2. Deputies from the Biſhops and Clergy.

2. THERE were many other Deputies of ſeveral Claſſes in *Ireland*, who thought their Pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the State. There were yet ſome Biſhops alive of that Kingdom, and other grave Divines, all ſtript of their Dignities and Eſtates, which had been diſpoſed of by the uſurping Power to their Creatures. And all They (ſome whereof had ſpent Time in Baniſhment near the King, and others more miſerably in their own Country and in *England*, under the Charity of thoſe who for the moſt Part lived by the Charity of others) expected, as They well might, to be reſtored to what in Right belonged to them; and beſought his Majeſty "to uſe all poſſible Expedition to eſtabliſh the Go-"vernment of that Church as it had always been, by ſup-"plying the empty Sees with new Prelates in the Place "of thoſe who were dead, that all the Schiſms and wild "Factions in Religion, which were ſpread over that whole "Kingdom, might be extirpated and rooted out." All which Deſires were grateful to the King, and according to his Royal Intentions, and were not oppoſed by the Commiſſioners from the State, who all pretended to be Wellwiſhers to the old Government of the Church, and the more by the Experience They had of the Diſtractions which

which were introduced by that which had ſucceeded it, and by the Confuſion They were now in without any. Only Sir *John Clotworthy* (who, by the Exerciſe of very ordinary Faculties in ſeveral Employments, whilſt the Parliament retained the ſupreme Power in their Hands, had exceedingly improved himſelf in Underſtanding and Ability of Negotiation) diſſembled not his old Animoſity againſt the Biſhops, the Croſs and the Surplice, and wiſhed that all might be aboliſhed; though He knew well that his Vote would ſignify Nothing towards it. And that Spirit of his had been ſo long known, that it was now imputed to Sincerity and Plaindealing, and that He would not diſſemble (which many others were known to do, who had the ſame Malignity with him); and was (60) the leſs ill thought of, becauſe in all other Reſpects He was of a generous and a jovial Nature, and complied in all Deſigns which might advance the King's Intereſt or Service.

3. THERE appeared likewiſe a Committee deputed by the *Adventurers* to ſolicit their Right, which was the more numerous by the Company of many Aldermen and Citizens of the beſt Quality, and many honeſt Gentlemen of the Country; who all deſired "that their Right might not "be diſturbed, which had been ſettled by an Act of Par- "liament ratified by the laſt King before the Troubles; "and that if it ſhould be thought juſt, that any of the "Lands of which They ſtood poſſeſſed ſhould be taken "from them, upon what Title ſoever, They might firſt "be put into the Poſſeſſion of other Lands of equal Va- "lue before They ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of what They "had already." All that They made Claim to ſeemed to be confirmed by an Act of Parliament. The Caſe was this: When the Rebellion firſt brake out in *Ireland*, the Parliament then ſitting, and there being ſo much Money to be raiſed and already raiſed for the Payment of and diſbanding two Armies, and for the compoſing or compounding the Rebellion of *Scotland*, where the King was at that Time; it had been propounded, "that the "War of *Ireland* might be carried on at the Charges "of particular Men, and ſo all Impoſition upon the Peo- "ple might be prevented, if an Act of Parliament were "paſſed for the Satisfaction of all thoſe who would ad- "vance Monies for the War, out of the Lands which "ſhould become forfeited."

3. A Committee deputed by the Adventurers.

An Account of theſe Adventurers.

AND

And this Propoſition being embraced, an Act was prepared to that Purpoſe; in which it was provided, "that "the forfeited Lands in *Leinſter*, *Munſter*, *Conaught* and "*Ulſter*, ſhould be valued at ſuch ſeveral Rates by the "Acre, and how many Acres in either ſhould be aſſigned "for the Satisfaction of one hundred Pounds, and ſo "proportionally for greater Sums. That for all Monies "which ſhould be ſubſcribed within ſo many Days (be"yond which Time there ſhould be no more Subſcrip"tions) for that Service, one Moiety thereof ſhould be "paid to the Treaſurer appointed, within few Days, for "the preſent Preparations; and the other Moiety be paid "within ſix Months, upon the Penalty of loſing all Be"nefit from the firſt Payment. That when God ſhould "ſo bleſs their Armies (which They doubted not of) that "the Rebels ſhould be ſo near reduced, that They ſhould "be without any Army or viſible Power to ſupport their "Rebellion; there ſhould a Commiſſion iſſue out, under "the Great Seal of *England*, to ſuch Perſons as ſhould be "nominated by the Parliament, who ſhould take the beſt "Way They could in their Diſcretion think fit, to be in"formed whether the Rebels were totally ſubdued, and "ſo the Rebellion at an End. And upon their Declara"tion that the Work was fully done, and the War finiſh"ed, other Commiſſions ſhould likewiſe iſſue out, in the "ſame Manner, for the convicting and attainting all thoſe "who were guilty of the Treaſon and Rebellion by which "their Eſtates were become forfeited; and then other "Commiſſions, for the Diſtribution of the forfeited Lands "to the ſeveral *Adventurers*, according to the Sums of "Money advanced by them. The King was to be re"ſtrained from making any Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels, "or Ceſſation, or from granting Pardon to any of them; "but ſuch Peace, Ceſſation, or Pardon ſhould be looked "upon as void and null."

This Act the King had conſented to and confirmed in the Year 1641, and in the Agony of many Troubles which that Rebellion had brought upon him, thinking it the only Means to put a ſpeedy End to that accurſed Rebellion, the Suppreſſion whereof would free him from many Difficulties. And upon the Security of this Act, very many Perſons of all Qualities and Affections ſub- (61)
ſcribed and brought in the firſt Moiety of their Money, and were very properly ſtyled *Adventurers*. Great Sums

of

of Money were daily brought in, and Preparations and Proviſions and new Levies of Men were made for *Ireland*. But the Rebellion in *England* being ſhortly after fomented by the Parliament, They applied very much of that Money brought in by the *Adventurers*, and many of the Troops which had been raiſed for that Service, immediately againſt the King: Which being notoriouſly known, and his Majeſty complaining of it, many honeſt Gentlemen who had ſubſcribed and paid one Moiety, refuſed to pay in the other Moiety at the Time, and ſo were liable to loſe the Benefit of their Adventure; which They preferred before ſuffering their Money to be applied to the carrying on the Rebellion againſt the King, which They abhorred. And by this Means *Ireland* was unſupplied; and the Rebellion ſpread and proſpered with little Oppoſition for ſome Time. And the Parliament, though the Time for ſubſcribing was expired, enlarged it by Ordinances of their own to a longer Day, and eaſily prevailed with many of their own Party, principally Officers and Citizens, to ſubſcribe and bring in their Money; to which it was no ſmall Encouragement, that ſo many had loſt the Benefit of their whole Adventure by not paying in the ſecond Payment, which would make the Conditions of the new *Adventurers* the leſs hazardous.

WHEN the Succeſs of the Parliament had totally ſubdued the King's Arms, and himſelf was ſo inhumanly murdered, neither the Forces in *Ireland* under the King's Authority, or the *Iriſh*, who had too late promiſed to ſubmit to it, could make any long Reſiſtance; ſo that *Cromwell* quickly diſperſed them by his own Expedition thither: And by licenſing as many as deſired it to tranſport as many from thence, for the Service of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, as They would contract for, quickly made a Diſappearance of any Army in that Kingdom to oppoſe his Conqueſts. And after the Defeat of the King at *Worceſter*, He ſeemed to all Men to be in as quiet a Poſſeſſion of *Ireland* as of *England*, and to be as much without Enemies in the one as the other Kingdom; as in a ſhort Time He had reduced *Scotland* to the ſame Exigent.

SHORTLY after that Time, when *Cromwell* was inveſted with the Office of Protector, all thoſe Commiſſions were iſſued out, and all the Formality was uſed that was preſcribed by that Act for the *Adventurers*. Not only all

the *Irish* Nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the Rebellion, and ſo to have forfeited all their Eſtates; but the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchiquin*, and all the *Engliſh Catholicks*, and whoſoever had ſerved the King, were declared to be under the ſame Guilt; and the Lands ſeized upon for the Benefit of the State. There were very vaſt Arrears of Pay due to the Army, a great Part of which (now the War was ended) muſt be diſbanded; for the doing whereof no Money was to be expected out of *England*, but They muſt be ſatisfied out of the Forfeitures of the other Kingdoms. The whole Kingdom was admeaſured; the Accounts of the Money paid by the *Adventurers* within the Time limited, and what was due to the Army for their Pay, were ſtated; and ſuch Proportions of Acres in the ſeveral Provinces were aſſigned to the *Adventurers* and Officers and Soldiers, as were agreeable to the Act of Parliament, by Admeaſurement. Where an Officer of Name had been likewiſe an *Adventurer*, his Adventure and Pay amounted to the more. And ſometimes the whole Company and Regiment contracted for Money with their Captains or Colonels, and aſſigned their Intereſt in Land to them; and Poſſeſſion was accordingly delivered without any Reſpect to any Ti-(62) tles by Law to former Settlements, or Deſcents of any Perſons ſoever, Wives or Children; except in ſome very few Caſes, where the Wives had been great Heirs and could not be charged with any Crime, ſuch Proportions were aſſigned as were rather agreeable to their own Conveniences, than to Juſtice and the Right of the Claimers.

And that every Body might with the more Security enjoy that which was aſſigned to him, They had found a Way to have the Conſent of many to their own Undoing. They found the utter Extirpation of the Nation (which They had intended) to be in itſelf very difficult, and to carry in it ſomewhat of Horrour, that made ſome Impreſſion upon the Stone-Hardneſs of their own Hearts. After ſo many Thouſands deſtroyed by the Plague which raged over the Kingdom, by Fire, Sword, and Famine; and after ſo many Thouſands tranſported into foreign Parts; there remained ſtill ſuch a numerous People, that They knew not how to diſpoſe of: And though They were declared to be all forfeited, and ſo to have no Title to any Thing, yet They muſt remain ſomewhere. They therefore found this Expedient, which They called an

Act

Act of Grace. There was a large Tract of Land, even to the Half of the Province of *Conaught*, that was ſeparated from the reſt by a long and a large River, and which by the Plague and many Maſſacres remained almoſt deſolate. Into this Space and Circuit of Land They required all the *Iriſh* to retire by ſuch a Day, under the Penalty of Death; and all who ſhould after that Time be found in any other Part of the Kingdom, Man, Woman, or Child, ſhould be killed by any Body who ſaw or met them. The Land within this Circuit, the moſt barren in the Kingdom, was out of the Grace and Mercy of the Conquerors aſſigned to thoſe of the Nation who were encloſed, in ſuch Proportions as might with great Induſtry preſerve their Lives. And to thoſe Perſons, from whom They had taken great Quantities of Land in other Provinces, They aſſigned the greater Proportions within this Precinct; ſo that it fell to ſome Mens Lot, eſpecially when They were accommodated with Houſes, to have a competent Livelihood, though never to the fifth Part of what had been taken from them in a much better Province. And that They might not be exalted with this merciful Donative, it was a Condition that accompanied this their Accommodation, that They ſhould all give Releaſes of their former Rights and Titles to the Land that was taken from them, in Conſideration of what was now aſſigned to them; and ſo They ſhould for ever bar themſelves and their Heirs from ever laying Claim to their old Inheritance. What ſhould They do? They could not be permitted to go out of this Precinct to ſhift for themſelves elſewhere; and without this Aſſignation They muſt ſtarve here, as many did die every Day of Famine. In this deplorable Condition, and under this Conſternation, They found themſelves obliged to accept or ſubmit to the hardeſt Conditions of their Conquerors, and ſo ſigned ſuch Conveyances and Releaſes as were prepared for them, that They might enjoy thoſe Lands which belonged to other Men.

AND by this Means the Plantation (as They called it) of *Conaught* was finiſhed, and all the *Iriſh* Nation encloſed within that Circuit, the reſt of *Ireland* being left to the *Engliſh*; ſome to the old Lords and juſt Proprietors, who being all *Proteſtants* (for no *Roman Catholick* was admitted) had either never offended them, or had ſerved them, or had made Compoſition for their Delinquencies by the Benefit of ſome Articles; and ſome to the

Adventurers and Soldiers. And a good and great Part (as I remember, the whole Province of *Tipperary*) *Cromwell* had reſerved to himſelf, as a Demeſne (as He called it) for the State, and in which no *Adventurer* or Soldier ſhould demand his Lot to be aſſigned, and no Doubt in- (63)
tended both the State and it for the making great his own Family. It cannot be imagined in how eaſy a Method, and with what peaceable Formality, this whole great Kingdom was taken from the juſt Lords and Proprietors, and divided and given amongſt thoſe, who had no other Right to it but that They had Power to keep it; no Men having ſo great Shares as They who had been Inſtruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his Succeſſor. Where any great Sums of Money for Arms, Ammunition, or any Merchandiſe, had been ſo long due that they were looked upon as deſperate, the Creditors ſubſcribed all thoſe Sums as lent upon Adventure, and had their Satisfaction aſſigned to them as *Adventurers*. *Ireland* was the great Capital, out of which all Debts were paid, all Services rewarded, and all Acts of Bounty performed. And which is more wonderful, all this was done and ſettled, within little more than two Years, to that Degree of Perfection, that there were many Buildings raiſed for Beauty as well as Uſe, orderly and regular Plantations of Trees, and Fences and Encloſures raiſed throughout the Kingdom, Purchaſes made by one from the other at very valuable Rates, and Jointures made upon Marriages, and all other Conveyances and Settlements executed, as in a Kingdom at Peace within itſelf, and where no Doubt could be made of the Validity of Titles. And yet in all this Quiet, there were very few Perſons pleaſed or contented.

And theſe Deputies for the *Adventurers*, and for thoſe who called themſelves *Adventurers*, came not only to aſk the King's Conſent and Approbation of what had been done (which They thought in Juſtice He could not deny, becauſe all had been done upon the Warrant of a legal Act of Parliament) but to complain "that Juſtice had not "been equally done in the Diſtributions; that this Man "had received much leſs than was his Due, and others as "much more than was their Due; that one had had great "Quantities of Bogs and waſte Land aſſigned to him as "tenantable, and another as much allowed as Bogs and "Waſte, which in Truth were very tenantable Lands."

And

And upon the whole Matter, They all desired "a Review "might be made, that Justice might be done to all;" every Man expecting an Addition to what He had already, not suspecting that any Thing would be taken from him to be restored to the true Owner.

AND this Agitation raised another Party of *Adventurers*, who thought They had at least as good a Right as any of the other; and that was, They, or the Heirs and Executors of them, who upon the first making of the Act of Parliament, had subscribed several good Sums of Money, and paid in their first Moieties; but the Rebellion coming on, and the Monies already paid in being notoriously and visibly employed contrary to the Act, and against the Person of the King himself, They had out of Conscience forborne to pay the second Moiety, lest it might also be so employed; whereby, according to the Rigour of the Law, They lost the Benefit of the first Payment. And They had hitherto sustained that Loss, with many other, without having ever applied themselves for Relief. "But now when it had pleased God to restore "the King, and so many who had not deserved very well "desired Help from the King upon the Equity of that "Act of Parliament, where the Letter of the Law would "do them no Good, They presumed to think, that by "the Equity of the Law They ought to be satisfied for "the Money They did really pay; and that They should "not undergo any Damage for not paying the other Moi-"ety, which out of Conscience and for his Majesty's Ser-"vice They had forborne to do." No Man will doubt but that the King was very well inclined to gratify this (64) *Classis* of *Adventurers*, when He should find it in his Power. But it is Time to return to the Committee and Deputies of the other Parties in that distracted Kingdom.

Another Class of Adventurers *appears.*

4. THERE was a Committee sent from the Army that was in present Pay in *Ireland* "for the Arrears due to "them," which was for above a Year's Pay; most of those who had received Satisfaction in Land for what was then due to them, as well Officers as Soldiers, being then disbanded, that They might attend their Plantations and Husbandry, but in Truth because They were for the most Part of the Presbyterian Faction, and so suspected by *Cromwell* not to be enough inclined to him. The Army now on Foot, and to whom so great Arrears were due, con-

4. *A Committee from the Army.*

conſiſted for the greateſt Part of *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Levellers*, who had correſponded with and been directed by the General, when He marched from *Scotland* againſt *Lambert*: And therefore He had adviſed the King to declare, "that He would pay all Arrears due to the Army "in *Ireland*, and ratify the Satisfaction that had been "given to *Adventurers*, Officers and Soldiers there;" which his Majeſty had accordingly ſignified by his Declaration from *Breda*. And whoever conſiders the Temper and Conſtitution of that Army then on Foot in that Kingdom, and the Body of *Preſbyterians* that had been diſbanded, and remained ſtill there in their Habitations, together with the Body of *Adventurers*, all *Preſbyterians* or *Anabaptiſts*; and at the ſame Time remembers the Diſpoſition and general Affection of the Army in *England*, ſevered from their Obedience to the General and the good Affection of ſome few ſuperiour Officers; will not wonder that the King endeavoured, if it had been poſſible, rather to pleaſe all, than by any unſeaſonable Diſcovery of a Reſolution, how juſt ſoever, to make any Party deſperate; there being none ſo inconſiderable, as not to have been able to do much Miſchief.

5. A Committee from the Officers who had ſerved the King.

5. THE Satisfaction that the Officers and Soldiers had received in Land, and the Demand of the preſent Army, had cauſed another Committee to be ſent and employed by thoſe reformed Officers, who had ſerved the King under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End thereof, with Courage and Fidelity; and had ſince ſhifted beyond the Seas, and ſome of them in his Majeſty's Service, or ſuffered patiently in that Kingdom under the Inſolence of their Oppreſſors; who, becauſe They had always fought againſt the *Iriſh*, were by Articles, upon their laying down their Arms when They could no longer hold them in their Hands, permitted to remain in their own Houſes, or ſuch as They could get within that Kingdom. Theſe Gentlemen thought it a very incongruous Thing, "that They, "who had conſtantly fought againſt the King's Father "and himſelf, ſhould receive their Pay and Reward by "his Majeſty's Care, Bounty and Aſſignation; and that "They, who had as conſtantly fought for Both, ſhould "be left to undergo all Want and Miſery now his Ma"jeſty was reſtored to his own." And They believed their Suit to be the more reaſonable, at leaſt the eaſier to

be

be granted, by having brought an Expedient with them to facilitate their Satisfaction. There had been ſome old Order or Ordinance that was looked upon as a Law, whereby it was provided, that all Houſes within Cities or Corporate Towns, which were forfeited, ſhould be reſerved to be ſpecially diſpoſed of by the State, or in ſuch a Manner as it ſhould direct, to the End that all Care might be taken what Manner of Men ſhould be the Inhabitants of ſuch important Places: And therefore ſuch Houſes had not been, nor were to be, promiſcuouſly aſſigned to *Adventurers*, Officers, or Soldiers, and ſo remained hitherto (65) undiſpoſed of. And theſe reformed Officers of the King made it their Suit, that thoſe Houſes might be aſſigned to them in Proportions, according to what might appear to be due to their ſeveral Conditions and Degrees in Command. And to this Petition, which might ſeem equitable in itſelf, the Commiſſioners from the State gave their full Approbation and Conſent, being ready to take all the Opportunities to ingratiate themſelves towards thoſe whom They had oppreſſed as long as They were able, and to be reputed to love the King's Party.

6. LASTLY, there was a Committee for, or rather the whole Body of the *Iriſh Catholicks*, who, with leſs Modeſty than was ſuitable to their Condition, demanded in Juſtice to be reſtored to all the Lands that had been taken from them; alleging "that They were all at leaſt as innocent as any of them were, to whom their Lands had "been aſſigned." They urged "their early Submiſſion to "the King, and the Peace They had firſt made with the "Marquis of *Ormond*, by which an Act of Indemnity had "been granted for what Offences ſoever had been committed, except ſuch in which none of them were concerned." They urged "the Peace They had made with "the Marquis of *Ormond* upon this King's firſt coming "to the Crown, wherein a Grant of Indemnity was again "renewed to them;" and confidently, though very unſkilfully, preſſed "that the Benefit of all thoſe Articles, "which were contained in that Peace, might ſtill be "granted and obſerved to them, ſince They had done "Nothing to infringe or forfeit them, but had been oppreſſed and broken as all his Majeſty's other Forces "had been." They urged "the Service They had done "to the King beyond the Seas, having been always ready "to obey his Commands, and ſtayed in or left *France* or

6. *A Committee for the* Roman Catholicks.

"*Spain* as his Majeſty had commanded them, and were "for the laſt two Years received and liſted as his own "Troops, and in his own actual Service, under the Duke "of *York*." They preſſed "the intolerable Tyranny They "had ſuffered under, now almoſt twenty Years; the Maſ- "ſacres and Servitude They had undergone, ſuch De- "vaſtation and laying waſte their Country, ſuch bloody "Cruelty and Executions inflicted on them, as had never "been known nor could be paralleled amongſt Chriſti- "ans: That their Nation almoſt was become deſolated, "and their Sufferings of all Kind had been to ſuch an Ex- "tent, that They hoped had ſatiated their moſt impla- "cable Enemies." And therefore They humbly beſought his Majeſty, "that in this general Joy for his Majeſty's "bleſſed Reſtoration, and in which Nobody could rejoice "more than They, when all his Majeſty's Subjects of his "two other Kingdoms (whereof many were not more in- "nocent than themſelves) had *their Mouths filled with* "*Laughter*, and had all their Hearts could deſire, the "poor *Iriſh* alone might not be condemned to perpetual "Weeping and Miſery by his Majeſty's own immediate "Act." Amongſt theſe, with the ſame Confidence, They who had been tranſplanted into *Conaught* appeared, related the Circumſtances of the Perſecution They had under- gone, and "how impoſſible it had been for them to re- "fuſe their Submiſſion to that They had no Power to re- "ſiſt; and therefore that it would be againſt all Conſci- "ence to allege their own Conſent, and their Releaſes and "other Grants, which had They not conſented to in that "Point of Time, They, their Wives and Children, could "not have lived four and twenty Hours." All theſe Par- ticulars were great Motives to Compaſſion, and diſpoſed his Majeſty's Heart to wiſh that any Expedient might be found, which might conſiſt with Juſtice and neceſſary Policy, that though it might not make them very hap- py, yet might preſerve them from Miſery, until He ſhould hereafter find ſome Opportunity to repair their (66) Condition according to their ſeveral Degrees and Merit.

The King greatly pleaſed with their contradictory Addreſſes.

THESE ſeveral Addreſſes being preſented to his Ma- jeſty together, before any Thing was yet ſettled in *Eng- land*, and every Party of them finding ſome Friends, who filled the King's Ears with ſpecious Diſcourſes on their Behalf for whom They ſpake, and with bitter Invectives againſt all the reſt; He was almoſt confounded how to

begin,

begin, and in what Method to put the Examination of all their Pretences, that he might be able to take ſuch a View of them, as to be able to apply ſome Remedy, that might keep the Diſeaſe from increaſing and growing worſe, until He could find ſome Cure. He had no Mind the Parliament ſhould interpoſe and meddle in it, which would have been grateful to no Party; and by good Fortune They were ſo full of Buſineſs that They thought concerned them nearer, that They had no Mind to examine or take Cognizance of this of *Ireland*, which They well knew properly depended upon the King's own Royal Pleaſure and Commands. But theſe Addreſſes were all of ſo contradictory a Nature, ſo inconſiſtent with each other, and ſo impoſſible to be reconciled, that if all *Ireland* could be ſold at its full Value (that is, if Kingdoms could be valued at a juſt Rate) and find a fit Chapman or Purchaſer to diſburſe the Sum, it could not yield Half enough to ſatisfy Half their Demands; and yet the King was not in a Condition poſitively to deny any one Party that which They deſired.

THE Commiſſioners from the State, in Reſpect of their Quality, Parts and Intereſt, and in Regard of their Miſſion and Authority, ſeemed the moſt proper Perſons to be treated with, and the moſt like to be prevailed upon not to inſiſt upon any Thing that was moſt profoundly unreaſonable. They had all their own juſt Fears, if the King ſhould be ſevere; and there would have been a general Concurrence in all the reſt, that He ſhould have taken a full Vengeance upon them: But then They who had moſt Cauſe to fear, thought They might raiſe their Hopes higheſt from that Power that ſent them, and which had yet Intereſt enough to do Good and Hurt; and They thought themſelves ſecure in the King's Declaration from *Breda*, and his Offer of Indemnity, which comprehended them. Then They were all deſirous to merit from the King; and their not loving one another diſpoſed them the more to do any Thing that might be grateful to his Majeſty. But They were all united and agreed in one unhappy Extreme, that made all their other Devotion leſs applicable to the publick Peace, that is, their implacable Malice to the *Iriſh*: Inſomuch as They concurred in their Deſire, that They might gain Nothing by the King's Return, but be kept with the ſame Rigour, and under the ſame Incapacity to do Hurt, which They were

were ſtill then. For which Inſtance They were not totally without Reaſon, from their barbarous Behaviour in the firſt Beginning of the Rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to ſubmit to and undergo the moſt barbarous Servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though Eradication was too foul a Word to be uttered in the Ears of a Chriſtian Prince, yet it was little leſs or better that They propoſed in other Words, and hoped to obtain: Whereas the King thought that miſerable People to be as worthy of his Favour, as moſt of the other Parties; and that his Honour, Juſtice and Policy, as far as they were unreſtrained by Laws and Contracts, obliged him more to preſerve them, at leaſt as much as He could. And yet it can hardly be believed, how few Men, in all other Points very reaſonable, and who were far from Cruelty in their Nature, cheriſhed that Inclination in the King; but thought it in him, and more (67) in his Brother, to proceed from other Reaſons than They publiſhed: Whilſt others, who pretended to be only moved by Chriſtian Charity and Compaſſion, were more cruel towards them, and made them more miſerable, by extorting great Engagements from them for their Protection and Interceſſion, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a Condition as They were found.

In this Intricacy and Perplexity, the King thought it neceſſary to begin with ſettling his own Authority in one Perſon over that Kingdom, who ſhould make Haſte thither, and eſtabliſh ſuch a Council there, and all Courts of Juſtice, and other civil Officers, as might beſt contribute towards bringing the reſt in Order. And to this Purpoſe He made Choice of ſeveral Perſons of the Robe, who had been known by or recommended to the Marquis of *Ormond*, but of more by the Advice and Promotion of *Daniel O Neile* of his Bedchamber, who preferred a Friend of his and an *Iriſhman* to the Office of Attorney General, a Place in that Conjuncture of vaſt Importance to the Settlement, and many other to be Judges. And all this Liſt was made and ſettled without the leaſt Communication with the Chancellor, who might have been preſumed to be eaſily informed of that Rank of Men. But to find a Perſon fit to ſend thither in the ſupreme Authority, was long deliberated by the King, and with Difficulty to be reſolved. The General continued Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*,

The General continues Lord Lieutenant.

land, which He had no Mind to quit, for He had a great Eſtate there, having for ſome Time been General of that Army, and received for the Arrears of his Pay, and by *Cromwell's* Bounty, and by ſome Purchaſes He made of the Soldiers, an Eſtate of at leaſt four thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which He thought He could beſt preſerve in the ſupreme Government; though He was willing to have it believed in the City and the Army, that He retained it only for the Good of the *Adventurers*, and that the Soldiers might be juſtly dealt with for their Arrears. Whatſoever his Reaſon was, as Profit was the higheſt Reaſon always with him, whoever was to be Deputy muſt be ſubordinate to him, which no Man of the greateſt Quality would be, though He was to have his Commiſſion from the King, and the ſame Juriſdiction in the Abſence of the Lieutenant. There were ſome few fit for the Employment, who were not willing to undertake it; and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit.

UPON the View of thoſe of all Sorts, the King moſt inclined to the Lord *Roberts*, who was a Man of more than ordinary Parts, well verſed in the Knowledge of the Laws, and eſteemed of Integrity not to be corrupted by Money. But then He was a ſullen moroſe Man, intolerably proud, and had ſome Humours as inconvenient as ſmall Vices, which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more diſcovered than at that Time foreſeen. He had been in the Beginning of the Rebellion a leading Man in their Councils, and a great Officer in their Army, wherein He expreſſed no Want of Courage. But after the Defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army in *Cornwall*, which was imputed to his Poſitiveneſs and Undertaking for his County, the Friendſhip between him and that Earl was broken. And from that Time He did not only quit his Command in the Army, but declined their Councils, and remained for the moſt Part in the Country; where He cenſured their Proceedings, and had his Converſation moſt with thoſe who were known to wiſh well to the King, and who gave him a great Teſtimony, as if He would be glad to ſerve his Majeſty upon the firſt Opportunity. The Truth is, the Wickedneſs of the ſucceeding Time was ſo much ſuperiour and overſhadowed
(68) all that had been done before, that They who had only been in Rebellion with the Earl of *Eſſex*, looked upon them-

themſelves as innocent, and juſtified their own Allegiance, by loading the Memory of *Cromwell* with all the Reproaches and Maledictions imaginable. The greateſt Exception that the King had to the Lord *Roberts*, who was already of the Privy Council by the Recommendation and Inſtance of the General, was, that He was generally eſteemed a *Preſbyterian*, which would make him unfit for that Truſt for many Reaſons; beſides that He would not cheerfully act the King's Part in reſtoring and advancing the Government of the Church, which the King was reſolved to ſettle with all the Advantages which He could contribute towards it. Nor did the Lord *Roberts* profeſs to be an Enemy to Epiſcopacy.

BEFORE the King would make any publick Declaration of his Purpoſe, He ſent the Lord Treaſurer and the Chancellor, who were moſt acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good Eſteem his Majeſty had of him, and of his Abilities to ſerve him. "That the Government of *Ireland* would require a "very ſteady and a prudent Man: That the General did "not intend to go into that Kingdom, and yet would re"main Lieutenant thereof, from which Office his Majeſty "knew not how nor thought it ſeaſonable to remove him, "and therefore that the Place muſt be ſupplied by a De"puty; for which Office the King thought him the moſt "fit, if it were not for one Objection, which He had "given them Leave to inform him of particularly, there "being but one Perſon more privy to his Majeſty's Pur"poſe, who was the Marquis of *Ormond*; and that He "might conclude, that the King was deſirous to receive "Satisfaction to his Objection, by the Way He took to "communicate it to him." And then They told him, "that He had the Reputation of being a *Preſbyterian*, "and that his Majeſty would take his own Word, whe"ther He was or was not one."

HE anſwered without any Kind of Ceremony, to which He was not devoted, or ſo much as acknowledging the King's Favour in his Enquiry, "That no *Preſbyterian* "thought him to be a *Preſbyterian*, or that He loved "their Party. He knew them too well. That there could "be no Reaſon to ſuſpect him to be ſuch, but that which "might rather induce Men to believe him to be a good "*Proteſtant*, that He went conſtantly to Church as well "in the Afternoons as Forenoons on the *Sundays*, and on "thoſe

"those Days forbore to use those Exercises and Recreati-
"ons, which He used to do all the Week beside." He desired them "to assure the King, that He was so far "from a *Presbyterian*, that He believed Episcopacy to be "the best Government the Church could be subject to." They asked him then, "whether He would be willing to "receive that Government of Deputy of *Ireland*, if the "King were willing to confer it upon him." There He let himself to fall to an Acknowledgment of the King's Goodness, "that He thought him worthy of so great an "Honour:" But He could not conceal the Disdain He had of the General's Person, nor how unwilling He was to receive Orders from him, or to be an Officer under his Command. They told him, "that there would be a Ne-"cessity of a good Correspondence between them, both "whilst They stayed together in *England*, and when He "should be in *Ireland*; but beyond that there would be "no Obligation upon him, for that He was to receive "his Commission immediately from the King, containing "as ample Powers as were in the Lieutenant's own Com-"mission: That He was not the Lieutenant's Deputy, "but the King's; only that his Commission ceased when "the Lieutenant should be upon the Place, which He
(69) "was never like to be." Upon the whole Matter, though it appeared that the Superiority was a great Mortification to him, He said, "that He referred himself wholly to the "King to be disposed of as He thought best for his Ser-"vice, and that He would behave himself with all possi-"ble Fidelity to him."

Lord Roberts *made Deputy of* Ireland.

UPON this Report made to the King, shortly after, his Majesty in Council declared, "that He had made the "Lord *Roberts* Deputy of *Ireland*," and then charged him, "that He would prepare as soon as was possible for "his Journey thither, when those Officers, who were "designed by him for the civil Justice of the Kingdom, "should be ready to attend upon him; and in the mean "Time that He would send the Commissioners, and all "others who solicited any Thing that had Reference to "*Ireland*, to wait upon him, to the End, that He being "well informed of the Nature and Consistency of the se-"veral Pretences, and of the general State of the King-"dom, might be the better able to advise his Majesty "upon the whole Matter, and to prescribe, for the en-"tering upon it by Parts, such a Method, that his Ma-

"jesty

"justly might with less Perplexity give his own Determi-
"nation in those Particulars, which must chiefly depend
"upon himself and his Direction." Thus the King gave himself a little Ease, by referring the Gross to the Lord Deputy, in whose Hands We shall for the present leave it, that We may take a View of the other Particulars that more immediately related to *England*; though We shall be shortly called back again to *Ireland*, which enjoyed little Repose in the Hands in which it was put.

Transactions in Parliament concerning the Act of Indemnity.

The Parliament spent most of the Time upon the *Act of Indemnity*, in which private Passions and Animosities prevailed very far; one Man contending to preserve this Man, who, though amongst the foulest Offenders, had done him some Courtesy in the Time of his Power; and another with as much Passion and Bitterness endeavouring to have another condemned, who could not be distinguished from the whole Herd by any infamous Guilt, and who had disobliged him, or refused to oblige him, when it was in his Power to have done it. The King had positively excepted none from Pardon, because He was to refer the Whole to them; but had clearly enough expressed, that He presumed that They would not suffer any of those who had sate as Judges upon his Father, and condemned him to be murdered, to remain alive. And the guilty Persons themselves made so little Doubt of it, that They made what Shift They could to make their Escape into the Parts beyond the Seas, and many of them had transported themselves; whilst others lay concealed for other Opportunities; and some were apprehended when They endeavoured to fly, and so were imprisoned.

The Parliament published a Proclamation, "that all "who did not render themselves by a Day named, should "be judged as guilty, and attainted of Treason;" which many consented to, conceiving it to amount to no more than a common Process at Law to bring Men to Justice. But it was no sooner out, than all They who had concealed themselves in Order to be transported, rendered themselves to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and were by him committed to the *Tower*. And the House conceived itself engaged to save those Mens Lives, who had put themselves into their Power upon that Presumption. The House of Peers insisted upon it in many Conferences, that the Proclamation could bear no such Interpretation;

pretation; but as it condemned all who by flying declined the Juſtice of the Kingdom, ſo it admitted as many as would appear to plead their own Innocence, which if They could prove They would be ſafe. But the guilty, and with them the Houſe of Commons, declared, "that
"They could not but underſtand, that They who ren-
(70) "dered themſelves ſhould be in a better Condition than
"They who fled beyond the Seas, which They were not
"in any Degree, if They were put upon their Trial; for
"to be tried and to be condemned was the ſame Thing,
"ſince the Guilt of all was equally notorious and mani-
"feſt." And this Kind of Reaſoning prevailed upon the Judgments and Underſtandings of many, who had all Manner of Deteſtation for the Perſons of the Men. In the End, the Houſe of Peers after long Conteſts was obliged to conſent, "that all the Perſons who were fled,
"and thoſe who had not rendered themſelves, ſhould be
"brought to a Trial and attainted according to Law, to-
"gether with thoſe who were or ſhould be taken;"
whereby They would forfeit all their Eſtates to the King.
"But for thoſe who had rendered themſelves upon the
"Faith of the Parliament," as They called it, "They
"ſhould remain in ſuch Priſons as his Majeſty thought fit
"during their Lives, and neither of them be put to Death
"without Conſent of Parliament."

BUT then as by this Means too many of thoſe impious Perſons remained alive, and ſome others who were as bad as any, were upon ſome Teſtimony of the General, and by other Interpoſitions of Friends upon the Allegation of Merit and Services, preſerved, with the King's Conſent too eaſily obtained, ſo much as from Attainder; ſo to make ſome Kind of Amends for this unhappy Lenity, They reſolved to except a Multitude of thoſe They were moſt angry with from Pardon as to their Eſtates, and to fine others in great Sums of Money; when worſe Men, at leaſt as bad, of either *Claſſis* were exempted, as included, by the Power of their Friends who were preſent in the Debate. And this Contradiction and Faction brought ſuch a Spirit into the Houſe, as diſturbed all other Counſels; whilſt Men, who wiſhed well enough to the Matter propoſed, oppoſed the paſſing it, to croſs other Men who had refuſed to agree with them in the pardoning or not pardoning of Perſons: Which Diſſention divided the Houſe into great Animoſities. And without Doubt, the King's

Credit

Credit and Authority was at that Time ſo great in the Houſe of Commons, that He could have taken full Vengeance upon many of thoſe with whom He had Reaſon to be offended, by cauſing them to be exempted from Pardon, or expoſed to ſome Damage of Eſtate. And there wanted not many, who uſed all the Credit They had, to inflame the King to that Retaliation and Revenge.

AND it was then and more afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, that there were no more Exceptions in the *Act of Indemnity*, and that He laboured for Expedition of paſſing it, and for excluding any extraordinary Exceptions; which Reproach He neither then, or ever after, was ſolicitous to throw off. But his Authority and Credit, though He at that Time was generally eſteemed, could not have prevailed in that Particular (wherein there were few Men without ſome Temptation to Anger and Indignation, and none more than He, who had undergone Injuries and Indignities from many Men then alive) but that it was very evident to the King himſelf, and to all diſpaſſioned Men, that no Perſon was ſo much concerned, though all were enough, that there ſhould be no longer Delay in paſſing the *Act of Indemnity*, as the King himſelf was; there being no Progreſs made in any other Buſineſs, by the Diſorder and ill Humour that grew out of that. There was no Attempt to be made towards diſbanding the Army, until the *Act of Indemnity* ſhould be firſt paſſed; nor could They begin to pay off the Navy, till They were ready to pay off the Arrears of the Army. This was the *Remora* in all the Counſels; whilſt there wanted not thoſe, who infuſed Jealouſies into the Minds of the Soldiers, and into the City, "that the King had no Purpoſe ever to "conſent to the *Act of Indemnity*," which was looked upon as the only univerſal Security for the Peace of the Nation: And till that was done, no Man could ſay that He dwelt at Home, nor the King think himſelf in any good Poſture of Security. And therefore no Man was more impatient, and more inſtant in Council and Parliament, to remove all Cauſes which obſtructed that Work, than the Chancellor. And He put the King in Mind, "how much He had oppoſed ſome Clauſes and Expreſ-"ſions which were in the Declaration and Letters from "*Breda*," which notwithſtanding were inſerted, as moſt agreeable to the General's Advice; and that He then ſaid

The King concerned at the Delays in paſſing it.

(71)

to

to his Majeſty, in the Preſence of thoſe who were conſulted with, "that it would come to his Turn to inſiſt "upon the Performance of thoſe Conceſſions, which He "was againſt the making of, when many others would "oppoſe them, which may-be at that preſent would ad-"viſe much larger:" Which his Majeſty acknowledged to be true, and confeſſed upon many Occaſions. And the Chancellor did in Truth conceive, that the King's taking Advantage of the good Inclinations of the Houſe to him, to diſpoſe them to fall upon many Perſons, who were Men of another *Claſſis* to thoſe He deſired might be excepted (and of which Proſpect there could be no End, every Man having Cauſe to fear his own Security by what He ſaw his Neighbour ſuffer who was as innocent) was directly contrary to the Senſe and Integrity of his Declaration, and therefore to be avoided; and that all Things were to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the diſbanding, that ſo the Peace of the Kingdom might again depend upon the civil Juſtice and Magiſtrates thereof. And all Men who underſtood in how tickliſh a Condition it then ſtood, concurred in that Advice.

He irt rpoſes with the Parliament.

AND this was the Reaſon that the King uſed his Authority, and They who were truſted by him their Credit and Intereſt, for the ſuppreſſing thoſe Animoſities, which had irreconciled many Perſons between themſelves who were of publick Affections, by the Nomination of particular Perſons whoſe Eſtates ſhould be made liable to Penalties, the impoſing of which muſt again depend upon the Parliament; which, beſides the Conſumption of Time which was very precious, would renew and continue the ſame Spirit of Diviſion, which already had done too much Miſchief, and would inevitably have done much more. But by this Temper and Compoſition the *Act of Indemnity* was finiſhed, paſſed the Houſe of Peers, and received the Royal Aſſent, to the wonderful Joy of the People. And preſent Orders were given for the diſbanding the Army and Payment of the Navy, as faſt as Money came in, for which ſeveral Acts of Parliament were formerly paſſed. And by the former Delays, the intolerable Burden both of Army and Navy lay upon the Kingdom near ſix Months after the King's Return, and amounted not to ſo little as one hundred thouſand Pounds by the Month; which raiſed a vaſt Debt that was called the King's, who had

And gets it paſſed.

inceſſantly deſired to have it prevented from the firſt Hour of his Arrival.

After the *Bill of Indemnity* was paſſed, with ſome other as important Acts for the publick Peace, (as the preſerving thoſe Proceedings, which had been in Courts of Juſtice for near twenty Years, from being ravelled into again as void or invalid, becauſe they had been before Judges not legally qualified, which would have brought an intolerable Burden upon the Subject; and ſome other Acts) the Parliament was willing to adjourn for ſome Time; that their Members, who were appointed to attend the diſbanding the Army in ſeveral Places, and the Payment of the Navy, might be abſent with leſs Inconvenience: And the King was as willing to have ſome Eaſe. And ſo it was adjourned for a Month or ſix Weeks; in which Time, and even in the Middle of the diſbanding, there happened a very ſtrange Accident, that was Evidence enough of the Temper or Diſtemper of the Time.

The Parliament adjourned.

(72)

The Trial of thoſe infamous Perſons who were in Priſon for the Murder of the King (and who were appointed by the *Act of Indemnity* to be proceeded againſt with Rigour, and who could not be tried till that Vote was paſſed) was no ſooner over; and the Perſons executed with ſome of the ſame Crew, who being in *Holland* and *Flanders* were, by the Permiſſion and Connivance of the Magiſtrates, taken by the King's Miniſter there, and brought into *England*, and put to Death with their Companions; but the People of that *Claſſis* who were called *Fanaticks*, diſcovered a wonderful Malignity in their Diſcourſes, and Vows of Revenge for their innocent Friends. They cauſed the Speeches They had made at their Deaths to be printed, in which there was Nothing of Repentance or Sorrow for their Wickedneſs, but a Juſtification of what They had done for the Cauſe of God; and had ſeveral Meetings to conſult of the beſt Way to attempt their Revenge, and of bringing themſelves into the ſame Poſture of Authority and Power, which They formerly had. The diſbanding the Army ſeemed a good Expedient to contribute to their Ends: And They doubted not, but as faſt as They diſbanded They would repair to them, which They could not ſo well do till then, becauſe of the many new Officers who had been lately put over them; and to that Purpoſe They had their Agents in ſeveral Regiments to appoint Rendezvouſes. They had Conference

ference of aſſaſſinating the General, "who," They ſaid, "had betrayed them, and was the only Perſon who kept "the Army together."

MATTERS being in this State, and ſome of their Companions every Day taken and impriſoned upon Diſcovery of their Purpoſes, the King being gone to *Portſmouth*, and the Parliament adjourned, They appointed a Rendezvous in ſeveral Places of *London* at twelve of the Clock in the Night; the ſame being aſſigned to their Friends in the Country. They had not Patience to make Uſe of the Silence of the Night, till They could draw their ſeveral Bodies together. But their ſeveral Rendezvouſes no ſooner met, than They fell into Noiſe and Exclamation, "that all "Men ſhould take Arms to aſſiſt the LORD JESUS "CHRIST;" and when the Watch came towards them, They reſolutely defended themſelves, and killed many of thoſe who came to aſſault them: So that the Alarum was in a ſhort Time ſpread over the City, and from thence was carried to *Whitehall*, where the Duke of *York* was and the General, with a Regiment of Guards and ſome Horſe, which were quickly drawn together. Venner *raiſes an Inſurrection of the* Fanaticks *in* London.

SIR *Richard Browne* was then Lord Mayor of *London*, a very ſtout and vigilant Magiſtrate, who was equally feared and hated by all the ſeditious Party, for his extraordinary Zeal and Reſolution in the King's Service. Nor was there any Man in *England*, who did raze out the Memory of what He had formerly done amiſs, with a more ſignal Acknowledgment, or a more frank and generous Engagement againſt all Manner of Factions, which oppoſed or obſtructed his Majeſty's Service; which made him terrible and odious to all, and to none more than to the *Preſbyterians*, who had formerly ſeduced him. Upon the Alarum, which of itſelf had ſcattered many of the Conſpirators as They were going to or were upon the Places to which They were aſſigned, He was quickly upon his Horſe, accompanied with as many Soldiers, Officers and Friends as He could ſpeedily draw together; and with thoſe marched towards that Place where the moſt Noiſe was made, and in his Way met many who ran from the Fury of thoſe, "who," They ſaid, "were "in Arms," and reported "their Numbers to be very (73) "great, and that They killed all who oppoſed them." And true it was They had killed ſome, and charged a Body of the Trainbands with ſo much Courage, that it

retired with Diſorder. Yet when the Mayor came, He found the Number ſo ſmall, not above thirty Men, that He commanded them to lay down their Arms; which when They refuſed to do, He charged them briſkly. And They defended themſelves with that Courage and Deſpair, that They killed and wounded many of his Men; and very few of them yielded or would receive Quarter, till They were overborne with Numbers or fainted with Wounds, and ſo were taken and laid Hands on.

THEIR Captain, who was to command the whole Party in *London*, and had for his Device in his Enſign theſe Words, THE LORD GOD AND GIDEON, was a Wine-Cooper of a competent Eſtate, a very ſtrong Man, who defended himſelf with his Sword, and killed ſome of thoſe who aſſaulted him, till He fell with his Wounds, as ſome other about him did; all whom He had perſuaded, that They ſhould be able to do as much upon their Enemies, as *Jonathan* and his Armour Bearer did upon the *Philiſtines*, or any others in the Old Teſtament had upon thoſe whom the Lord delivered into their Hands. Nor could it be found upon all his Examinations, that there was any other formed Deſign, than what muſt probably attend the Declaration of the Army, of which He was aſſured. He and the other hurt Men were committed to the Goal, and to the ſpecial Charge of the Surgeons, that They might be preſerved for a Trial.

THE next Morning the Council met early, and having received an Account of all that had paſſed, They could not but conclude, that this ſo extravagant an Attempt could not be founded upon the Raſhneſs of one Man, who had been always looked upon as a Man of Senſe and Reaſon. And thereupon They thought it neceſſary to ſuſpend the diſbanding the General's Regiment of Foot, which had the Guard of *Whitehall*, and was by the Order of Parliament to have been diſbanded the next Day; and writ to the King "to approve of what They had done, "and to appoint it to be continued till farther Order," which his Majeſty conſented to. And this was the true Ground and Occaſion of the continuing and increaſing the Guard for his Majeſty's Perſon, which no Man at that Time thought to be more than was neceſſary. Order was given for the ſpeedy Trial of *Venner* and his Accomplices; many whereof with himſelf would have died of their Wounds, if their Trial had been deferred for many Days:

But

But the Surgeons Skill preſerved them till then, where They made no other Defence for themſelves than what is before mentioned; nor did then, or at their Deaths (there being ten or a dozen executed) make the leaſt Shew of Sorrow for what They had attempted.

For which He and ſeveral of his Aſſociates are executed.

THERE is no Occaſion of mentioning more of the particular Proceedings of this Parliament, which though it met afterwards at the Time appointed, and proceeded with all Duty to the King, in raiſing great Sums of Money for the Army and the Navy, and for the Payment of other great Debts, which They thought themſelves concerned to diſcharge, and which had never been incurred by the King; and likewiſe paſſed many good Acts for the ſettling a future Revenue for the Crown, and a Vote that They would raiſe that Revenue to twelve hundred thouſand Pounds yearly: Yet They gave not any Thing to the King himſelf (all the reſt was received and paid by thoſe who were deputed by them to that Purpoſe) but ſeventy thouſand Pounds towards the Diſcharge of his Coronation, which He had appointed to be in the Beginning of *May* following. And this ſeventy thouſand Pounds was all the Money the King received or could diſpoſe of, (74) in a full Year after his Coming to *London*; ſo that there could not but be a very great Debt contracted in that Time, for the Payment whereof He muſt afterwards provide as well as He could. I ſay, I ſhall not mention more of the Particulars of that Parliament, becauſe it was foreſeen by all, that though their Meeting had produced all thoſe good Effects, in the reſtoring the King, diſbanding the Army, and many other Things, which could be wiſhed; yet that the laſting Validity of all They had done, would depend upon another Parliament to be legally ſummoned by the King with all thoſe Formalities which this wanted; and the Confirmation of that Parliament would be neceſſary for the People's Security, that They ſhould enjoy all that this had ganted: So that when I ſhall ſpeak again of the Proceedings of Parliament, it will be of that Parliament which will be called by his Majeſty's Writ.

ONLY before We diſſolve this, and becauſe there hath been ſo little ſaid of the Licenſe and Diſtemper in Religion, which his Majeſty exceedingly apprehended would have received ſome Countenance from the Parliament; We ſhall remember, that the King having by his Decla-

ration from *Breda* referred the compoſing and ſettling all that related to the Government of the Church to the Parliament, He could do Nothing towards it himſelf: But by his gracious Reception of the old Biſhops who were ſtill alive, and his own Practice in his Devotions and the Government of his Royal Chapel, He declared ſufficiently what ſhould be done in other Places. The Party of the *Preſbyterians* was very numerous in the Houſe of Commons, and had before the King's Return made a Committee to deviſe ſuch a Government for the Church, as might either totally exclude Biſhops, or make them little ſuperiour to the reſt of the Clergy. But the Spirit of the Time had of itſelf elected many Members, notwithſtanding the Injunctions ſent out with the Writs, and expreſsly contrary to ſuch Injunctions, of a very different Allay; who together with ſuch as were choſen after his Majeſty's Return, were numerous enough to obſtruct and check any Prevalence of that Party, though not of Power enough to compel them to conſent to ſober Counſels. And ſo the Buſineſs was kept ſtill at the Committee, now and then getting Ground, and then caſt back again, as the ſober Members attended; ſo that no Report was brought to the Houſe from thence, which might have given the King ſome Trouble. And by Degrees the Heads of that Party grew weary of the Warmth of their Proſecution, which They ſaw not like to produce any notable Fruit that They cared for. The King deſired no more than that They ſhould do Nothing, being ſure that in a little Time He ſhould himſelf do the Work beſt. And ſo in *September* when He adjourned them, He took Notice "that They had offered him no Advice towards "the compoſing the Diſſentions in Religion, and there-"fore He would try in that ſhort Adjournment of the "Parliament, what He could do towards it himſelf."

And thereupon He was himſelf preſent many Days, and for many Hours each Day, at a Conference between many of the *London* Miniſters, who were the Heads of the Preſbyterian Party, with an equal Number of the Orthodox Clergy, who had been for ſo many Years deprived of all that They had: Which Conference was held at *Worceſter-Houſe* in the Chancellor's Lodgings, to conſider what Ceremonies ſhould be retained in the Church, and what Alterations ſhould be made in the Liturgy that had been formerly uſed; and the Subſtance of this Conference was afterwards

publiſhed

published in Print. The King upon this published a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, wherein He took Notice "of the Conference that had been in his own "Presence, and that He had commanded the Clergy of (75) "Both Sides to meet together at the *Savoy* in the Master's "Lodgings, and if it were possible, to agree upon such "an *Act of Uniformity*, that might be confirmed in Par- "liament." And in the mean Time He signified his Pleasure, "that Nobody should be punished for not using "*The Book of Common Prayer* which had been formally esta- "blished, or for discontinuing the Surplice, and the Sign "of the Cross; and that all who desired to conform to "the old Practice in the using them all, should be at the "same Liberty:" Which Declaration was read to, and put into the Hands of the Divines of Both Sides for some Days; and then They were again heard before his Majesty at *Worcester-House*. And though it cannot be denied, that either Party did desire that somewhat might be put in, and somewhat left out, in neither of which They were gratified; yet it is most true, They were Both well content with it, or seemed so. And the Declaration was published in his Majesty's Name before the Return of the Parliament.

The King publishes a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

HERE I cannot but instance two Acts of the *Presbyterians*, by which, if their Humour and Spirit were not enough discovered and known, their Want of Ingenuity and Integrity would be manifest, and how impossible it is for Men who would not be deceived to depend on either. When the Declaration had been delivered to the Ministers, there was a Clause in it, in which the King declared "his "own constant Practice of *The Common Prayer*, and that "He would take it well from those who used it in their "Churches, that the common People might be again ac- "quainted with the Piety, Gravity and Devotion of it, "and which He thought would facilitate their living in a "good Neighbourhood together;" or Words to that Effect. When They had considered the Whole some Days, Mr. *Calamy* and some other Ministers deputed by the rest, came to the Chancellor to redeliver it to his Hands. They acknowledged "the King had been very gracious to them "in his Concessions; though He had not granted all that "some of their Brethren wished, yet They were con- "tented:" Only desired him, "that He would prevail "with the King, that the Clause mentioned before might

Two Instances of the Disingenuity of the Presbyterian Ministers.

"be left out; which," They proteſted, "was moved by "them for the King's own End, and that They might "ſhew their Obedience to him, and Reſolution to do him "Service. For They were reſolved themſelves to do what "the King wiſhed, and firſt to reconcile the People, who "for near twenty Years had not been acquainted with "that Form, by informing them that it contained much "Piety and Devotion, and might be lawfully uſed; and "then that They would begin to uſe it themſelves, and "by Degrees accuſtom the People to it: Which," They ſaid, "would have a better Effect, than if the Clauſe were "in the Declaration; for They ſhould be thought in "their Perſuaſions to comply only with the King's Re-"commendation, and to merit from his Majeſty, and not "to be moved from the Conſcience of the Duty; and ſo "They ſhould take that Occaſion to manifeſt their Zeal "to pleaſe the King. And They feared there would be "other ill Conſequences from it, by the Waywardneſs of "the common People, who were to be treated with Skill, "and would not be prevailed upon all at once." The King was to be preſent the next Morning, to hear the Declaration read the laſt Time before Both Parties; and then the Chancellor told him, in the Preſence of all the reſt, what the Miniſters had deſired; which They again enlarged upon with the ſame Proteſtations of their Reſolutions, in ſuch a Manner, that his Majeſty believed They meant honeſtly; and the Clauſe was left out. But the Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed, than obſerving that the People were generally ſatisfied with it, They ſent their Emiſſaries abroad: and many of their Letters were intercepted, and particularly a Letter from Mr. *Calamy* to (76) a leading Miniſter in *Somerſetſhire*, whereby He adviſed and entreated him, "that He and his Friends would continue "and perſiſt in the Uſe of *The Directory*, and by no Means "admit *The Common Prayer* in their Churches; for that "He made no Queſtion but that They ſhould prevail far-"ther with the King, than He had yet conſented to in his "Declaration."

The other Inſtance was, that as ſoon as the Declaration was printed, the King received a Petition in the Name of the Miniſters of *London* and many others of the ſame Opinion with them, who had ſubſcribed that Petition; amongſt whom none of thoſe who had attended the King in thoſe Conferences had their Names. They gave

his

his Majeſty humble Thanks "for the Grace He had "vouchſafed to ſhew in his Declaration, which They re- "ceived as an Earneſt of his future Goodneſs and Conde- "ſcenſion in granting all thoſe other Conceſſions, which "were abſolutely neceſſary for the Liberty of their Con- "ſcience;" and deſired with much Importunity and ill Manners, "that the wearing the Surplice, and the uſing "the Croſs in Baptiſm, might be abſolutely aboliſhed out "of the Church, as being ſcandalous to all Men of ten- "der Conſciences." From thoſe two Inſtances all Men may conclude, that Nothing but a ſevere Execution of the Law can ever prevail upon that *Claſſis* of Men to conform to Government.

The Parliament meets again, and is diſſolved.

WHEN the Parliament came together again after their Adjournment, They gave the King publick Thanks for his Declaration, and never proceeded farther in the Matter of Religion, of which the King was very glad: Only ſome of the Leaders brought a Bill into the Houſe "for "the making that Declaration a Law," which was ſuitable to their other Acts of Ingenuity, to keep the Church for ever under the ſame Indulgence and without any Settlement; which being quickly perceived, there was no farther Progreſs in it. And the King upon the nine and twentieth of *December*, after having given them an ample Teſtimony of their Kindneſs towards him, which He magnified with many gracious Expreſſions, and his Royal Thanks for the ſettling his Revenue and Payment of the publick Debts, promiſed "to ſend out Writs for the call- "ing another Parliament, which He doubted not would "confirm all that They had done, and in which He hoped "many of them would be elected again to ſerve:" And ſo diſſolved the preſent Parliament with as general an Applauſe as hath been known; though it was quickly known, that the Revenue They had ſettled was not in Value equal to what They had computed. Nor did the Monies They granted in any Degree ariſe to enough to pay either the Arrears to the Army, or the Debts to the Navy; Both which muſt be the Work of the enſuing Parliament, which was directed to meet upon the eighth of *May* following: Before which Time, the King made Choice of worthy and learned Men to ſupply the vacant Sees of Biſhops, which had been void ſo many Years, and who were conſecrated accordingly before the Parliament met. And before We come to that Time, ſome parti-

A new Parliament ſummoned to meet.

particular Occurrences of Moment muſt be firſt inſerted.

When the King arrived in *England*, *Monſieur Bordeaux* was there Ambaſſadour from the King of *France*, and had reſided Ambaſſadour there about three Years in *Cromwell's* Time, and lived in marvellous Luſtre, very acceptable and dear to *Cromwell*, having treated all the ſecret Alliance between the Cardinal and him; and was even truſted by the Protector in many of his Counſels, eſpecially to diſcover any Conſpiracy againſt him; for He lived jovially, made great Entertainments to Lords and Ladies without Diſtinction, and amongſt them would frequently let fall ſome Expreſſions of Compaſſion and Reſpect to- (77)
wards the King. After *Cromwell's* Death his Credentials were quickly renewed to *Richard* his Succeſſour, with whom all the former Treaties were again eſtabliſhed. And when He was put down, He was not long without freſh Credit to the Commonwealth that ſucceeded: And ſo upon all Viciſſitudes was ſupplied with Authority to endear his Maſter's Affection to the preſent Powers, and to let them know, "how well the Cardinal was diſpoſed to "join the Power of *France* to their Intereſt." And his Dexterity had been ſuch towards all, that the Cardinal thought fit to ſend him new Credentials againſt the Time of the King's Coming to *London*. And within few Days after, when He had provided a new Equipage to appear in more Glory than He had ever yet done, He ſent to deſire an Audience from the King.

The Earl of *St. Albans* was newly come from *France*; and to him *Bordeaux* had applied himſelf, who was always very ready to promote any Thing that might be grateful to that Crown. But the King would not reſolve any Thing in the Point, till He had conferred upon it with the Council: Where it being debated, there was an unanimous Conſent (the Earl of *St. Albans* only excepted, who exceedingly laboured the contrary), "that it could "not ſtand with his Majeſty's Honour to receive him "as Ambaſſadour, who had tranſacted ſo many Things "to his Diſadvantage, and ſhifted his Face ſo often, al-"ways in Conjunction with his greateſt Enemies; and "that it was a great Diſreſpect in the Crown of *France* to-"wards his Majeſty in ſending ſuch a Perſon, who They "could not believe (without great undervaluing the King) "could be acceptable to him." The King himſelf was of that

that Opinion; and inſtead of aſſigning him a Day for his Audience, as was deſired, He ſent him an expreſs Command to depart the Kingdom. And when He afterwards, with much Importunity, deſired only to be admitted as a Stranger to ſee his Majeſty, and to ſpeak with him; his Majeſty as poſitively refuſed to admit him to his Preſence. All which was imputed principally to the Chancellor, who had with ſome Warmth oppoſed his being received as Ambaſſadour; and when He ſent by a Perſon well enough eſteemed by the Chancellor, "that He would re-"ceive a Viſit from him," He expreſsly refuſed to ſee him. Whoever gave the Advice, the King had great Honour by it in *France* itſelf, which declared no Kind of Reſentment of it, and gave poor *Bordeaux* ſuch a Reception, after having ſerved them five Years with notable Succeſs, and ſpent his whole Eſtate in the Service, that in a ſhort Time He died heart-broken in Miſery and uninquired after. And forthwith that King ſent the Count of *Soiſſons*, the moſt illuſtrious Perſon in *France*, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his Ambaſſadour, to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, with all the Compliments of Friendſhip and Eſteem that can be imagined.

The Ambaſſadour from France *to the late Powers commanded to quit the Kingdom.*

THERE was another Ambaſſadour at the ſame Time in *London*, who might be thought to ſtand in the ſame Predicament with *Bordeaux*, though in Truth their Caſes were very different, and who received a very different Treatment. That was the Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, who had been ſent by that Crown to finiſh a Treaty that had been begun by another Ambaſſadour with *Cromwell*; who had been ſo ill uſed, that They had put his Brother publickly to Death for a raſh Action in which a Gentleman had been killed; upon which He had got Leave from his Maſter to quit the Kingdom. And this other Ambaſſadour had been ſent in his Room; and was forced to conſent and ſubmit to very hard Conditions, as a Ranſom for that King's Generoſity in aſſiſting the King in his loweſt Condition, by receiving Prince *Rupert* with his (78) Majeſty's Fleet in *Liſbon*, and ſo preſerving them from a Fleet much ſuperiour in Number and Goodneſs of the Ships, that purſued him by Commiſſion from *Cromwell*: Who took that Action ſo to Heart, that He made War upon that Kingdom, took their Ships, obſtructed their Trade, and blocked up all their Ports; whilſt the *Spaniſh* Army

The Ambaſſadour from Portugal *to the late Powers kindly received.*

Army invaded them at Land, and took their Towns in the very Heart of the Kingdom. And to redeem that poor King from that terrible Perſecution, that Treaty had been ſubmitted to; in which, beſides the yearly Payment of a great Sum of Money from *Portugal*, which was to continue for many Years, other great Advantages in Trade had been granted to *England*. The King made no Scruple of receiving this Ambaſſadour with a very good Countenance; and as ſoon as He got his Credentials, gave him a publick Audience, with all the Formality and Ceremony that in thoſe Caſes are uſual and neceſſary.

An Account of the Treaty of Marriage with Portugal.

And becauſe in ſome Time after a Negotiation was ſet on Foot of the higheſt Importance, and had its Effect in the King's Marriage with the Queen; and becauſe, how acceptable ſoever both that Treaty and Concluſion of it was then to the whole Kingdom, that Affair was afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, and in the Opinion of many proved to be the Cauſe and Ground of all his Misfortunes: I ſhall here ſet down all the Particulars that introduced and attended that Negotiation and Treaty, with all the Circumſtances, ſome whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without Weight, to make it appear to all the World, how far the Chancellor was from being the Author of that Counſel (and if He had been, there was no Reaſon to be aſhamed of it) and that He did Nothing before, in, or after that Treaty, but what was neceſſary for a Man in his Condition, and what very well became a Perſon of that Truſt and Confidence He was in with his Maſter.

It hath been remembered before, that upon the Publication of the Duke's Marriage, and the Reconciliation upon that Affair, the Chancellor was very ſolicitous that the King himſelf would marry; that He deſired the Marquis of *Ormond* very earneſtly to adviſe him to it: And himſelf often put his Majeſty in Mind of what He had ſaid to him in *France*, when the Duke was perſuaded to treat about a Marriage with *Mademoiſelle de Longueville*, "that his Majeſty was by no Means to conſent, that his "Heir Apparent ſhould marry before himſelf were mar-"ried," for which He had given ſome Reaſons; for which at that Time He underwent great Diſpleaſures. And this Diſcourſe He had held often with the King: And ſure no Man in *England* more impatiently deſired to ſee him married than He did. Indeed it was no eaſy Matter

to

to find a Perſon in all Reſpects ſo fit, that a Man would take upon him to propoſe in particular; nor did He think himſelf in many Reſpects, and with Reference to the Accidents which might probably or poſſibly fall out, fit, if He could have thought of One, to be the Author of the Propoſition.

The Portugueſe *Ambaſſadour propoſes the Marriage.*

ONE Day the King came to the Chancellor's Houſe in the Afternoon; and being alone with him, his Majeſty told him, "that He was come to confer with him upon "an Argument that He would well like, which was "about his own Marriage." He ſaid, "the Lord Cham-"berlain" (who was then Earl of *Mancheſter*) "had held a "Diſcourſe with him ſome Days paſt, that ſeemed to have "ſomewhat in it that was worth the thinking of. That "He had told him, *the* Portugal *Ambaſſadour had made* "*him a Viſit, and having ſome Conference with him concern-*"*ing the King, towards whoſe Perſon He profeſſed a profound* "*Reſpect, He ſaid it was Time for his Majeſty to think of* "*Marriage; which Nothing could keep him from, but the*
(79) "*Difficulty of finding a fit Conſort for him. That there was in* "Portugal *a Princeſs in her Beauty, Perſon and Age, very* "*fit for him, and who would have a Portion ſuitable to her* "*Birth and Quality. That it is true She was a* Catholick, "*and would never depart from her Religion; but was totally* "*without that Meddling and Activity in her Nature, which* "*many Times made thoſe of that Religion troubleſome and reſt-*"*leſs, when They came into a Country where another Religion* "*was practiſed. That She had been bred under a wiſe Mother,* "*who was ſtill Regent in that Kingdom, who had carefully in-*"*fuſed another Spirit into her, and kept her from affecting to* "*have any Hand in Buſineſs, and which She had never been* "*acquainted with; ſo that She would look only to enjoy her* "*own Religion, and not at all concern herſelf in what others* "*profeſſed. That He had Authority to make the Propoſition to* "*the King, with ſuch Particularities as included many Advan-*"*tages above any, He thought, which could accompany any Over-*"*ture of that Kind from another Prince.* To which the "Chamberlain had added, *that there could be no Queſtion,* "*but that a Proteſtant Queen would in all Reſpects be looked* "*upon as the greateſt Bleſſing to the Kingdom: But if ſuch a* "*one could not be found, He did really believe, that a Princeſs* "*of this Temper and Spirit would be the beſt of all* Catholicks. "*That the Trade of* Portugal *was great here, and that* Eng-"land *had a more beneficial Commerce with that Crown than*

"*with*

"*with any other: Which had induced* Cromwell *to make that* "*Peace, when He had upon the Matter forſworn it; and the* "*making it had been the moſt popular Action He had ever per-* "*formed.*"

His Majeſty ſaid, "that He had only anſwered the "Chamberlain, *that He would think of it.* But that the "very Morning of this Day, the Ambaſſadour of *Portu-* "*gal* had been with him, and without any Formality had "entered into the ſame Diſcourſe, and ſaid all that the "Lord Chamberlain had mentioned: To which He ad- "ded, *that He had Authority to offer to his Majeſty five hun-* "*dred thouſand Pounds* Sterling *in ready Money, as a Portion* "*with the* Infanta; *and likewiſe to aſſign over, and for ever* "*to annex to the Crown of* England, *the Poſſeſſion of* Tan- "gier *upon the* African *Shore in the* Mediterranean *Sea, a* "*Place of that Strength and Importance, as would be of infinite* "*Benefit and Security to the Trade of* England; *and likewiſe* "*to grant to the* Engliſh *Nation a free Trade in* Braſil *and in* "*the* Eaſt-Indies, *which They had hitherto denied to all Na-* "*tions but themſelves. And for their Security to enjoy that Pri-* "*vilege, They would put into his Majeſty's Hands and Poſ-* "*ſeſſion, and for ever annex to the Crown of* England, *the* "*Iſland of* Bombayne (*with the Towns and Caſtles therein,* "*which are within a very little Diſtance from* Bombayne); "*which hath within itſelf a very good and ſpacious Harbour,* "*and would be a vaſt Improvement to the* Eaſt-India *Trade.* "*And thoſe two Places,* He ſaid, *of* Tangier *and* Bom- "bayne, *might reaſonably be valued above the Portion in* "*Money.*" The King mentioned all the Diſcourſe as a Matter that pleaſed him, and might prove of notable Advantage to the Kingdom; and ſaid "that He had wiſhed "the Ambaſſadour to confer with him (the Chancellor) "upon it;" and then aſked him "what He thought of "it:" To which He anſwered, "that He had not heard "of it enough to think of it" (for He had never heard or thought of it before that Moment); "and therefore "He ſhould not be able to do more when the Ambaſ- "ſadour came to him, than to hear what He ſaid, and "report it to his Majeſty." For the preſent He only aſked, "whether his Majeſty had given over all Thoughts of a "*Proteſtant* Wife:" To which He anſwered, "He could "find none ſuch, except amongſt his own Subjects; and "amongſt them He had ſeen none that pleaſed him enough "to that End." And obſerving the Chancellor to look (80) fixedly

The King approves the Propoſal.

fixedly upon him, He ſaid, "that He would never think "more of the Princeſs of *Orange's* Daughter, her Mother "having uſed him ſo ill when He propoſed it; and if He "ſhould now think of it, He knew his Mother would ne-"ver conſent to it, and that it would break his Siſter's "Heart: Therefore He had reſolved never to entertain "that Thought again. And that He ſaw no Objection "againſt this Overture from *Portugal*, that would not oc-"cur in any other, where the Advantages would not be "ſo many or ſo great."

WHAT could the Chancellor ſay? What Objection could He make, why this Overture ſhould not be hearkened to? And what would the King have thought, or what might He not have thought, if He had adviſed him to reject this Motion? He gave him no other Anſwer for the preſent, than "that He deſired Nothing more in "this World, than to ſee his Majeſty well married; and "He was very confident that all his good Subjects were "of the ſame Mind: And therefore there muſt be ſome "very viſible Inconvenience in it, when He ſhould diſ-"ſuade him not to embrace ſuch an Opportunity. That "He would be ready to confer with the *Portugal* Ambaſ-"ſadour when He came, and then He ſhould entertain "his Majeſty farther upon that Subject." The Ambaſſadour came to him, repeated what He ſaid and propoſed to the King, with little other Enlargement, than concerning the Benefit *England* would receive by the two Places of *Tangier* and *Bombayne*, and the Deſcription of their Situation and Strength; of all which the Chancellor gave his Majeſty a faithful Account, without preſuming to mingle with it a Word of his own Advice. The King appeared abundantly pleaſed, and willing to proceed farther; and aſked "what was next to be done:" To which He anſwered, "that it was a Matter of too great "Importance for him to deliver any Opinion upon; in-"deed too great for his Majeſty himſelf to reſolve, upon "the private Advice of any one Man, how agreeable ſo-"ever it ſhould be to his own Inclination and Judgment." And therefore He deſired him "that He would call to "him four or five Perſons, whom He thought to be the "moſt competent Conſiderers of ſuch an Affair, and con-"ſult it very maturely with them, before He entertained "any more Conference with the Ambaſſadour. For what-

"ſoever

"ſoever He ſhould reſolve upon it, it ought yet to be kept "in all poſſible Secrecy: If it ſhould be thought fit to be "rejected, it ought to be without the leaſt Noiſe, and the "leaſt Reflection upon the Overture, which had been "made with all the poſſible Demonſtration of Eſteem: If "it ſhould appear worthy of Entertainment and Accepta-"tion, it would ſtill require the ſame Secrecy; till the "Value and Conſequence of all the Particulars propoſed "by the Ambaſſadour might be fully examined and "weighed, and a more particular and ſubſtantial Aſſu-"rance given for the Accompliſhment, than the bare "Word of the Ambaſſadour.

He appoints a Committee to enter into a Treaty with the Ambaſſadour.

THE King appointed that the Lord Treaſurer, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Secretary *Nicholas*, ſhould be together at the Chancellor's Houſe, where his Majeſty would likewiſe be and propoſe the Buſineſs to them. And accordingly He did relate to them the whole Series of what had paſſed, and required them "with all poſſible Freedom to deliver their Opinions, and "to conſider whether there was any other Princeſs or "Lady in their View, with whom He might marry more "advantageouſly." He added, "that He had ſpoken both "with the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir *John Lawſon* occa-"ſionally and merely as looſe Diſcourſe, *what Place* Tan-"gier *was*, which He pointed to in the Map, and *whe-"ther it was well known to them*; and They Both ſaid "*They knew it well from Sea.* But that Sir *John Lawſon* had (81) "been in it, and ſaid, *it was a Place of that Importance, that "if it were in the Hands of the* Hollanders, *They would "quickly make a Mole, which They might eaſily do; that now "Ships could not ride there in ſuch a Wind,*" which his Majeſty named; "*but if there were a Mole, they would ride ſe-"curely in all Weather; and They would keep the Place againſt "all the World, and give the Law to all the Trade of the* "Mediterranean:" With which Diſcourſe his Majeſty ſeemed very much affected. After many Queſtions and much Debate, and ſome of the Lords wiſhing that it were poſſible to get a Queen that was a *Proteſtant*, and One of them naming the Daughter of *Harry* Prince of *Orange*, of whom They had heard ſome Mention when his Majeſty was beyond the Seas, and of whoſe elder Siſter (then married to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*) there had been ſome Diſcourſe in the Life of the late King; (but his Majeſty quickly declared, "that He had very unanſwer-

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"able Reaſons why He could not entertain that Al-
"liance"): All the Lords unanimouſly agreed, "that
"there was no Catholick Princeſs in *Europe*, whom his
"Majeſty could with ſo much Reaſon and Advantage
"marry, as the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. That the Portion
"propoſed in Money, ſetting aſide the Places, was much
"greater, almoſt double to what any King had ever re-
"ceived in Money by any Marriage. And the Places
"ſeemed to be ſituated very uſefully for Trade, the in-
"creaſe whereof his Majeſty was to endeavour with all
"poſſible Solicitude; which could only make this Nation
"flouriſh, and recover the Intereſt They had loſt, eſpe-
"cially in the *Indies* and in the *Mediterranean*, by the late
"Troubles and Diſtractions, and the Advantage the
"*Dutch* had thereby gotten over the *Engliſh* in thoſe
"Trades, as well as in other." The King approved all that had been ſaid, and thereupon appointed all thoſe Lords with the ſame Secrecy to enter into a Treaty with the Ambaſſadour; which was begun between them accordingly.

THE Treaty neither was nor could be a Secret; nor was there any Thing more generally deſired, than that a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce ſhould be made with *Portugal*, that the Trade might continue with Security: And it was very grateful to every Body to know, that there was a Committee appointed to that Purpoſe. But the Propoſition towards a Marriage was ſtill a Secret, not communicated to any, nor ſo much as ſuſpected by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who did all He could to obſtruct the very Treaty of Alliance; of whoſe Proceedings there will be Occaſion to make Mention anon by itſelf. The Ambaſſadour offered "to renew the Treaty (if that of the Mar-
"riage was conſented to) *in Terminis*, that had been made
"with *Cromwell*, without being ſo much as exempted
"from that yearly Payment, which had been impoſed
"upon them for aſſiſting Prince *Rupert*," and had been aſſigned to the Merchants to ſatisfy the Damages They had ſuſtained by Prince *Rupert*; and the Releaſe whereof muſt have obliged the King to pay it himſelf: And therefore that Offer was looked upon as a generous Thing. And the whole Treaty, which They had not yet peruſed, was generally looked upon and believed to be the moſt advantageous to *England*, that had been ever entered into with any Crown.

It had been foreſeen from the firſt Motion towards this Marriage, that it would be a very hard Matter with ſuch Alliance, to avoid ſuch a Conjunction with *Portugal* as would produce a War with *Spain*; which the King had no Mind to be engaged in. For beſides that He had received ſome Civilities from that King after a World of Diſobligations, his Reſident at *Madrid*, Sir *Harry Bennet*, had conſented in his Majeſty's Name, that the old Treaty which had been made between the two Crowns in the Year 1630, ſhould be again obſerved; of which more (82) anon. But his Majeſty's firm Reſolution at that Time was, wholly to intend the compoſing or ſubduing the Diſtempers and ill Humours in his three Kingdoms and all his other Dominions; and till that ſhould be fully done, He would have no Difference with any of his Neighbours, nor be engaged in any War which He could avoid: A Reſolution very prudently made; and if it had been adhered to, much Evil which ſucceeded the Departure from it, might have been prevented.

But the Lords found, upon Peruſal of the Treaty, one Article (which was indeed the only Article that made any Shew of Benefit and Advantage to *Portugal*) by which *Cromwell* was obliged to aſſiſt *Portugal* when They ſhould require it, with ſix thouſand Foot, to be levied in *England* at their Charge. And now the Ambaſſadour urged, "that in Conſideration of the Marriage, the Portion, the "Delivery of thoſe Places, and his Majeſty's own Intereſt "by that Marriage in *Portugal*, which upon the Death of "the King and his Brother muſt devolve to his Majeſty; "He would take upon him the Protection of that King-"dom, and denounce War with *Spain*:" To which his Majeſty warmly and poſitively anſwered, "that He would "admit no ſuch Engagement; that He was not in a Con-"dition to make a War till He could not avoid it. He "would do what was lawful for him to do; He could "chooſe a Wife for himſelf, and He could help a Bro-"ther and Ally with a Levy of Men at their Charge, "without entering into a War with any other Prince. "And if *Spain* ſhould, either upon his Marriage or ſuch "Supply, declare a War againſt him, He would defend "himſelf as well as He could, and do as much Damage "as He could to *Spain*; and then that He would apply "ſuch Aſſiſtance to *Portugal*, as ſhould be moſt advan-

"tageous

"tageous to it: And that He ſhould not be willing to ſee "it reduced under the Obedience of *Spain* for many Rea- "ſons. That in the mean Time He would aſſiſt them "with the ſame Number as *Cromwel* had promiſed, and "tranſport them at his own Charge thither; provided "that as ſoon as They were landed, They ſhould be re- "ceived in the King of *Portugal's* Pay:" Which Offer the King made upon a Reaſon not then communicated, and which will be mentioned hereafter; beſides that He had ſuch a Body of Men ready for ſuch a Service, and which could with much more Security and little more Charge be tranſported to *Portugal*, than be diſbanded in the Place where They were.

WHEN the Ambaſſadour found that the King would not be perſuaded to enter directly into a War with *Spain*, though He offered "to put *Barcelona* into his Hands, of which *Don Joſeph Margarita*" (a Perſon who had con- ducted the Revolt of that City, and all the Rebellion which had been lately in *Catalonia*) "then in *Paris* ſhould "come over and give unqueſtionable Aſſurance," (all which, with many other Propoſitions of the ſame Nature, his Majeſty totally rejected); He concluded, that the Al- liance and Marriage would give a preſent Reputation to *Portugal*, and make Impreſſion upon the Spirits of *Spain*, and that a War would hereafter fall out unavoidably: And ſo accepted what the King had offered. And then there remained Nothing to be done, but to give unqueſ- tionable Security to the King, for the Performance of all the Particulars which had been promiſed; and for which there appeared yet no other Warrant, than Letters and Inſtructions to the Ambaſſadour from the Queen Regent. And for farther Satisfaction therein, the Ambaſſadour of- fered "preſently to paſs into *Portugal*, and doubted not, "in as ſhort a Time as could be expected, to return with "ſuch Power and Authority, and ſuch a full Conceſſion (83) "of what had been propoſed, as ſhould be very ſatisfac- "tory:" Which his Majeſty well liked; and writ him- ſelf to the Queen Regent and to the King ſuch Letters, as ſignified "his full Reſolution for the Marriage, if all "the Particulars promiſed by the Ambaſſadour in Writ- "ing ſhould be made good;" and writ likewiſe a Letter with his own Hand to the *Infanta*, as to a Lady whom He looked upon as his Wife; and aſſigned two Ships to

The Treaty of Commerce with Portugal *ſettled.*

The Ambaſſadour goes into Portugal *for farther Powers.*

attend the Ambaſſadour, who immediately, and with ſome Appearance or Pretence of Diſcontent or Diſſatisfaction (that the Secret might be the leſs diſcovered), embarked with all his Family for the River of *Liſbon*. And to this Time the Chancellor had never mentioned any particular Advice of his own to the King, more than his Concurrence with the reſt of the Lords; nor in Truth had any of them ſhewed more Inclination towards it, than the King himſelf had done, who ſeemed marvellouſly pleaſed, and had ſpoken much more in private with the Ambaſſadour upon it, than any of the Lords had done, and of ſome Particulars which They were never acquainted with.

An Account of the Earl of Briſtol's *Behaviour abroad.*

THAT I may not break off the Thread of this Diſcourſe till I bring it to a Concluſion, nor leave out any important Particular that related to that Subject; I ſhall in this Place make Mention of a little Cloud or Eclipſe, raiſed by the Activity and Reſtleſſneſs of the Earl of *Briſtol*, that ſeemed to interpoſe and darken the Splendour of this Treaty, and to threaten the Life thereof, by extinguiſhing it in the Bud: Upon which Occaſion the Chancellor thought himſelf obliged to appear more for it, than He had hitherto done; and which afterwards (how unjuſtly ſoever) was turned to his Reproach. This Earl (who throughout the whole Courſe of his Life frequently adminiſtered Variety of Diſcourſe, that could not be applied to any other Man) upon the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, when all the King's Hopes in *England* ſeemed deſperate, had not the Patience to expect another Change that preſently ſucceeded; but preſently changed his Religion, and declared himſelf a *Roman Catholick*, that He might with undoubted Succeſs apply himſelf to the Service of *Spain*, to which the preſent good Acceptation He had with *Don Juan* was the greater Encouragement. He gave Account by a particular Letter to the Pope of this his Converſion, which was delivered by the General of the *Jeſuits*; in Return of which He received a cuſtomary Brief from his Sanctity, with the old Piece of Scripture never left out in thoſe Occaſions, *Tu converſus converte Fratres tuos.*

THE Noiſe and Scandal of this Defection and Apoſtaſy in a ſworn Counſellor of the King and one of his Secretaries of State, made it neceſſary for the King to remove him from Both thoſe Truſts, which He had made himſelf incapable

incapable to execute by the Laws of *England*, and which He propoſed to himſelf to enjoy with the more Advantage by his Change; and believed that the King, who ſeemed to have no other Hopes towards his Reſtoration than in Catholick Princes, would not think this a Seaſon in ordinary Policy to diſgrace a Servant of his Eminency and Relation, for no other Reaſon than his becoming *Catholick*, by which He ſhould have ſo many Opportunities to ſerve his Maſter. And this He had the Confidence to urge to the King, before He was obliged to deliver the Signet, and to forbear the being preſent any more in Council. And this Diſplacing and Remove He imputed entirely to his old Friend the Chancellor (with whom till that Minute He had for many Years held a very firm Friendſhip), and the more, becauſe He received from his Majeſty the ſame Countenance He had before, without any Reprehenſion for what He had done; the King not being at all ſurpriſed with his Declaration, becauſe He had long known that He was very indifferent in all Matters of Religion, and looked upon the outward Pro-
(84) feſſion of any, as depending wholly upon the Convenience or Diſcommodity that might be enjoyed by it. And with ſuch Diſcourſes He had too much entertained the King, who never would ſpeak ſeriouſly with him upon that Subject. And truly his own Relation of the Manner of his Converſion, with all the Circumſtances, and the Diſcourſe of an ignorant old *Jeſuit* whom He perfectly contemned, and of a ſimple good Woman, the Abbeſs of a Convent, which contributed to it, was ſo ridiculous, and adminiſtered ſuch Occaſion of Mirth, that his Majeſty thought Laughing at him to be the beſt Reproof. And the Earl bore that ſo well and gratefully from the King, and from his other familiar Friends too (for He diſſembled his taking any Thing ill of the Chancellor), and contributed ſo much himſelf to the Mirth, that He was never better Company than upon that Argument: And any Man would have believed, that He had not a worſe Opinion of the Religion He had forſaken, or of any other, by his becoming *Roman Catholick*.

WHEN the King made his Journey to *Fuentarabia* to the Treaty between the two Crowns, the Earl of *Briſtol's* irreſiſtible Importunity prevailed with him to permit him to go likewiſe, though his Majeſty had received Adver-

tiſement from Sir *Harry Bennet*, that *Don Lewis de Haro* deſired that He might not come with his Majeſty thither. The leaſt Part of the Miſchief He did in that Journey was, that He prevailed with the King to make ſo many Diverſions and Delays in it, that the Treaty was concluded before He came thither, and He was very near being diſappointed of all the Fruit He had propoſed to himſelf to receive from it. However it was finiſhed ſo much the better, that He left the Earl behind him, who in the ſhort Time of his Stay there, had ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the Grace and good Opinion of *Don Lewis de Haro*, who came with all the Prejudice and Deteſtation imaginable towards him, (as He had to his extraordinary Parts a marvellous Faculty of getting himſelf believed); that He was well content that He ſhould go with him to *Madrid*, where the King upon the Memory of his Father (who had deſerved well from that Crown, or rather had ſuffered much for not having deſerved ill) received him graciouſly. And there He reſided in the Reſident's Houſe, who had been his Servant, in ſuch a Repoſe as was agreeable to his Fancy, that He might project his own Fortune; which was the only Thing his Heart was ſet upon, and of which He deſpaired in his own Country.

THE News of the King's miraculous Reſtoration quickly arrived at *Madrid*, and put an End to the Earl's farther Deſigns, believing He could not do better abroad than He might do in his own Country; and ſo He undertook his Journey through *France*, laden with many Obligations from that Court, and arrived at *London* about the Time that the Ambaſſadour was embarked for *Portugal*. The King of *Spain* had, ſoon after the King's Arrival in *England*, ſent the Prince of *Lygnes* with a very ſplendid Ambaſſage to congratulate with his Majeſty, about the Time that the Count of *Soiſſons* came from *France* on the ſame Errand. And after his Return, the Baron of *Batteville* was ſent from *Spain* as Ordinary Ambaſſadour, a Man born in *Burgundy* in the *Spaniſh* Quarters, and bred a Soldier; in which Profeſſion He was an Officer of Note, and at that Time was Governour of *St. Sebaſtian's* and of that Province. He ſeemed a rough Man, and to have more of the Camp, but in Truth knew the Intrigues of a Court better than moſt *Spaniards*; and except when his Paſſion ſurpriſed him, was wary and cunning

An Account of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour.

cunning in his Negotiation. He lived with leſs Reſervation and more Jollity than the Miniſters of that Crown uſed to do; and drew ſuch of the Court to his Table and (85) Converſation, who He obſerved were loud Talkers, and confident enough in the King's Preſence.

IN the firſt private Audience He had, He delivered a Memorial to his Majeſty; in which He required "the "Delivery of the Iſland of *Jamaica* to his Maſter, it "having been taken by his rebel Subjects contrary to the "Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns; and likewiſe "that his Majeſty would cauſe *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* to "be reſtored to his *Catholick* Majeſty, they having not "only been taken contrary to that Treaty, but when his "Majeſty was entertained in that King's Dominions with "all Courteſy and Reſpect." And He likewiſe required in the King his Maſter's Name, "that the King would "not give any Aſſiſtance, nor enter into any Treaty of "Alliance with *Portugal:* For that the ſame, as the reſt, "was directly contrary to the laſt Treaty, which was now "again revived and ſtood in Force by the Declaration of "his Majeſty's Reſident at *Madrid*;" which was the firſt Notice any of his Majeſty's Miniſters had of any ſuch Declaration. But when He had delivered thoſe Memorials to the King, He never called for an Anſwer, nor willingly entered upon the Diſcourſe of either of the Subjects; but put it off merely as a Thing He was to do of Form once, that his Maſter's juſt Title might be remembered, but not to be preſſed till a fitter Conjuncture. For He eaſily diſcovered what Anſwer He ſhould receive: And ſo took the Advantage of the Licenſe of the Court, where no Rules or Formalities were yet eſtabliſhed (and to which the King himſelf was not enough inclined), but all Doors open to all Perſons. Which the Ambaſſadour finding, He made himſelf a Domeſtick, came to the King at all Hours, and ſpake to him when and as long as He would, without any Ceremony, or deſiring an Audience according to the old Cuſtom; but came into the Bedchamber whilſt the King was dreſſing himſelf, and mingled in all Diſcourſes with the ſame Freedom He would uſe in his own. And from this never heard of Licenſe, introduced by the *French* and the *Spaniard* at this Time without any Diſlike in the King, though not permitted in any other Court in *Chriſtendom*, many Inconve-

niencies and Miſchiefs broke in, which could never after be ſhut out.

As ſoon as the Earl of *Briſtol* came to the Court, He was very willing to be looked upon as wholly devoted to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt; and ſo made a particular Friendſhip with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, with whom He had a former Acquaintance whilſt the King had been at *Fuentarabia*, that He might give a Teſtimony of his Gratitude for the Favours He had received ſo lately at *Madrid*. The King received him with his accuſtomed good Countenance; and He had an excellent Talent in ſpreading that Leaf Gold very thin, that it might look much more than it was: And took Pains by being always in his Preſence, and often whiſpering in his Ear, and talking upon ſome Subjects with a Liberty not ingrateful, to have it believed that He was more than ordinarily acceptable to his Majeſty. And the King, not wary enough againſt thoſe Invaſions, did communicate more to him of the Treaty with *Portugal*, than He had done to any other Perſon, except thoſe who were immediately truſted in it.

The Earl had always promiſed himſelf (though He knew He could not be of the Council, nor in any Miniſtry of State, by Reaſon of his Religion) that He was in ſo good Eſteem with his Majeſty and with moſt of thoſe who were truſted by him, that He ſhould have a great Share in all foreign Affairs, and ſhould be conſulted with in all Matters of that Kind, in Regard of the long Experience He had in foreign Parts; which indeed amounted to no more, than a great Exactneſs in the Languages of thoſe Parts. And therefore He was ſurpriſed with the (86) Notice of this Affair, and preſently expreſſed his Diſlike of it, and told his Majeſty "that He would be exceedingly deceived in it; that *Portugal* was poor, and not able to pay the Portion They had promiſed. That now it was forſaken by *France*, *Spain* would overrun and reduce it in one Year;" enlarging upon the great Preparations which were made for that Expedition, "of which *Don Lewis de Haro* himſelf would be General, and was ſure of a great Party in *Portugal* itſelf, that was weary of that Government: So that that miſerable Family had no Hope, but by tranſporting themſelves and their poor Party in their Ships to *Braſil*, and their other large Territories in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which were poſſeſſed

The Earl of Briſtol *and the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſadour obſtruct the Marriage.*

"poſſeſſed only by *Portugueſes*, who might poſſibly be "willing to be ſubject to them. And that this was ſo "much in the View of all Men, that it was all the Care "*Spain* had to prevent it." The King did not inform him, that He had concluded any Thing, and that the Ambaſſadour was gone for more ample Powers to ſatisfy his Majeſty, that all that was promiſed ſhould be performed.

THE Earl, who valued himſelf upon his great Faculty in obſtructing and puzzling any Thing that was agreed upon, and in contriving whereof He had no Hand, repaired to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, and informed him, under Obligation of Secrecy, of what Treaty the King was entered upon with *Portugal* by the Advice of the Chancellor; which He hoped "that They two ſhould "find ſome Means to break." But the Ambaſſadour's Breaſt was not large enough to contain that Secret. He talked of it in all Places with great Paſſion, and then took it up as from common Report, and ſpake to the King of it, and ſaid, "the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour had in "his Vanity bragged of it to ſome *Catholicks*, and pro-"miſed them great Things upon it; none of which He "was confident could be true, and that his Majeſty could "never be prevailed with to conſent to ſuch a Treaty, "which would prove ruinous to himſelf and his Kingdom; "for the King of *Spain* could not but reſent it to ſuch a "Degree, as would bring great Inconvenience to his "Affairs." And his Majeſty forbearing to give him any Anſwer, at leaſt not ſuch a one as pleaſed him, his Rage tranſported him to undervalue the Perſon of the *Infanta*. He ſaid, "She was deformed, and had many Diſeaſes; "and that it was very well known in *Portugal* and in "*Spain*, that She was incapable to bear Children;" and many Particulars of that Nature.

WHEN He had ſaid the ſame Things ſeveral Days to the King, the Earl of *Briſtol* took his Turn again, and told the King other Things which the Ambaſſadour had communicated to him in Truſt, and which He durſt not preſume to ſay to his Majeſty, and which in Truth He had ſaid himſelf, being concerning the Perſon of the *Infanta*, and her Incapacity to have Children; upon which He enlarged very pathetically, and ſaid, "He would "ſpeak freely with the Chancellor of it, upon whom the "ill Conſequences of this Counſel would fall." He told him,

him, "there were many beautiful Ladies in *Italy*, of the "greateſt Houſes; and that his Majeſty might take his "Choice of them, and the King of *Spain* would give a "Portion with her, as if She were a Daughter of *Spain*; "and the King ſhould marry her as ſuch." And the Ambaſſadour ſhortly after propoſed the ſame Thing, and enlarged much upon it. And both the Earl and the Ambaſſadour conferred with the Chancellor (concealing the Propoſitions They had made concerning the *Italian* Ladies) "as of a Matter the Town talked of and exceed-"ingly diſliked, the more becauſe it was generally known, "that that Princeſs could not have any Children." The King himſelf had informed the Chancellor of all that had (87) paſſed from the Ambaſſadour, and of his Rudeneſs towards the *Infanta*, and his declaring that She could have no Children; and told him, "that the Earl of *Briſtol* re-"ſolved to confer with him, and doubted not to convert "him;" without ſeeming himſelf to have been moved with any Thing that the Ambaſſadour or the Earl had ſaid to him: So that when They Both came afterwards to him, not together but ſeverally, and He perceived that his Majeſty had not to either of them imparted how far He had proceeded (but had heard them talk as of ſomewhat They had taken up from publick Rumour, and had himſelf diſcourſed of it as ſprung from ſuch a Fountain), the Chancellor did not take himſelf to be at Liberty to enter into a ſerious Debate of the Matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the Pleaſure of their own Opinion, and to believe that either there had been no Inclination to ſuch a Treaty, or that the Weight of their Reaſons would quickly enervate it.

The King appears much colder towards the Treaty.

WHETHER the King grew leſs inclined to marry, and liked the Liberty He enjoyed too well to be willing to be reſtrained; or whether what had been ſaid to him of the *Infanta's* Perſon and her Unaptneſs for Children, had made ſome Impreſſion in him; or whether the Earl of *Briſtol's* deſcribing the Perſons of the *Italian* Ladies, and magnifying their Converſations (in which Arguments He had naturally a very luxurious Style, unlimited by any Rules of Truth or Modeſty); it is not to be denied, that his Majeſty appeared much colder, and leſs delighted to ſpeak of *Portugal*, than He had been, and would ſometimes wiſh "that the Ambaſſadour had not gone, and "that He would quickly return without Commiſſion to "give

"give his Majeſty Satisfaction." He ſeemed to reflect upon a War with *Spain*, "which," He ſaid, "could not "poſſibly be avoided in that Alliance," with more Apprehenſion than He had formerly done, when that Contingency had been debated. All which Diſcourſes troubled the Lords who had been truſted, very much, not conceiving that the Ambaſſadour's frantick Diſcourſe could have any Weight in it, or that the Earl of *Briſtol* (whoſe Levity and Vanity was enough known to the King) could make that Impreſſion in him. However it appeared, that the Earl was much more in private with him than He had uſed to be, many Hours ſhut up together; and when the King came from him, that He ſeemed to be perplexed and full of Thoughts.

ONE Morning the Earl came to the Chancellor, and after ſome Compliments and many Proteſtations of his inviolable Friendſhip, He told him, "He was come to "take his Leave of him for ſome Months, being to be-"gin a long Journey as ſoon as He ſhould part with him; "for He had already kiſſed the King's Hand: And his "Friendſhip would not permit him to be reſerved towards "him, and to keep a Secret of that vaſt Importance from "his Knowledge." He ſaid "that the King had heard "ſuch unanſwerable Reaſons againſt this Marriage with "*Portugal*, that He was firmly reſolved never more to "entertain a Thought of it: That the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſa-"dour had recommended two Princeſſes to him, whereof "He might take his Choice, of incomparable Beauty and "all excellent Parts of Mind, who ſhould be endowed as "a Daughter of *Spain* by that King, to whom They "were allied;" and ſo named the Ladies. He ſaid, "this "Diſcourſe had prevailed very far upon the King, as a "Thing that could raiſe no Jealouſies in *France*, with "whom He deſired ſo to live, that He might be ſure to "have Peace in his own Dominions. There was only one "Thing in which He deſired to be better ſatisfied, which "was the Perſons, Beauties and good Humours of the "Princeſſes; and that He had ſo good an Opinion of his "Judgment, that He was confident if He ſaw them, He
(88) "would eaſily know whether either of them were like to "pleaſe his Majeſty; and would ſo far truſt him, that if "He did believe, knowing his Majeſty ſo well as He "did, that one of them would be grateful, He ſhould "carry Power with him to propound and conclude a

"Treaty;

"Treaty; which," He ſaid, "He carried with him, and "likewiſe other Letters, upon which He ſhould firſt find "ſuch Acceſs and Admiſſion, as would enable him to "judge of their Nature and Humour as well as of their "Beauty." He ſeemed much tranſported with the great Truſt repoſed in him, and with the Aſſurance that He ſhould make the King and Kingdom happy. And He ſaid, "one Reaſon, beſides his Friendſhip, that had "made him impart this great Secret, was a Preſumption, "that now He knew how far his Majeſty was diſpoſed "and in Truth engaged in this Particular, He would "not do any Thing to croſs or interrupt the Deſign." The Chancellor, enough amazed, by ſome Queſtions found He was utterly uninformed, how far the King ſtood engaged in *Portugal*; and knowing the incredible Power the Earl had over himſelf, to make him believe any Thing He had a Mind ſhould be true, He uſed little more Diſcourſe with him than "to wiſh him a good "Journey."

Upon the firſt Opportunity He told the King all that the Earl had ſaid to him; with which his Majeſty ſeemed not pleaſed, as expecting that the Secret ſhould have been kept better. He did not diſſemble his not wiſhing that the Treaty with *Portugal* might ſucceed; and confeſſed, "that He had ſent the Earl of *Briſtol* to ſee ſome Ladies "in *Italy*, who were highly extolled by the *Spaniſh* Am-"baſſadour," but denied that He had given him ſuch Powers as He bragged of. The Chancellor thereupon aſked him, "whether He well remembered his Engage-"ment, which He had voluntarily made, and without "any Body's Perſuaſion, to the King and Queen Re-"gent;" and deſired him "to impart his new Reſolution "to the Lords who were formerly truſted by him. That "probably He might find good Reaſon and juſt Argu-"ments to break off the Treaty with *Portugal*; which "ought to be firſt done, before He embarked himſelf "in another: Otherwiſe that He would ſo far expoſe his "Honour to Reproach, that all Princes would be afraid "of entering into any Treaty with him." This was every Word of Perſuaſion, that He then or ever after uſed to him upon this Affair; nor did it at that Time ſeem to make any Impreſſion in him. However He ſent for the Lord Treaſurer, and conferred at large with him and the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*. And finding them exceedingly

exceedingly ſurpriſed with what He had done, and that They gave the ſame and other ſtronger Arguments againſt it than the other had done, his Majeſty ſeemed to recollect himſelf, and to think, that, whatever Reſolution He ſhould think fit to take in the End, He had not choſen the beſt Way and Method of proceeding towards it; and reſolved to call the Earl back, "which," He ſaid, "He could infallibly do by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, who "knew how to ſend a Letter to him, before He had pro-"ceeded farther in his Journey; it having been before "agreed, that He ſhould make a Halt in ſuch and ſuch "Places, to the End that He might be advertiſed of any "new Occurrences." And his Majeſty did write the ſame Night to him "to return, becauſe it was neceſſary "to have ſome more Conference with him." And the Letter was ſent by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and probably received by the Earl in Time. But He continued his Journey into *Italy*; and after his Return pretended not to have received that Letter, or any other Order to return, till it was too late, being at that Time entered upon the Borders or Confines of *Italy*; in which He had not the good Fortune to be believed.

(89) THE Ambaſſadour of *Portugal* diſpatched his Voyage with more Expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as He believed, with at leaſt as full Satisfaction to all Particulars as could be expected; but found his Reception with ſuch a Coldneſs, that ſtruck the poor Gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriack) to the Heart; nor could He be informed from whence this Diſtemper proceeded. And therefore He forebore to deliver his Letters, which He thought might more expoſe the Honour of his Maſter and Miſtreſs to Contempt, and remained quietly in his Houſe, without demanding a ſecond Audience; until He could by ſome Way or other be informed what had fallen out ſince his Departure, that could raiſe thoſe Clouds which appeared in every Man's Looks. He ſaw the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour exceedingly exalted with the Pride of having put an inſolent Affront upon the Ambaſſadour from *France*, which coſt his Maſter dear, and heard that He had bragged loudly of his having broken the Treaty of *Portugal*. And it is very true, that He did every Day ſomewhat either vainly or inſolently, that gave the King Offence, or leſſened the Opinion He had of his Diſcretion, and made him withdraw

The Portugueſe *Ambaſſadour returns, and is coldly received.*

draw much of that Countenance from him, which He had formerly given him. This, and the Return of the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour with a new Title of Marquis *de Sande* (an Evidence according to the Cuſtom of that Court, that He had well ſerved his Maſter in his Employment), put him into new Fury; ſo that He came to the King with new Expoſtulations, and gave him a Memorial, in which He ſaid "that He had Order from his Maſter to "let his Majeſty know, that if his Majeſty ſhould proceed "towards a Marriage with the Daughter of the Duke of "*Braganza*, his Maſter's Rebel, He had Order to take "his Leave preſently, and to declare War againſt him." The King returned ſome ſharp Anſwer preſently to him, and told him "He might be gone as ſoon as He would, "and that He would not receive Orders from the *Catho-*"*lick* King, how to diſpoſe himſelf in Marriage." Upon which the Ambaſſadour ſeemed to think He had gone too far; and the next Day deſired another Audience, wherein He ſaid, "He had received new Orders: And that "his *Catholick* Majeſty had ſo great an Affection for his "Majeſty and the Good of his Affairs, that having un-"derſtood that, in Reſpect of the preſent Diſtempers in "Religion, Nothing could be more miſchievous to him "than to marry a *Catholick*; therefore," He declared, "that if there were any *Proteſtant* Lady, who would be "acceptable to his Majeſty" (and named the Daughter of the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*), "the King of *Spain* "would give a Portion with her, as with a Daughter of "*Spain*; by which his Majeſty's Affairs and Occaſions "would be ſupplied."

The multiplying theſe and many other Extravagancies made the King reflect upon all the Ambaſſadour's Proceedings and Behaviour, and revolve the Diſcourſes He had held with him; and to reconſider, whether they had not made greater Impreſſions upon him, than the Weight of them would bear. He had himſelf ſpoken with ſome who had ſeen the *Infanta*, and deſcribed her to be a Perſon very different from what the Ambaſſadour had delivered. He had ſeen a Picture that was reported to be very like her; and upon the View of it his Majeſty ſaid, "that Perſon could not be unhandſome." And by Degrees conſidering the many Things alleged by the Ambaſſadour, which could not be known by him, and could reſult from Nothing but his own Malice, his Majeſty returned

turned to his old Reſolution; and ſpake at large with the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour with his uſual Freedom, and received both the Letters and Information He brought with him, and declared "that He was fully ſatisfied in all the "Particulars."

(90) NOR did the Carriage of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour contribute a little towards his Majeſty's Reſolution: For He, without any other Ground than from his own Fancy (for the King had not declared his Purpoſe to any, nor was the Thing ſpoken of abroad), and from what He collected from his Majeſty's ſharp Replies to his inſolent Expreſſions, took upon him to do an Act of the higheſt Extravagancy, that hath been done in *Europe* by the Miniſter of any State in this Age. He cauſed to be printed in *Engliſh* the Copies of the Memorials which He had preſented to the King, and of the Diſcourſes He had made againſt the Match with *Portugal*, with the Offers the King of *Spain* had made to prevent ſo great a Miſchief to the Kingdom, and other ſeditious Papers to the ſame Purpoſe; and cauſed thoſe Papers to be ſpread abroad in the Army and amongſt the Populace: Some whereof were caſt out of his own Windows amongſt the Soldiers, as They paſſed to and from the Guard. Upon which unheard of Miſdemeanor, the King was ſo much incenſed, that He ſent the Secretary of State "to require him forthwith to de- "part the Kingdom, without ſeeing his Majeſty's Face," which He would not admit him to do; and to let him know, "that He would ſend a Complaint of his Miſbe- "haviour to the King his Maſter, from whom He would "expect that Juſtice ſhould be done upon him." The Ambaſſadour received this Meſſage with exceeding Trouble and Grief, even to Tears, and deſired "to be admit- "ted to ſee the King, and to make his humble Submiſ- "ſion, and to beg his Pardon; which He was ready to "do:" But that being denied, within few Days He departed the Kingdom, carrying with him the Character of a very bold raſh Man.

Extravagant Behaviour of the Spaniſh *Ambaſſadour.*

For which He is required to leave the Kingdom.

THERE was an Accident about this Time, that it is probable did confirm the King in his Reſolution concerning *Portugal*. At this Time Cardinal *Mazarin* was dead, and had never been obſerved to be merry and to enjoy his natural pleaſant Humour, from the Time of the King's Reſtoration, which had deceived all his Calculations, and broken all his Meaſures. Upon his Death the Miniſtry was

An Incident that promotes the Treaty of Marriage.

was committed to three Perſons (the King himſelf being ſtill preſent at all their Conſultations), *Monſieur De Tellier* and *Monſieur De Lionne*, the two Secretaries of State, and *Monſieur Fouquet*, *Surintendant* of the Finances *and Procureur General du Roy*, who was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and being not forty Years of Age, enjoyed his full Vigour of Body and Mind, and in Reſpect of his ſole Power over the Finances was looked upon as the *Premier Miniſtre*. This Man, as ſoon as He was in the Buſineſs, ſent an Expreſs into *England* with a Letter to the Chancellor. The Meſſenger was *La Baſteede*, who having been Secretary during the Time of his being in *England* to *Bordeaux* whilſt He was Ambaſſadour, ſpake *Engliſh* very well. He, as ſoon as He arrived, went to the Chancellor's Houſe, and deſired one of his Servants to let his Lord know, "that He was newly come from *France*, and "that He deſired to be admitted to a private Audience "with him, where Nobody elſe might be preſent:" and ſo He was brought into a Backroom, whither the Chancellor came to him; to whom He preſented a Letter directed to him from *Monſieur Fouquet*. The Letter after general Compliments took Notice "of the great Truſt He "had with his Maſter; and that He being now admitted "to a Part of his Maſter's moſt ſecret Affairs, and know-"ing well the Affection that was between the two Kings, "much deſired to hold a cloſe and ſecret Correſpondence "together, which He preſumed would be for the Benefit "of Both their Maſters." The reſt contained only a Credential, "that He ſhould give Credit to all that the "Bearer ſhould ſay, who was a Perſon entirely truſted by (91) "him." And then He entered upon his Diſcourſe, conſiſting of theſe Parts:

Some particular Overtures from the Court of France.

(1.) "That the King of *France* was troubled to hear, "that there was ſome Obſtruction fallen out in the "Treaty with *Portugal*; and that it would be a very ge-"nerous Thing in his Majeſty to undertake the Protec-"tion of that Crown, which if it ſhou'd fall into the Poſ-"ſeſſion of *Spain*, would be a great Damage and a great "Shame to all the Kings in *Europe*. That himſelf had "heretofore thought of marrying the *Infanta* of that King-"dom, who is a Lady of great Beauty and admirable En-"dowments; but that his Mother and his then Miniſter, "and indeed all other Princes, ſo much deſired the Peace "between the Crowns, that He was diverted from that

Deſign.

"Deſign. And that for the perfecting that Peace and his "Marriage with *Spain*, He had been compelled to deſert "*Portugal* for the preſent; and was obliged to ſend no "Kind of Aſſiſtance thither, nor to receive any Ambaſſa-"dour from thence, nor to have any there: All which "He could not but obſerve for ſome Time. But that "*Portugal* was well aſſured of the Continuance of his Af-"fection, and that He would find ſome Opportunity by "one Way or other to preſerve it. That He foreſaw that "his Majeſty might not be provided ſo ſoon after his Re-"turn, in Regard of his other great Expenſes, to diſ-"burſe ſuch a Sum of Money, as the ſending a vigorous "Aſſiſtance, which was neceſſary, would require. But for "that He would take Care; and for the preſent cauſe to "be paid to his Majeſty three hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*, "which would defray the Charge of that Summer's Ex-"pedition; and for the future, Proviſion ſhould be "made proportionable to the Charge:" And concluded, "that He believed the King could not beſtow himſelf "better in Marriage, than with the *Infanta* of *Por-*"*tugal*."

(2.) A SECOND Part was, "That there were now in "*France* Ambaſſadours from the *States* of the *United Pro-*"*vinces*, and the like in *England*, to renew the Alliance "with Both Crowns; which They hoped to do upon the "diſadvantageous Terms They had uſed to obtain it. "That thoſe People were grown too proud and inſolent "towards all their Neighbours, and treated all Kings as "if They were at leaſt their Equals: That *France* had been "ill uſed by them, and was ſenſible of it; and that the "King had not been much beholden to them." And therefore He propoſed, "that Both Kings upon this Oc-"caſion would ſo communicate their Counſels, that They "might reduce that People to live like good Neighbours, "and with more good Manners; and that They would "treat ſolely and advance together, and that the One "ſhould promiſe not to conclude any Thing without "communicating it to the other: So that Both Treaties "might be concluded together."

(3.) "THAT thoſe Particulars, and whatſoever paſſed "between *M. Fouquet* and the Chancellor, might be re-"tained with wonderful Secrecy; which it would not be, "if it were communicated to the Queen or the Earl of "*St. Albans*" (who were at that Time in *France*): "And

"therefore his *Chriſtian* Majeſty deſired, that neither of "them ſhould know of this Correſpondence, or any Par- "ticular that paſſed by it."

When the Gentleman had finiſhed his Diſcourſe, the Chancellor told him, "that He knew *M. Fouquet* to be "ſo wiſe a Man, that He would not invite or enter into "ſuch a Correſpondence, without the Privity and Appro- "bation of his Maſter: and He preſumed that He had "likewiſe ſo good an Opinion of him, as to believe, that "He would firſt inform his Majeſty of all that He re- "ceived from him, before He would return any Anſwer "himſelf. That He would take the firſt Opportunity to (92) "acquaint the King his Maſter; and if He would come "the next Day at the ſame Hour" (which was about Four in the Afternoon) "to the ſame Place, He would "return his Anſwer."

The King came the next Day before the Hour aſſigned to the Chancellor's Houſe. And when He heard the Gentleman was come, his Majeſty vouchſafed himſelf to go into that Backroom; and (the Chancellor telling the other, "that He ſhould be Witneſs to his Majeſty's Ap- "probation of his Correſpondence"), took Notice of the Letter He had brought, and aſked many kind Queſtions "concerning *M. Fouquet*, who was known to him, and told him "that He was very well pleaſed with the Corre- "ſpondence propoſed; and that the Chancellor ſhould "perform his Part very punctually, and with the Secrecy "that was deſired; and that He would give his own "Word, that the Queen and the Earl of *St. Albans* ſhould "know Nothing that ſhould paſs in this Correſpond- "ence:" Which the Chancellor obſerving with the Fidelity He ought to do, and this coming after to be known, it kindled a new Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure in the Queen, that was never afterwards extinguiſhed. The King told him "He would upon the Encouragement "and Promiſe of the *French* King, of the Performance "whereof He could make no Doubt, proceed in the "Treaty with *Portugal*; and give that Kingdom the beſt "Aſſiſtance He could, without beginning a War with "*Spain*. That for the Treaty with *Holland*, which was "but newly begun" (for the *States* who had made Choice of and nominated their Ambaſſadours before the King left the *Hague*, did not ſend them in near ſix Months after; which his Majeſty looked upon as a great Diſreſpect), "He

Which the King readily embraces.

"He would comply with what the King deſired; and that "his *Chriſtian* Majeſty ſhould from Time to Time receive "an Account how it ſhould advance, and that He would "not conclude any Thing without his Privity." How ill Both theſe Engagements which related to *Portugal* and *Holland* were afterwards obſerved by *France*, is fit for another Diſcourſe by itſelf. The Gentleman, much ſatisfied with what the King had ſaid, propoſed "that He "would make a Cipher againſt the next Day to be left "in the Chancellor's Hand; becauſe *M. Fouquet* deſired, "for Preſervation of the Secret, that the Chancellor "would always write with his own Hand in *Engliſh*, di"rected in ſuch a Manner as He ſhould propoſe; which "would always bring the Letters ſafe to the Hands of "him, *La Baſteede*, who was appointed by the King "to keep that Cipher, to maintain that Correſpond"ence."

THERE was another Circumſtance that attended this private Negotiation, that may not be unfitly inſerted here, and is a ſufficient Manifeſtation of the Integrity of the Chancellor, and how far He was from being that corrupt Perſon, which his moſt corrupt Enemies would have him thought to be. The next Morning after He had ſeen the King, *La Baſteede* came again, and deſired an Audience with the Chancellor. He ſaid, "He "had ſomewhat elſe in his Inſtructions to ſay, which He "had not yet thought fit to offer." And from thence He entered in a confuſed Manner to enlarge "upon the "great Power, Credit and Generoſity of *M. Fouquet*, the "Extent of his Power and Office, that He could diſ"burſe and iſſue great Sums of Money without any Ac"count ſo much as to the King himſelf; without which "Liberty, the King knew many ſecret Services of the "higheſt Importance could not be performed." He ſaid, "He knew the Streights and Neceſſities, in which the "Chancellor and others about the King had lived for "many Years: And though He was now returned with (93) "much Honour, and in great Truſt with his Maſter; "yet He did ſuppoſe He might be ſome Time without "thoſe Furnitures of Houſholdſtuff and Plate, which the "Grandeur of his Office and Place required. And there"fore that He had ſent him a Preſent, which in itſelf "was but ſmall, and was only the Earneſt of as much "every Year, which ſhould be conſtantly paid, and

An Inſtance of the Chancellor's uncorrupt Integrity.

"more, if He had Occaſion to uſe it; for *M. Fouquet* "did not look upon it as of Moment to himſelf. But "He knew well the Faction in all Courts, and that He "muſt have many Enemies; and if He did not make "himſelf Friends by Acts of Generoſity and Bounty, He "muſt be oppreſſed; and that He had deſigned this "Supply only to that Purpoſe." He ſhewed him then Bills of Exchange and Credit for the Sum of ten thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid at Sight: And ſaid, "that He had been with the Merchant, who would be "ready to pay it that Afternoon; ſo that whoever He "would pleaſe to appoint ſhould receive it." The Chancellor had heard him with much Indignation; and anſwered him warmly, "that if this Correſpondence muſt "expoſe him to ſuch a Reproach, He ſhould unwillingly "enter into it; and wiſhed him to tell *M. Fouquet*, that "He would only receive Wages from his own Maſter." The Gentleman ſo little looked for a Refuſal, that He would not underſtand it; but perſiſted to know "who "ſhould receive the Money, which," He ſaid, "ſhould be "paid in ſuch a Manner, that the Perſon who paid it "ſhould never know to whom it was paid; and that it "ſhould always remain a Secret;" ſtill preſſing it with Importunity, till the other went with manifeſt Anger out of the Room.

That Afternoon the King and Duke (who was likewiſe informed of the Correſpondence) came to the Chancellor, and found him out of Humour. He told him, "that *Fouquet* could not be an honeſt Man, and that He "had no Mind to hold that Correſpondence with him; and thereupon repeated what had paſſed in the Morning, with much Choler: Which made them Both laugh at him, ſaying, "the *French* did all their Buſineſs that "Way;" and the King told him "He was a Fool," implying "that He ſhould take his Money." Whereupon the Chancellor beſought him "not to appear to his Ser- "vants ſo unconcerned in Matters of that Nature, which "might produce ill Effects;" and deſired him to conſider, "what the Conſequence of his receiving that Mo- "ney, with what Secrecy ſoever, muſt be. That the "*French* King muſt either believe that He had received "it without his Majeſty's Privity, and ſo look upon him "as a Knave fit to be depended upon in any Treachery "againſt his Maſter; or that it was with his Majeſty's

"Appro-

"Approbation, which muſt needs leſſen his Eſteem of "him, that He ſhould permit his Servants of the near- "eſt Truſt to grow rich at the Charge of another Prince, "who might the next Day become his Enemy." To which the King ſmiling made no other Reply, "than "that few Men were ſo ſcrupulous;" and commanded him "to return a civil Anſwer to *M. Fouquet's* Letter, "and to cheriſh that Correſpondence, which," He ſaid, "might be uſeful to him, and could produce no Incon- "veniency." And ſo, when *La Baſteede* (who could not forbear to uſe new Importunity with him to receive the Money, till He found He was much offended) brought him the Cipher, He delivered him his Letter for *M. Fouquet*. And the next Week after his Return, the King of *France* writ to him in his own Hand, "that "the Correſpondence *M. Fouquet* had invited him to, "was with his Majeſty's Privity; and that He was well "pleaſed with it." And ſo the Correſpondence continued till that great Man's Fall: And then the King ſent all (94) the Letters which had paſſed, and the Cipher, to the Chancellor; and writ to him, "from that Time to com- "municate with all Freedom with his Ambaſſadour," which He was before reſtrained from.

AFTER the King had himſelf conferred at large with the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, He referred him again to give the Lords, with whom He had formerly treated, an Account how all Particulars were adjuſted in *Portu- gal*; "which were," He ſaid, "in this Manner. For the "Portion, the Queen Regent, having reſolved not to diſ- "poſe of any of the Money that was provided for the "War, had ſold her own Jewels, and much of her own "Plate, and had borrowed both Plate and Jewels from "the Churches and Monaſteries: By which Means She "had the whole Portion ready, which was all ſealed up in "Bags, and depoſited where Nobody could take it to ap- "ply to any other Uſe. For the Delivery of *Tangier*, that "the old Governour (who had lived there long, and was "humourous) of whom the Queen could not confidently "depend, was removed; and another ſent, before He "left *Liſbon*, to take that Charge, who was a Creature of "the Queen's, who could not deceive her, and was ſo "far truſted, that He knew for what End He was ſent "thither, and cheerfully undertook to perform it: And "that the Fleet which ſhould be ſent for the Queen

The Meaſures in Portugal *relative to the Treaty of Marriage.*

"ſhould firſt go to *Tangier*, and take Poſſeſſion thereof; "and till that ſhould be delivered into his Majeſty's "Hands, the Queen ſhould not embark upon the Fleet, "nor till all the Money ſhould be put on Board. That "for the Delivery of *Bombayne*, it was reſolved likewiſe, "that the Vice-King and Governour of *Goa*, under whom "that Iſland likewiſe is, ſhould be forthwith recalled; "and that another" (whom He named), "of whom the "Queen had all Aſſurance, ſhould be ſent to that high "Charge, and ſhould be tranſported thither in the Fleet "which the King would ſend to receive the Iſland, and "would deliver the ſame to the Perſon deſigned to re-"ceive it." He added, "that there would be another Se-"curity given, greater than any of the reſt, and ſuch a "one as had never been given before in ſuch a Caſe. "That the Queen ſhould be delivered on Board the "Fleet, and tranſported into *England*, before ſhe was "married: Which was ſuch a Truſt that had never been "repoſed in any Prince, who, if He would break his "Word, might put an everlaſting Reproach upon their "Nation."

The Cauſe of this extraordinary Circumſtance was truly this. The Power of *Spain* was ſo great in the Court of *Rome*, notwithſtanding the Interpoſition and threatening Mediation of *France*, (whoſe Ambaſſadour declared that *Portugal* ſhould chooſe a Patriarch, and have no longer Dependance upon the Pope); that neither *Urban*, in whoſe Reign that Kingdom ſevered itſelf from *Spain*, nor *Innocent* nor *Alexander*, would acknowledge the Duke of *Braganza* for King, nor receive an Ambaſſadour or other Miniſter from him: So that They now foreſaw, that if They ſhould in what Manner ſoever demand a Diſpenſation at *Rome* (without which the Marriage could not be celebrated in *Portugal*), the Intereſt of *Spain* would cauſe it to be denied, or granted in ſuch a Manner as ſhould be worſe for them; for the Queen would have been mentioned only as the Daughter and Siſter of the Duke of *Braganza*. And before They would receive that Affront, the moſt jealous and moſt apprehenſive Nation in the World choſe rather to ſend the Daughter of the Kingdom to be married in *England*, and not to be married till She came thither.

The King refers the Whole to a full Privy Council.

Upon the whole Matter, the King thought not fit to make any farther Exceptions, but reſolved to aſſemble his

his whole Privy Council, and to communicate the Matter to them; for it did remain a Secret yet, no Man know-
(95) ing or ſpeaking of it. The Council was ſo full, that there was only one Counſellor that was abſent. The King informed them of all that had paſſed in that Affair, "how "it was firſt propoſed to him, and the Objections which "occurred to him againſt it; for the better clearing "whereof the Ambaſſadour had made a Voyage into "*Portugal*, and was returned with ſuch Satisfaction to "all Particulars, that He thought it now Time to com-"municate the Whole to them, that He might receive "their Advice." He commanded then the particular Propoſitions, which were offered by the Ambaſſadour, to be reported. And thereupon He commanded and conjured all the Lords ſeverally to give him their Advice; for He ſaid, "He had not yet ſo firmly reſolved, but that He "might change his Mind, if He heard Reaſons to move "him: And therefore They would not deal faithfully "with him, if They did not with all Freedom declare their "Judgment to him." In ſhort, every Man delivered his Opinion, and every One agreed in the Opinion, "that it "was very fit for his Majeſty to embrace the Propoſi-"tions, which were of great Advantage to himſelf and "the Kingdom;" and that their Advice was, "that "He ſhould ſpeedily and without more Delay conclude "the Treaty." And thereupon his Majeſty ſaid, "that "He looked upon ſo unanimous a Concurrence as a good "Omen, and that He would follow their Advice."

Which unanimouſly adviſes him to conclude the Treaty.

ALL this was done between the Diſſolution of the Parliament in *December*, and the aſſembling the other in *May* following. And upon the firſt Day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of *May*, the very Day that his Majeſty had been proclaimed the Year before, He told them "that He had deferred it a Week, that "They might meet upon that Day, for the Memory of "the former Day." The King, after ſome gracious Expreſſions of his Confidence in them, told them "that "They would find what Method He thought beſt for "their Proceeding, by two Bills which He had cauſed "to be provided for them, which were for Confirmation "of all that had been enacted in the laſt Meeting;" and repeated what He had ſaid to them when He was laſt there: "*That next to the miraculous Bleſſing of God Al-*"*mighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of that Bleſſing,* "He

The new Parliament meets.

The King's Speech.

He preſſes them to confirm the Act of Indemnity.

"*He did impute the good Diſpoſition and Security They were* "*all in, to the happy* Act of Indemnity and Oblivion: "*That,*" his Majeſty ſaid, "*was the principal Corner-Stone* "*that ſupported that excellent Building, that created Kind-* "*neſs in them to each other; and Confidence was their joint* "*and common Security.*" He told them, "He was ſtill of "the ſame Opinion, and more if it were poſſible of that "Opinion than He had been, by the Experience He had "of the Benefit of it, and from the Unreaſonableneſs of "what ſome Men ſaid againſt it." He deſired them "to "provide full Remedies for future Miſchiefs; to be as "ſevere as They would againſt new Offenders, eſpecially "if They were ſo upon old Principles; and that They "would pull up thoſe Principles by the Roots. But," his Majeſty ſaid, "He ſhould never think him a wiſe "Man, that would endeavour to undermine and ſhake "that Foundation of the publick Peace, by infringing "that Act in the leaſt Degree; or that He could be his "Friend, or wiſh him well, who would perſuade him "ever to conſent to the Breach of a Promiſe He had ſo "ſolemnly made when He was abroad, and had performed "with that Solemnity after, and becauſe He had promiſed "it: And that He could not ſuſpect any Attempts of that "Kind by any Men of Merit and Virtue."

And this Warmth of his Majeſty upon this Subject was not then more than needed: For the Armies being now diſbanded, there were great Combinations entered into, (96) not to confirm the *Act of Oblivion*; which They knew without Confirmation would ſignify Nothing. Men were well enough contented, that the King ſhould grant Indemnity to all Men that had rebelled againſt him; that He ſhould grant their Lives and Fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him: But They thought it very unreaſonable and unjuſt, that the King ſhould releaſe thoſe Debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive thoſe Treſpaſſes which had been committed to their particular Damage. They could not endure to meet the ſame Men in the King's Highway, now it was the King's Highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in thoſe Ways, becauſe They were not the King's, and only becauſe They knew They could obtain no Juſtice againſt them. They could not with any Patience ſee thoſe Men, who not only during the War had oppreſſed them, plundered their Houſes, and had their own adorned with

with the Furniture They had robbed them of, ride upon the ſame Horſes which They had then taken from them upon no other Pretence, but becauſe they were better than their own; but after the War was ended, had committed many inſolent Treſpaſſes upon them wantonly, and to ſhew their Power of Juſtice of Peace or Committee Men, and had from the loweſt Beggary raiſed great Eſtates, out of which They were well able to ſatisfy, at leaſt in ſome Degree, the Damages the other had ſuſtained. And thoſe and other Paſſions of this Kind, which muſt have invalidated the whole *Act of Indemnity*, could not have been extinguiſhed without the King's Influence, and indeed his immediate Interpoſition and Induſtry.

He acquaints them with his intended Marriage.

WHEN his Majeſty had ſpoken all He thought fit upon that Subject, He told them, "He could not conclude "without telling them ſome News, News that He thought "would be very acceptable to them; and therefore He "ſhould think himſelf unkind and illnatured, if He "ſhould not impart it to them. That He had been "often put in Mind by his Friends, that it was high Time "to marry; and He had thought ſo himſelf, ever ſince "He came into *England*: But there appeared Difficulties "enough in the Choice, though many Overtures had "been made to him. And if He ſhould never marry till "He could make ſuch a Choice, againſt which there "could be no Foreſight of any Inconvenience that might "enſue, They would live to ſee him an old Bachelor, "which He thought They did not deſire to do." He ſaid, "He could now tell them, not only that He was "reſolved to marry, but whom He reſolved to marry, if "it pleaſed God. That towards his Reſolution, He had "uſed that Deliberation, and taken that Advice, that "He ought to do in a Caſe of that Importance, and with "a full Conſideration of the Good of his Subjects in general, as of himſelf. It was with the Daughter of *Portugal*. That when He had, as well as He could, weighed "all that occurred to himſelf, the firſt Reſolution He took, "was to ſtate the whole Overtures which had been made "to him, and in Truth all that had been ſaid againſt it, "to his Privy Council; without hearing whoſe Advice, "He never did nor ever would reſolve any Thing of publick Importance. And," He ſaid, "He told them with "great Satisfaction and Comfort to himſelf, that after

"many

"many Hours Debate in full Council (for He thought "there was not above One abſent), and He believed upon "weighing all that could be ſaid upon that Subject, for "or againſt it; the Lords, without one diſſenting Voice, "adviſed him with all imaginable Cheerfulneſs to this "Marriage: Which He looked upon as very wonderful, "and even as ſome Inſtance of the Approbation of God "himſelf. That He had thereupon taken his own Reſo- "lution, and concluded with the Ambaſſadour of *Portu-* (97) "*gal*, who was departing with the whole Treaty ſigned, "which They would find to contain many great Advant- "ages to the Kingdom; and that He would make all the "Haſte He could, to fetch them a Queen hither, who "He doubted not would bring great Bleſſings with her, "to him and them."

The two Houſes expreſs their Approbation of it.

THE next Day the two Houſes of Parliament, after They had expreſſed all the Joy imaginable amongſt them, ſent to the King, "that He would appoint a Time when "He would admit them to his Preſence:" Which when He had done, Both Houſes of Parliament, in a Body, preſented by the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers their humble Thanks to his Majeſty, "for that He had vouchſafed "to acquaint them with his Reſolution to marry, which "had exceedingly rejoiced their Hearts, and would, They "doubted not, draw down God's Bleſſing upon his Ma- "jeſty and the Kingdom." Shortly after, the Fleet was made ready, and the Earl of *Sandwich* Admiral thereof was likewiſe made Ambaſſadour to *Portugal*, and appointed to receive the Queen, and to conduct her into *England*.

THIS was the whole Proceeding, from the Beginning to the End of that Treaty about the Marriage of the King; by the whole Circumſtances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular Corruption in any ſingle Perſon could have brought it to paſs in that Manner, and that the Chancellor never propoſed it, nor heard of it but from the King himſelf, nor advanced it afterwards more than every One of the other Lords did; and if He had done leſs, He could neither have been thought a prudent or an honeſt Man: To which no more ſhall be added, than that neither before or in the Treaty, or after the Marriage, He ever received the leaſt Reward or the leaſt Preſent from *Portugal*.

DURING

DURING the Interval of Parliament, the King had made Choice of many very eminent and learned Men, who were conſecrated to ſome of the Sees of Biſhops which were void; that the Preſervation of the Succeſſion might not depend upon the Lives of the few Biſhops who remained, and who were all very aged: Which could not have been done ſooner, nor till the other Parliament, to whom the Settlement of the Church had been referred, was diſſolved. Nor could He yet give any Remedy to the Licenſe in the Practice of Religion, which in all Places was full of Scandal and Diſorder, becauſe *the Liturgy* was not yet finiſhed; till when, the Indulgence by his Declaration was not to be reſtrained. But at the ſame Time that He iſſued out his Writs for convening the Parliament, He had likewiſe ſent Summons to the Biſhops, for the Meeting of the Clergy in Convocation, which is the legal Synod in *England*; againſt the Coming together whereof *the Liturgy* would be finiſhed, which his Majeſty intended to ſend thither to be examined, debated and confirmed. And then He hoped to provide, with the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament, ſuch a Settlement in Religion, as would prevent any Diſorder in the State upon thoſe Pretences. And it was very neceſſary to loſe no Time in the Proſecution of that Cure; for the Malignity againſt the Church appeared to increaſe, and to be greater than it was upon the Coming in of the King.

New Biſhops appointed.

A Convocation ſummoned.

THE old Biſhops who remained alive, and ſuch Deans and Chapters as were numerous enough for the Corporation, who had been long kept faſting, had now Appetites proportionable. Moſt of them were very poor, and had undergone great Extremities; ſome of the Biſhops having ſupported themſelves and their Families by teaching Schools, and ſubmitting to the like low Condeſcenſions: And others ſaw, that if They died before They were enabled to make ſome Proviſion for them, their (98) Wives and Children muſt unavoidably ſtarve; and therefore They made Haſte to enter upon their own. And, now an Ordinance of Parliament had not Strength enough to batter an Act of Parliament, They called their old Tenants to Account for Rent, and to renew their Eſtates if They had a Mind to it; for moſt old Leaſes were expired in the long Continuance of the War, and the old Tenants had been compelled either to purchaſe a new Right and Title from the State (when the Ordinance was paſſed

paſſed for taking away all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and for ſelling all the Lands which belonged to them), or to ſell their preſent Eſtates to thoſe, who had purchaſed the Reverſion and the Inheritance thereof: So that both the one and the other, the old Tenants and the new Purchaſers, repaired to the true Owners as ſoon as the King was reſtored; the former expecting to be reſtored again to the Poſſeſſion of what They had ſold, under an unreaſonable Pretence of a Tenant Right (as They called it), becauſe there remained yet (as in many Caſes there did) a Year or ſome other Term of their old Leaſes unexpired, and becauſe They had out of Conſcience forborne to buy the Inheritance of the Church, which was firſt offered to them. And for the Refuſal thereof, and ſuch a reaſonable Fine as was uſual, They hoped to have a new Leaſe, and to be readmitted to be Tenants to the Church. The other, the Purchaſers (amongſt which there were ſome very infamous Perſons), appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the Clemency that was practiſed towards all Sorts of Men, it could be thought Juſtice, that They ſhould loſe the entire Sum They had diſburſed upon the Faith of that Government, which the whole Kingdom ſubmitted to; but that They ſhould, inſtead of the Inheritance They had an ill Title to, have a good Leaſe for Lives or Years granted to them by them who had now the Right; at leaſt, that upon the old Rent and moderate Fines They ſhould be continued Tenants to the Church, without any Regard to thoſe who had ſold both their Poſſeſſion, and with that all the Right or Title that They might pretend to, for a valuable Conſideration. And They had the more Hope of this, becauſe the King had granted a Commiſſion, under the Great Seal of *England*, to ſome Lords of the Council and to other eminent Perſons, to interpoſe and mediate with the Biſhops and Clergy in ſuch Caſes, as ought not to be proſecuted with Rigour.

A Clamour raiſed againſt the Biſhops and Clergy by their Tenants.

But the Biſhops and Clergy concerned had not the good Fortune to pleaſe their old or their new Tenants. They had been very barbarouſly uſed themſelves; and that had too much quenched all Tenderneſs towards others. They did not enough diſtinguiſh between Perſons: Nor did the Suffering any Man had undergone for Fidelity to the King, or his Affection to the Church eminently expreſſed, often prevail for the Mitigation of his Fine;

Fine; or if it did ſometimes, three or four Stories of the contrary, and in which there had been ſome unreaſonable Hardneſs uſed, made a greater Noiſe and ſpread farther, than their Examples of Charity and Moderation. And as honeſt Men did not uſually fare the better for any Merit, ſo the Purchaſers who offered moſt Money, did not fare the worſe for all the Villanies They had committed. And two or three unhappy Inſtances of this Kind brought Scandal upon the whole Church, as if They had been all guilty of the ſame Exceſſes, which They were far from. And by this Means the new Biſhops, who did not all follow the Precedents made by the old, underwent the ſame Reproaches: And many of them who had moſt adhered to their Order, and for ſo doing had undergone for twenty Years together ſundry Perſecutions and Oppreſſions, were not in their preſent Paſſion ſo much pleaſed with the renewing it, as They expected to
(99) have been. Yet upon a very ſtrict Examination of the true Grounds of all thoſe Miſpriſions (except ſome few Inſtances which cannot be defended), there will be found more Paſſion than Juſtice in them; and that there was even a Neceſſity to raiſe as much Money as could be juſtly done, for the repairing the Cathedrals, which were all miſerably ruinated or defaced, and for the entirely building up many Houſes of the Prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the Ground. And thoſe Ways much more of thoſe Monies which were raiſed by Fines were iſſued and expended, than what went into the private Purſes of them, who had a Right to them, and had Need enough of them. But the Time began to be froward again, and all Degrees of Men were hard to be pleaſed; eſpecially when They ſaw one *Claſſis* of Men reſtored to more than They had ever loſt, and preferred to a Plenty They had never been acquainted with, whilſt themſelves remained remedileſs after ſo many Sufferings, and without any other Teſtimony of their Courage and Fidelity, than in the Ruin of their Fortunes, and the Sale of their Inheritance.

ANOTHER great Work was performed, between the Diſſolution of the laſt and the Beginning of the next Parliament, which was the Ceremony of the King's Coronation; and was done with the greateſt Solemnity and Glory, that ever any had been ſeen in that Kingdom. That the Novelties and new Inventions, with which the Kingdom had *The King's Coronation.*

had been ſo much intoxicated for ſo many Years together, might be diſcountenanced and diſcredited in the Eyes of the People, for the Folly and Want of State thereof; his Majeſty had directed the Records and old Formularies ſhould be examined, and thereupon all Things ſhould be prepared, and all Forms accuſtomed be uſed, that might add Luſtre and Splendour to the Solemnity. A *Court of Claims* was erected, where before the Lords Commiſſioners for that Service, all Perſons made Claim to thoſe Privileges and Precedency, which They conceived to be due to their Perſons, or the Offices of which They were poſſeſſed, in the Ceremony of the Coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their Right appeared.

The King went early in the Morning to the *Tower* of *London* in his Coach, moſt of the Lords being there before. And about ten of the Clock They ſet forwards towards *Whitehall*, ranged in that Order as the Heralds had appointed; thoſe of the Long Robe, the King's Council at Law, the Maſters of the Chancery, and Judges, going firſt, and ſo the Lords in their Order, very ſplendidly habited, on rich Footcloths; the Number of their Footmen being limited, to the Dukes ten, to the Earls eight, and to the Viſcounts ſix, and the Barons four, all richly clad, as their other Servants were. The whole Shew was the moſt glorious in the Order and Expenſe, that had been ever ſeen in *England*; They who rode firſt being in *Fleet-ſtreet* when the King iſſued out of the *Tower*, as was known by the Diſcharge of the Ordnance: And it was near three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when the King alighted at *Whitehall*. The next Morning the King rode in the ſame State in his Robes and with his Crown on his Head, and all the Lords in their Robes, to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where all the Enſigns for the Coronation were delivered to thoſe who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland* being made High Conſtable, and the Earl of *Suffolk* Earl Marſhal, for the Day. And then all the Lords in their Order, and the King himſelf, walked on Foot upon blue Cloth from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to the *Abbey Church*, where after a Sermon preached by Dr. *Morley* (then Biſhop of *Worceſter*) in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, the King was ſworn, crowned and anointed, by Dr. *Juxon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the (100) Solemnity that in thoſe Caſes had been uſed. All which being done, the King returned in the ſame Manner on

Foot

Foot to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which was adorned with rich Hangings and Statues; and there the King dined, and the Lords on either Side at Tables provided for them: And all other Ceremonies were performed with great Order and Magnificence.

Two unlucky Accidents which attended it.

I SHOULD not have enlarged thus much upon the Ceremony of the Coronation, it may be not mentioned it (a perfect Narration having been then made and publiſhed of it, with all the Grandeur and Magnificence of the City of *London*), but that there were two Accidents in it, the one abſolutely new, the other that produced ſome Inconveniences which were not then diſcerned. The firſt was, that it being the Cuſtom in thoſe great Ceremonies or Triumphs of State, that the Maſter of the King's Horſe, (who is always a great Man, and was now the Duke of *Albemarle*, the General) rides next after the King, with a led Horſe in his Hand: In this Occaſion the Duke of *York* privately prevailed with the King, who had not enough Reverence for old Cuſtoms, without any Conſultation, that his Maſter of his Horſe (ſo He was called), Mr. *Jermyn*, a younger Brother of a very private Gentleman's Family, ſhould ride as near his Perſon, as the General did to his Majeſty, and lead a Horſe likewiſe in his Hand; a Thing never heard of before. Neither in Truth hath the younger Brother of the King ſuch an Officer as Maſter of his Horſe, which is a Term reſtrained within the Family of the King, Queen, and Prince of *Wales*; and the two Maſters of the Horſe to the Queen and Prince are ſubordinate to the King's Maſter of his Horſe, who hath the Juriſdiction over the other. The Lords were exceedingly ſurpriſed and troubled at this, of which They heard Nothing till They ſaw it; and They liked it the worſe, becauſe They diſcerned that it iſſued from a Fountain, from whence many bitter Waters were like to flow, the Cuſtoms of the Court of *France*, whereof the King and the Duke had too much the Image in their Heads, and than which there could not be a Copy more univerſally ingrateful and odious to the *Engliſh* Nation.

THE other was: In the Morning of the Coronation, whilſt They ſate at the Table in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to ſee the many Enſigns of the Coronation delivered to thoſe Lords who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was that Day High Conſtable, came

to

to the King and told him, "that amongſt the young "Noblemen who were appointed to carry the ſeveral "Parts of the King's Mantle, the Lord *Oſſory*, who was "the eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, challenged the "Place before the Lord *Percy*, who was his eldeſt Son; "whereas," He ſaid, "the Duke of *Ormond* had no Place "in the Ceremony of that Day, as Duke, but only as "Earl of *Brecknock*, and ſo the eldeſt Sons of all ancienter "Earls ought to take Place of his eldeſt Son;" which was ſo known a Rule, and of ſo general a Concernment, that the King could not chooſe but declare it, and ſend a Meſſage to the Lord *Oſſory* by the Lord Chamberlain, "that He ſhould deſiſt from his Pretence." This, and the publick Manner of aſking and determining it, produced two ill Effects. The firſt, a Jealouſy and ill Underſtanding between the two great Families: The One naturally undervaluing and contemning his Equals, without paying much Regard to his Superiours; and the other not being uſed to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the Advantages the Earl had in *England*, either in Antiquity or Fortune, He had the ſame in *Ireland*, and that He had merited and received an Increaſe of Title, when the other had deſerved to loſe that which He was born to. The other, was a Jealouſy and Preju- (101)
dice that it raiſed in the Nobility of *England*, as if the Duke of *Ormond* (who in Truth knew Nothing of it) had entered upon that Conteſt, in Hope that by his Intereſt in the King, He ſhould be able to put this eternal Affront upon the Peers of *England*, to bring them upon the ſame Level with thoſe of *Ireland*, who had no ſuch Eſteem. And it did not a little add to their Envy, that He had behaved himſelf ſo worthily throughout the ill Times, that He was the Object of an univerſal Reverence at home and abroad; which was a Reproach to moſt of them, whoſe Actions could not bear the Light. But as the Duke was not in the leaſt Degree privy to the particular Conteſt, nor raiſed the Value of himſelf from any Merit in his Services, nor undervalued others upon the Advantage of their having done amiſs; ſo He was abundantly ſatisfied in the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience, and in his unqueſtionable Innocence, and from thence too much deſpiſed the Prejudice and the Envy the others had towards him, the Marks whereof He was compelled afterwards

terwards to bear, which He did with the ſame Magnanimity.

A ſolemn Interment of the late King intended.

BEFORE We proceed farther in the Relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unſeaſonable in this Place to give an Account of ſomewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally cenſured becauſe it was not; the Reaſon whereof is known to very few. The King had reſolved before his Coming into *England*, that as ſoon as He ſhould be ſettled in any Condition of Security, and no juſt Apprehenſion of future Troubles, He would take up and remove the Body of his Father, the laſt King, from *Windſor*, and inter it with all Solemnity at *Weſtminſter*; and that the Court ſhould continue in Mourning till the Coronation. And many good People thought this ſo neceſſary, that They were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the Reaſons which were given, which made it appear that it had been conſidered. The Reaſons which were given in publick Diſcourſes from Hand to Hand, were two. The firſt; that now ten Years were paſt ſince that woful Tragedy, and the Joy and the Triumph for the King's Return had compoſed the Minds of the People, it would not be prudent to renew the Memory of that Parricide, by the Spectacle of a ſolemn Funeral; leſt it might cauſe ſuch Commotions of the Vulgar in all Places, as might produce great Diſorders and Inſurrections amongſt thoſe who had formerly ſerved the Kingdom, as if it were a good Seaſon and a new Provocation to take Revenge upon their Neighbours who had formerly tyranniſed over them; which might likewiſe have cauſed the Soldiers, who were newly diſbanded, to draw themſelves together for their own Security: And ſo the Peace would be at leaſt diſturbed. The other was; that to perform this Interment in any private Manner, would be liable to very juſt Cenſure, when all Things relating to the King himſelf had ſhewed ſo magnificently; and if it were done with the uſual Pomp of a ſolemn Interment of a King, the Expenſe would be ſo vaſt, that there would be neither Money found nor Credit for the Charge thereof.

But upon Search the Body could not be found.

THESE were the Reaſons alleged and ſpread abroad; nor was either of them in itſelf without Weight to thinking Men. But the true Reaſon was: At the Time of that horrid Murder, *Windſor* was a Garriſon under the Com-

mand of a Citizen, who was an *Anabaptiſt* with all his Officers and Soldiers: The Men had broken down all the Wainſcot, Rails and Partitions, which divided the Church, defaced all the Monuments and other Marks, and reduced the Whole into the Form of a Stable or Barn, and ſcarce fit for any other Uſe. When *Cromwell* had declared that the Royal Body ſhould be privately interred in the Church (102) of the Caſtle at *Windſor*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, had obtained Leave to be preſent (only to be preſent, for They had no Power to prepare or do any Thing in it) at their Maſter's Burial; thoſe great Men were not ſuffered to have above three Servants each, to enter into the Caſtle with them; and it may eaſily be concluded, that their own noble Hearts were too full of Sorrow, to ſend their Eyes abroad to take Notice of the Places by which They paſſed. They found the Church ſo wild a Place, that They knew not where They were; and as ſoon as the Royal Body was put into the Ground, They were conducted out of the Caſtle to their Lodging in the Town, and the next Morning returned to their ſeveral Houſes. Shortly after the King returned from beyond the Seas, He ſettled the Dean and Chapter of *Windſor*, with Direction to put his Royal Chapel there into the Order it uſed to be, and to repair the Ruins thereof, which was a long and a difficult Work. His Majeſty commanded the Dean carefully to inform himſelf of the Place, in which the King's Body had been interred, and to give him Notice of it. Upon Enquiry He could not find one Perſon in the Caſtle or in the Town, who had been preſent at the Burial. When the Parliament firſt ſeized upon the Caſtle and put a Garriſon into it, ſhortly after, They not only ejected all the Prebends and Singingmen of the Royal Chapel, but turned out all the Officers and Servants who had any Relation to the King or to the Church, except only thoſe who were notorious for their Infidelity towards the King or the Church: And of thoſe, or of the Officers or Soldiers of the Garriſon, there could not now one Man be found, who was in the Church when the King was buried. The Duke of *Richmond* and the Marquis of *Hertford* were both dead: And the King ſent (after He had received that Account from the Dean) the two ſurviving Lords, the Earls of *Southampton* and of *Lindſey*, to *Windſor*; who taking with them as many of thoſe three Servants

who

who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living. They could not recollect their Memories, nor find any one Mark by which They could make any Judgment, near what Place the King's Body lay. They made ſome Gueſs, by the Information of the Workmen who had been now employed in the new Pavement of the Church, and upon their Obſervation of any Place where the Earth had ſeemed to lye lighter, that it might be in or near that Place: But when They had cauſed it to be digged, and ſearched in and about it, They found Nothing. And upon their Return, the King gave over all farther Thought of Enquiry: And thoſe other Reaſons were caſt abroad upon any occaſional Enquiry or Diſcourſe of that Subject.

The Affairs of Ireland *reſumed.*

THAT which gave the King moſt Trouble, and deprived him of that Eaſe and Quiet which He had promiſed to himſelf during the Vacation between the two Parliaments, was the Buſineſs of *Ireland*; which We ſhall now take up again, and continue the Relation without Interruption, as long as We ſhall think fit to make any Mention of that Affair. We left it in the Hands of the Lord *Roberts*, whom the King had declared Deputy of *Ireland*, preſuming that He would upon Conference with the ſeveral Parties, who were all appointed to attend him, ſo ſhape and model the whole Bulk, that it might be more capable of ſome farther Debate before his Majeſty in Council: but that Hand did not hold it many Days.

Character of Lord Roberts *the Deputy.*

THAT noble Lord, though of a good Underſtanding, was of ſo moroſe a Nature, that it was no eaſy Matter to treat with him. He had ſome pedantick Parts of Learning, which made his other Parts of Judgment the worſe, for He had ſome Parts of good Knowledge in the Law, and (103) in Antiquity, in the Precedents of former Times; all which were rendered the leſs uſeful, by the other Pedantry contracted out of ſome Books, and out of the ill Converſation He had with ſome Clergymen and People in Quality much below him, by whoſe weak Faculties He raiſed the Value of his own, which were very capable of being improved in better Company. He was naturally proud and imperious: Which Humour was increaſed by an ill Education; for excepting ſome Years ſpent in the Inns of Court amongſt the Books of the Law, He might be very juſtly ſaid to have been born and bred in *Cornwall*. There were many Days paſſed after the King's De-

claration of him to be Deputy, before He could be perſuaded to viſit the General, who He knew was to continue Lieutenant; and when He did viſit him, it was with ſo ill a Grace, that the other received no Satisfaction in it, and the leſs, becauſe He plainly diſcerned that it proceeded from Pride, which He bore the more uneaſily, becauſe as He was now the greater Man, ſo He knew himſelf to be of a much better Family. He made ſo many Doubts and Criticiſms upon the Draught of his Patent, that the Attorney General was weary of attending him; and when all Things were agreed on at Night, the next Morning produced new Dilemmas. But that which was worſe than all this, He received thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation of the beſt Quality, and who were of the Privy Council and chief Command in that Kingdom, ſo ſuperciliouſly; received their Information ſo negligently, and gave his Anſwers ſo ſcornfully; that after They had waited upon him four or five Days, They beſought the King that They might not be obliged to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his Carriage towards them was not to be ſubmitted to by Perſons of his own Quality, or of any liberal Education: Nor did He make any Advance towards the Buſineſs.

THIS gave the King very great Trouble, and them as much Pleaſure who had never liked the Deſignation. He knew not what to do with his Deputy, nor what to do for *Ireland*. The Lord *Roberts* was not a Man that was to be diſgraced and thrown off, without much Inconvenience and Hazard. He had Parts which in Council and Parliament (which were the two Scenes where all the King's Buſineſs lay) were very troubleſome; for of all Men alive who had ſo few Friends, He had the moſt Followers. They who converſed moſt with him, knew him to have many Humours which were very intolerable; They who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a Man of much Knowledge, and called his Moroſity Gravity, and thought the Severity of his Manners made him leſs grateful to the Courtiers. He had no ſuch advantageous Faculties in his Delivery, as could impoſe upon his Auditors; but He was never tedious, and his Words made Impreſſion. In a Word, He was ſuch a Man, as the King thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his Majeſty appointed the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treaſurer to confer with him, and to diſpoſe him

him to accept the Office of Privy Seal, which gave him a great Precedence that would gratify that Paſſion which was ſtrongeſt in him; for in his Nature He preferred Place before Money, which his Fortune ſtood more in Need of. And the King thought it would be no ill Argument to incline him to give over the Thought of *Ireland*, that it was impoſſible for the King, to ſupply him for the preſent with near any ſuch Sum of Money as He had very reaſonably demanded, for the Satisfaction of the Army there (which was upon the Matter to be new modelled, and ſome Part of it diſbanded) with the Reduction of many Officers, and for his own Equipage.

The King makes Lord Roberts an Offer of the Privy Seal.

THEY began their Approach to him, by aſking him "when He would be ready for his Journey to *Ireland*;"
(104) to which He anſwered with ſome Quickneſs, "that He "was confident there was no Purpoſe to ſend him thither, "for that He ſaw there was no Preparation of thoſe "Things, without which the King knew well that it was "not poſſible for him to go; nor had his Majeſty lately "ſpoken to him of it. Beſides He had obſerved, that the "Chancellor had for many Days paſt called him at the "Council, and in all other Places where They met, "by the Name of Lord *Roberts*; whereas, for ſome "Months before, He had upon all Occaſions and in "all Places treated him with the Style of Lord Deputy: "Which gave him firſt Cauſe to believe, that there was "ſome Alteration in the Purpoſe of ſending him thither." They Both aſſured him, "that the King had no other "Perſon in his View but himſelf for that Service, if He "were diſpoſed to undertake it vigorouſly; but that the "King had forborn lately to ſpeak with him of it, be-"cauſe He found it impoſſible for him to provide the "Money He propoſed; and it could not be denied, that "He had propoſed it very reaſonably in all Reſpects. "However, it being impoſſible to procure it, and that "He could not go without it, for which He could not be "blamed, his Majeſty muſt find ſome other Expedient to "ſend his Authority thither, the Government there being "yet ſo looſe, that He could not but every Day expect to "receive News of ſome great Diſorder there, the ill Con-"ſequence whereof would be imputed to his Majeſty's "Want of Care and Providence. That his Majeſty had "yet forborn to think of that Expedient, till He might "do it with his Conſent and Advice, and until He could

"reſolve upon another Poſt, where He might ſerve his "Majeſty with equal Honour, and by which the World "might ſee the Eſteem He had of him. And therefore "ſince it would be both unreaſonable and unjuſt, to preſs "him to go for *Ireland* without thoſe Supplies, and it was "equally impoſſible to prepare and ſend thoſe Supplies;" They ſaid, "the King had commanded them to propoſe "to him, that He would make him Lord Privy Seal, an "Office He well underſtood. And if He accepted that "and were poſſeſſed of it (as He ſhould immediately be), "his Majeſty would enter upon new Conſiderations how "to ſettle the tottering Condition of *Ireland*." The Lord's dark Countenance preſently cleared up, having no Doubt expected to be deprived of his Title to *Ireland*, without being aſſigned any other any where elſe: And now being offered the third Place of Precedence in the Nobility, the Privy Seal going next to the Treaſurer, upon a very ſhort Recollection, He declared "that He received it as a great "Honour, that the King would make Uſe of his Service "in any Place, and that He ſubmitted wholly to his good "Pleaſure, and would ſerve him with great Fidelity."

Lord Roberts *accepts the Privy Seal, and quits the Place of Deputy.*

The next Day the King gave him the Privy Seal at the Council-Board, where He was ſworn and took his Place; and to ſhew his extraordinary Talent, found a Way more to obſtruct and puzzle Buſineſs, at leaſt the Diſpatch of it, than any Man in that Office had ever done before: Inſomuch as the King found himſelf compelled in a ſhort Time after, to give Order that moſt Grants and Patents, which required Haſte, ſhould paſs by immediate Warrant to the Great Seal, without viſiting the Privy Seal; which Preterition was not uſual, and brought ſome Inconvenience and Prejudice to the Chancellor.

THOUGH the King had within himſelf a Proſpect of the Expedient, that would be fitteſt for him to make Uſe of for the preſent, towards the Settlement of *Ireland*; yet it was abſolutely neceſſary for him, even before He could make Uſe of that Expedient, to put the ſeveral Claims and Petitions of Right which were depending before him, and which were attended with ſuch an unruly Number of Suitors, into ſome ſuch Method of examining and determining, (105) that they might not be left in the Confuſion they were then in. And this could not be done, without his impoſing upon himſelf the Trouble of hearing once at large, all that every Party of the Pretenders could allege for the

The King hears all Parties.

Sup-

Support of their ſeveral Pretences: And this He did with incredible Patience for very many Days together. We ſhall firſt mention thoſe Intereſts, which gave the King leaſt Trouble, becauſe they admitted leaſt Debate.

The King's Friends reſtored by Act of Parliament.

IT was looked upon as very ſcandalous, that the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould remain ſo long without the Poſſeſſion of any Part of his Eſtate; which had been taken from him upon no other Pretence, but his adhering to the King. And therefore there was an Act of Parliament paſſed with the Conſent of all Parties, that He ſhould be preſently reſtored to all his Eſtate; which was done with the more Eaſe, becauſe the greateſt Part of it (for his Wife's Land had been before aſſigned to her in *Cromwell's* Time, or rather in his Son *Harry's*) lay within that Province, which *Cromwell* out of his Huſbandry had reſerved for himſelf, exempt from all Title or Pretence of *Adventurer* or Soldier: What other Part of his Eſtate either the one or the other were poſſeſſed of, in their own Judgments it was ſo impoſſible for them to enjoy, that They very willingly yielded it up to the Marquis, in Hope of having Recompenſe made to them out of other Lands. There could as little be ſaid againſt the Reſtoration of the Earl of *Inchiquin* to his Eſtate, which had been taken from him and diſtributed amongſt the *Adventurers* and Soldiers, for no other Cauſe but his ſerving the King. There were likewiſe ſome others of the ſame *Claſſis*, who had Nothing objected to them but their Loyalty, who were put into the Poſſeſſion of their own Eſtates. And all this gave no Occaſion of Murmur; every Man of what Intereſt ſoever believing or pretending to believe, that the King was obliged in Honour, Juſtice and Conſcience, to cauſe that Right to be done to thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully.

Church-Lands reſtored, and new Biſhops appointed.

THERE could be as little Doubt, and there was as little Oppoſition viſible, in the Claim of the Church: So that the King made Choice of many grave Divines, to whom He aſſigned Biſhopricks in *Ireland*, and ſent them thither, to be conſecrated by the Biſhops who remained alive there according to the Laws of that Kingdom; and conferred the other Dignities and Church-Preferments upon worthy Men, who were all authorized to enter upon thoſe Lands, which belonged to their ſeveral Churches. And in this general Zeal for the Church, ſome new

Grants were made of Lands and Impropriations, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great Interruption to the Settlement of the Kingdom, and brought Envy upon the Church and Churchmen, when the Reſtoration to what was their own was generally well approved.

THE Pretences of the *Adventurers* and Soldiers were very much involved and perplexed: Yet They gave the King little other Trouble, than the general Care and Solicitude, that by an unſeaſonable Diſturbance of their Poſſeſſions there, the Soldiers who had been diſbanded, and thoſe of the ſtanding Army (who for the moſt Part had the ſame ill Affections), might not unite together, and ſeize upon ſome Places of Defence, before his Affairs in that Kingdom ſhould be put in ſuch an Order as to oppoſe them. And next that Apprehenſion, his Majeſty had no Mind that any of thoſe Soldiers; either who had been diſbanded, and put into Poſſeſſion of Lands for the Arrears of their Pay, and upon which They now lived; or of the other, the ſtanding Army, many whereof were likewiſe in Poſſeſſion of Lands aſſigned to them: I ſay, the King was not without Apprehenſion, that the Reſort of either of theſe into *England* might find too many of their old Friends and Aſſociates, ready to concord with them in any deſperate Meaſures, and for controling of which He was not enough provided even in this Kingdom. But for their private and particular Intereſt, the King cared not much how it was compounded, nor conſidered the Danger if it were not compounded. For beſides the Factions, Diviſions and Animoſities, which were between themſelves, and very great; They could have no Cauſe of Complaint againſt the King, who would take Nothing from them to which They had the leaſt Pretence of Law or Right. And for their other Demands, He would leave them to litigate between themſelves; it being evident to all Men, that there muſt be ſome Judicatory erected by Act of Parliament, that only could examine and put an End to all thoſe Pretences: The Peruſal and Examination of which Act of Parliament, when the ſame ſhould be prepared, his Majeſty reſolved that all Parties ſhould have, and that He would hear their particular Exceptions to it, before He would tranſmit it into *Ireland* to be paſſed. (106)

THAT

THAT which gave the King the only Trouble and Solicitude, was the miſerable Condition of the *Iriſh* Nation, that was ſo near an Extirpation; the Thought whereof his Majeſty's Heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the Indignation He had againſt thoſe, in whoſe Favour the other poor People were miſerably deſtroyed, or from his own natural Compaſſion and Tenderneſs, and the juſt Regard of the Merit of many of them who had ſerved him with Fidelity, He had a very ſtrong and princely Inclination to do the beſt He could, without doing apparent Injuſtice, to preſerve them in a tolerable Condition of Subjects. This made him give them, who were moſt concerned and ſolicitous on their Behalf, Liberty to reſort to his Preſence; and hear all They could allege for themſelves, in private or in publick. And this Indulgence proved to their Diſadvantage, and exalted them ſo much, that when They were heard in publick at the Board, They behaved themſelves with leſs Modeſty towards their Adverſaries, who ſtood upon the Advantage-Ground, and with leſs Reverence in the Preſence of the King, than the Truth of their Condition and any ordinary Diſcretion would have required. And their Diſadvantage was the greater, becauſe They who ſpake publickly on their Behalf, and were very well qualified to ſpeak, and left Nothing for the Matter unſaid that was for their Purpoſe, were Men, who from the Beginning to the End of the Rebellion, had behaved themſelves eminently ill towards the King. And They of their Adverſaries who ſpake againſt them, had great Knowledge and Experience of all that had paſſed on either Side, and knew how to preſs it home when it was ſeaſonable.

The King inclined to favour the Pretenſions of the Iriſh Catholicks.

THEY of the *Iriſh*, who were all united under the Name of *The confederate Catholicks* of *Ireland*, made their firſt Approach wiſely for Compaſſion; and urged "their "great and long Sufferings; the Loſs of their Eſtates for "five or ſix and twenty Years; the waſting and ſpending "of the whole Nation in Battles, and Tranſportation of "vaſt Multitudes of Men into the Parts beyond the Seas, "whereof many had the Honour to teſtify their Fidelity "to the King by real Services, and many of them re-"turned into *England* with him, and were ſtill in his Ser-"vice; the great Numbers of Men, Women and Child-"ren, that had been maſſacred and executed in cold "Blood,

The Plea of the Iriſh Catholicks.

"Blood, after the King's Government had been driven "from thence; the Multitudes that had been deſtroyed "by Famine and the Plague, thoſe two heavy Judgments "having raged over the Kingdom for two or three Years; "and at laſt, as a Perſecution unheard of, the tranſplant- "ing the ſmall Remainder of the Nation into one Corner "of the Province of *Conaught*, where yet much of the (107) "Lands was taken from them, which had been aſſigned "with all thoſe Formalities of Law, which were in Uſe "and practiſed under that Government."

(2.) THEN demanded "the Benefit of two Treaties of "Peace, the one in the late King's Time and confirmed "by him, the other confirmed by his Majeſty who was "preſent; by Both which," They ſaid, "They ſtood in- "demnified for all Acts done by them in the Rebellion; "and inſiſted upon their Innocence ſince that Time, and "that They had paid ſo entire an Obedience to his Ma- "jeſty's Commands whilſt He was beyond the Seas, that "They betook themſelves to, and withdrew themſelves "from, the Service of *France* or *Spain*, in ſuch Manner as "his Majeſty ſignified his Pleaſure was They ſhould do." And if They had ended here, They would have done wiſely. But whether it was the Obſervation They made, that what They had ſaid made Impreſſion upon his Ma- jeſty and many of the Lords; or whether it was their evil Genius that naturally tranſported them to Actions of ſtrange Sottiſhneſs and Indiſcretion; They urged and en- forced with more Liberty than became them in that Con- juncture, "the Unworthineſs and Incapacity of thoſe, "who for ſo many Years had poſſeſſed themſelves of their "Eſtates, and ſought now a Confirmation of their rebel- "lious Title from his Majeſty."

(3.) "THAT their Rebellion had been more infamous "and of a greater Magnitude than that of the *Iriſh*, who "had riſen in Arms to free themſelves from the Rigour "and Severity that was exerciſed upon them by ſome of "the King's Miniſters, and for the Liberty of their Con- "ſcience and Practice of their Religion, without having "the leaſt Intention or Thought of withdrawing them- "ſelves from his Majeſty's Obedience, or declining his "Government: Whereas the others had carried on an "odious Rebellion againſt the King's ſacred Perſon, "whom They had horribly murdered in the Sight of the "Sun, with all imaginable Circumſtances of Contempt

"and

"and Defiance, and as much as in them lay had rooted "out Monarchy itſelf, and overturned and deſtroyed the "whole Government of Church and State: And there- "fore that whatever Puniſhment the poor *Iriſh* had de- "ſerved for their former Tranſgreſſions, which They had "ſo long repented of, and departed from the Rebellion "when They had Armies and ſtrong Towns in their "Hands, which They, together with themſelves, had "put again under his Majeſty's Protection; this Part of "the *Engliſh*, who were poſſeſſed of their Eſtates, had "broken all their Obligations to God and the King, and "ſo could not merit to be gratified with their Ruin and "total Deſtruction. That it was too evident and noto- "rious to the World, that his Majeſty's three Kingdoms "had been very faulty to him, and withdrawn themſelves "from his Government; by which He had been com- "pelled to live in Exile ſo many Years: And yet, that "upon their Return to their Duty and Obedience, He "had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant a free and general "Pardon and Act of Indemnity, in which many were "comprehended, who in Truth had been the Contrivers "and Fomenters of all the Miſery and Deſolation, which "had involved the three Nations for ſo many Years. And "therefore that They hoped, that when all his Majeſty's "other Subjects (as criminal at leaſt as They were) were, "by his Majeſty's Clemency, reſtored to their own Eſ- "tates which They had forfeited, and were in full Peace, "Mirth and Joy; the poor *Iriſh* alone ſhould not be to- "tally exempt from all his Majeſty's Grace, and left in "Tears and Mourning and Lamentation, and be ſacri- "ficed without Redemption to the Avarice and Cruelty "of thoſe, who had not only ſpoiled and oppreſſed them,
(108) "but had done all that was in their Power, and with all "the Inſolence imaginable, to deſtroy the King him- "ſelf and his Poſterity, and who now returned to their "Obedience, and ſubmitted to his Government, when "They were no longer able to oppoſe it. Nor did They "yet return to it with that Alacrity and Joy and Reſig- "nation as the *Iriſh* did, but inſiſted obſtinately upon "Demands unreaſonable, and which They hoped could "not conſiſt with his Majeſty's Honour to grant:" And ſo concluded with thoſe pathetical Applications and Ap- peals to the King, as Men well-verſed in Diſcourſes of that Nature are accuſtomed to.

THIS

THIS Diſcourſe carried on and urged with more Paſſion, Vehemence and Indiſcretion, than was ſuitable to the Condition They were in, and in which, by the Exceſſes of their Rhetorick, They had let fall many Expreſſions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in ſome of them confidently excuſed if not juſtified their firſt Entrance into Rebellion (the moſt barbarous certainly and inexcuſable, that any Chriſtians have been engaged in in any Age), irreconciled many to them who had Compaſſion enough for them, and made it impoſſible for the King to reſtrain their Adverſaries, who were prepared to anſwer all They had ſaid, from uſing the ſame Licenſe. They enlarged "upon all the odious Circumſtances of the "firſt Year's Rebellion, the murdering of above a hun-"dred thouſand Perſons in cold Blood, and with all the "Barbarity imaginable; which Murders and Barbarities "had been always excepted from Pardon." And They told them, "that if there were not ſome amongſt them-"ſelves who then appeared before his Majeſty, They "were ſure there would be found many amongſt thoſe for "whom They appeared, who would be found guilty of "thoſe odious Crimes, which were excluded from any "Benefit by thoſe Treaties." They took Notice, "how "confidently They had extolled their own Innocence "from the Time that thoſe two Acts of Pacification had "paſſed, and their great Affection for his Majeſty's Ser-"vice." And thereupon They declared, "that what-"ſoever legal Title the *Adventurers* had to the Lands "of which They were poſſeſſed, many of whom had "conſtantly ſerved the King; yet They would be con-"tented, that all thoſe, who in Truth had preſerved their "Integrity towards his Majeſty from the Time of either "if not of Both the Pacifications, and not ſwerved after-"wards from their Allegiance, ſhould partake of his "Royal Bounty, in ſuch a Manner and to ſuch a Degree, "as his Majeſty thought fit to exerciſe towards them. "But," They ſaid, "They would make it appear, that "their Pretences to that Grace and Favour were not "founded upon any reaſonable Title; that They had ne-"ver conſented to any one Act of Pacification, to which "the Promiſe of Indemnity had been annexed, which "They had not violated and broken within ten Days af-"ter, and then returned to all the Acts of Diſloyalty and "Rebellion."

The Anſwer of the Adventurers.

"THAT

"THAT after the firſt Act of Pacification ratified by "the laſt King, in very few Days, They treated the He- "rald, his Majeſty's Officer, who came to proclaim that "Peace, with all Manner of Indignity, tearing his Coat "of Arms (the King's Arms) from his Back; and beat "and wounded him ſo, that He was hardly reſcued from "the Loſs of his Life. That about the ſame Time They "endeavoured to ſurpriſe and murder the Lord Lieute- "nant, and purſued him to *Dublin*, which They forth- "with beſieged with their Army, under the Command "of that General who had ſigned the Peace. They im- "priſoned their Commiſſioners who were authorized by "them, for conſenting to thoſe Articles which themſelves "had confirmed, and ſo proſecuted the War with as
(109) "much Aſperity as ever; and refuſed to give that Aid "and Aſſiſtance They were obliged to, for the Recovery "and Reſtoration of his late Majeſty; the Promiſe and "Expectation of which Supply and Aſſiſtance, was the "ſole Ground and Conſideration of that Treaty, and of "the Conceſſions therein made to them. That They "thereupon more formally renounced their Obedience to "the King, and put themſelves under the Protection and "Diſpoſal of *Rinuccini* the Pope's *Nuncio*, whom They "made their Generaliſſimo of all their Armies, their Ad- "miral at Sea, and to preſide in all their Councils. After "their Diviſions amongſt themſelves, and the Burden of "the Tyranny They ſuffered under, had diſpoſed them "to petition his Majeſty that now is, who was then in "*France*, to receive them into his Protection, and to ſend "the Marquis of *Ormond* over again into *Ireland* to com- "mand them, his Majeſty was ſo far prevailed with, that "He ſent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Munſter*, with "ſuch a Supply of Arms and Ammunition as He could "get; where the Lord *Inchiquin*, Lord Preſident of that "Province, received him with the Proteſtant Army and "joined with him: And ſhortly after, the *Confederate* "*Iriſh* made that ſecond Treaty of Pacification, of which "They now demanded the Benefit. But it was noto- "rioufly known, that They no ſooner made that Treaty "than They brake it, in not bringing in thoſe Supplies "of Men and Money, which They ought and were "obliged to do; the Want whereof expoſed the Lord "Lieutenant to many Difficulties, and was in Truth the "Cauſe of the Misfortune before *Dublin*: Which He

"had

"had no ſooner undergone, than They withdrew from "taking any further Care of the Kingdom, and raiſed "Scandals upon and Jealouſies of the whole Body of the "*Engliſh*, who, being ſo provoked, could no longer ven- "ture themſelves in any Action or Conjunction with the "*Iriſh*, without more Apprehenſion of them than of the "common Enemy."

"INSTEAD of endeavouring to compoſe theſe Jealouſ- "ies and ill Humours, They cauſed an Aſſembly or "Convocation of their Clergy to meet without the Lord "Lieutenant's Authority, and put the Government of all "Things into their Hands: Who, in a ſhort Time, im- "proved the Jealouſies in the Mind of the People towards "the few *Proteſtants* who yet remained in the Army, and "who had ſerved the King with all imaginable Courage "and Fidelity from the very firſt Hour of the Rebellion, "to that Degree, that the Marquis was even compelled "to diſcharge his own Troop of Guards of Horſe, conſiſt- "ing of ſuch Officers and Gentlemen as are mentioned "before, and to truſt himſelf and all the remaining "Towns and Garriſons to the Fidelity of the *Iriſh*; They "proteſting with much Solemnity, that upon ſuch a "Confidence, the whole Nation would be united as "one Man to his Majeſty's Service, under his Command. "But They had no ſooner received Satisfaction in that "Particular (which was not in the Marquis his Power to "refuſe to give them), but They raiſed ſeveral Calum- "nies againſt his Perſon, declaimed againſt his Religion, "and inhibited the People, upon Pain of Excommunica- "tion, to ſubmit to this and that Order that was iſſued "out by the Marquis, without obeying whereof the "Army could not ſtay together; and upon the Matter "forbad the People to pay any Obedience to him. In- "ſtead of raiſing new Forces according to their laſt Pro- "miſe and Engagement, thoſe that were raiſed ran from "their Colours and diſperſed themſelves; They who "were truſted with the keeping of Towns and Forts, ei- "ther gave them up by Treachery to *Cromwell*, or loſt "them through Cowardice to him upon very feeble At- "tacks: And their General, *Owen ONeile*, made a formal "Contract and Stipulation with the Parliament. And in "the End, when They had diveſted the Lord Lieute- "nant of all Power to oppoſe the Enemy, and given him (110)
"great Cauſe to believe that his Perſon was in Danger to

"be

"be betrayed, and delivered up to the Enemy, They "vouchſafed to petition him that He would depart out of "the Kingdom (to the Neceſſity whereof They had even "already compelled him); and that He would leave his "Majeſty's Authority in the Hands of one of his Catho-"lick Subjects, to whom They promiſed to ſubmit with "the moſt punctual Obedience."

"HEREUPON the Marquis, when He found that He "could not unite them in any one Action worthy the "Duty of good Subjects, or of prudent Men, towards "their own Preſervation; and ſo, that his Reſidence "amongſt them longer could in no Degree contribute to "his Majeſty's Service or Honour; and that They would "make it to be believed, that if He would have com-"mitted the Command into the Hands of a *Roman Ca-"tholick*, They would have been able to preſerve thoſe "Towns which ſtill remained in their Poſſeſſion, which "were *Limerick* and *Gallway*, and ſome other Places of "Importance enough, though of leſs than thoſe Cities; "and that They would likewiſe by Degrees recover from "the Enemy what had been loſt, which indeed was very "poſſible for them to have done, ſince They had great "Bodies of Men to perform any Enterpriſe, and ſome "good Officers to lead them, if They would have been "obedient to any Command: Hereupon the Marquis re-"ſolved to gratify them, and to place the Command in "the Hands of ſuch a Perſon, whoſe Zeal for the Catho-"lick Religion was unqueſtionable, and whoſe Fidelity "to the King was unblemiſhed. And ſo He made Choice "of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, a Gentleman, though "originally of *Engliſh* Extraction, whoſe Family had "for ſo many hundred Years reſided in that Kingdom, "that He was looked upon as being of the beſt Family "of the *Iriſh*; and whoſe Family had, in all former Re-"bellions, as well as in this laſt, preſerved its Loyalty "to the Crown not only unſpotted, but eminently con-"ſpicuous."

"The *Roman Catholicks* of all Kinds pretended at leaſt "a wonderful Satisfaction and Joy in this Election; ac-"knowledged it as a great Obligation upon them and "their Poſterity to the Lord Lieutenant, for making ſo "worthy a Choice; and applied themſelves to the Mar-"quis of *Clanrickard* with all the Proteſtations of Duty "and Submiſſion, to induce him to accept the Charge

"and

" and Command over them; who indeed knew them too " well to be willing to truſt them, or to have any Thing " to do with them. Yet upon the Marquis of *Ormond's* " earneſt and ſolemn Intreaty, as the laſt and only Re- " medy to keep and retain ſome Remainder of Hope, " from whence future Hopes might grow; whereas all " other Thoughts were deſperate, and the Kingdom " would preſently fall into the Hands and Poſſeſſion of " the *Engliſh*, who would extirpate the whole Nation: " This Importunity, and his great Zeal for the Service of " the Crown, and to ſupport the Government there until " his Majeſty could procure other Supplies, which the " Marquis of *Ormond* promiſed to ſolicit in *France*, or till " his Majeſty ſhould ſend better Orders to preſerve his " Authority in that Kingdom (the Hope of which ſeem- " ed the leſs deſperate, becauſe They had Notice at the " ſame Time of his Majeſty's March into *England*, with " an Army from *Scotland*), prevailed with him ſo, that " He was contented to receive ſuch Commiſſions from " the Lord Lieutenant, as were neceſſary for the Execu- " tion of the preſent Command. Upon which the Lord " Lieutenant embarked himſelf, with ſome few Friends " and Servants, upon a little rotten Pink that was bound " for *France*, and very ill accommodated for ſuch a " Voyage; being not to be perſuaded to ſend to the Com- " mander in Chief of the *Engliſh* for a Paſs, though He (111) " was aſſured that it would very readily have been grant- " ed: But it pleaſed God that He arrived ſafely in *France*, " a little before or about the Time that the King tranſ- " ported himſelf thither, after his miraculous Eſcape from " *Worceſter*."

" The Marquis of *Ormond* was no ſooner gone out of " *Ireland*, but the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard*, then " Lord Deputy, found himſelf no better treated than " the Lord of *Ormond* had been. That Part of the " Clergy, which had continually oppoſed the Lord Lieu- " tenant for being a *Proteſtant*, were now as little ſatis- " fied with the Deputy's Religion, and as violently con- " tradicted all his Commands and Deſires, and violated " all their own Promiſes, and quickly made it evident, " that his Affection and Loyalty to the King was that " which They diſliked, and a Crime that could not be " ballanced by the undoubted Sincerity of his Religion. " They entered into ſecret Correſpondence with the Ene- " my,

"my, and Conſpiracies between themſelves: And though "there were ſome Perſons of Honour and Quality with "the Deputy, who were very faithful to him and to the "King; yet there were ſo many of another Allay, that "all his Counſels, Reſolutions and Deſigns, were diſco-"vered to the Enemy, ſoon enough to be prevented. "And though ſome of the Letters were intercepted, and "the Perſons diſcovered who gave the Intelligence, He "had not Power to bring them to Juſtice; but being "commonly Friars and Clergymen, the Privilege of the "Church was inſiſted upon, and ſo They were reſcued "from the ſecular Proſecution till their Eſcape was con-"trived. That perfidious and treacherous Party had ſo "great an Intereſt in all the Towns, Forts and Garriſons, "which yet pretended to be ſubject to the Deputy, that "all his Orders were ſtill contradicted or neglected: And "the Enemy no ſooner appeared before any Place, but "ſome Faction in the Town cauſed it to be given up and "rendered."

"NOR could this fatal Sottiſhneſs be reformed, even "by the Severity and Rigour which the *Engliſh* exerciſed "upon them, who, by the wonderful Judgment of God "Almighty, always put thoſe Men to Death, who put "themſelves and thoſe Towns into their Hands; finding "ſtill that They had ſome barbarous Part in the foul "Murders, which had been committed in the Beginning "of the Rebellion, and who had been, by all the Acts of "Grace granted by the ſeveral Powers, ſtill reſerved for "Juſtice. And of this Kind there would be ſo many In-"ſtances in and about *Limerick* and *Gallway*, that they "deſerve to be collected and mentioned in a Diſcourſe by "itſelf, to obſerve and magnify the wonderful Providence "of God Almighty in bringing heinous Crimes to Light "and Puniſhment in this World, by Means unappre-"hended by the guilty: Inſomuch as it can hardly be be-"lieved, how many of the Clergy and the Laity, who had "a ſignal Hand in the contriving and fomenting the firſt "Rebellion, and in the Perpetration of thoſe horrible "Murders; and who had obſtructed all Overtures to-"ward Peace, and principally cauſed any Peace that was "made, to be preſently broken; who had with moſt Paſ-"ſion adhered to the *Nuncio*, and endeavoured moſt ma-"liciouſly to exclude the King and his Poſterity from the "Dominion of *Ireland*: I ſay, it can hardly be believed,

" how many of theſe moſt notorious Tranſgreſſors did by " ſome Act of Treachery endeavour to merit from the " *Engliſh* Rebels, and ſo put themſelves into their Hands, " and were by them publickly and reproachfully exe- " cuted and put to Death."

" THIS being the ſad Condition the Deputy was in; " and the *Iriſh* having, without his Leave and againſt his " expreſs Command, taken upon them to ſend Meſſen- " gers into *Flanders*, to deſire the Duke of *Lorraine* to " take them into his Protection, and offered to deliver (111) " ſeveral important Places and Sea-Towns into his Poſ- " ſeſſion, and to become his Subjects, (upon which the " Duke ſent over an Ambaſſadour, and a good Sum of " Money for their preſent Relief), the Deputy was in a " ſhort Time reduced to thoſe Streights, that He durſt not " remain in any Town nor even in his own Houſe three " Days together, but was forced for his Safety to ſhift " from Place to Place, and ſometimes to lodge in the " Woods and Fields in cold and wet Nights; by which " He contracted thoſe Infirmities and Diſeaſes, which " ſhortly after brought him to his Grave. And in the " End, He was compelled to accept a Paſs from the *Eng-* " *liſh*, who had a Reverence for his Perſon and his un- " ſpotted Reputation, to tranſport himſelf into *England*, " where his Wife and Family were; and where He died " before He could procure Means to carry himſelf to the " King, which He always intended to do."

WHEN the Commiſſioners had enlarged with ſome Commotion in this Narration and Diſcourſe, They again provoked the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners to nominate " one Per- " ſon amongſt themſelves, or of thoſe for whom They ap- " peared, who They believed could in Juſtice demand his " Majeſty's Favour; and if They did not make it evi- " dently appear, that He had forfeited all his Title to " Pardon after the Treaties, and that He had been again " as faulty to the King as before, They were very will- " ing He ſhould be reſtored to his Eſtate." And then applying themſelves to his Majeſty with great Duty and Submiſſion, They concluded; " that if any Perſons had, " by their ſubſequent Loyalty or Service, or by their At- " tendance upon his Majeſty beyond the Seas, rendered " themſelves grateful to him, and worthy of his Royal " Favour, They were very willing that his Majeſty ſhould " reſtore all or any of them to their Honours or Eſtates,

" in

"in ſuch Manner as his Majeſty thought fit, and againſt "all Impediments whatſoever." And upon this frank Offer of theirs, which his Majeſty took very well, ſeveral Acts of Parliament were preſently paſſed, for the Indemnity and the reſtoring many Perſons of Honour and Intereſt to their Eſtates; who could either in Juſtice require it, as having been faithful always to the King, and ſuffered with him or for him; or who had ſo far manifeſted their Affection and Duty for his Majeſty, that He thought fit, in that Conſideration, to wipe out the Memory of whatſoever had been formerly done amiſs. And by this Means, many were put into a full Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, to which They could make any good Pretence at the Time when the Rebellion began.

Many Catholicks *who had ſerved the King immediately reſtored.*

THIS Conſideration and Debate upon the Settlement of this unhappy Kingdom took up many Days, the King being always preſent, in which there aroſe every Day new Difficulties. And it appeared plainly enough, that the Guilt was ſo general, that if the Letter of the Act of Parliament of the ſeventeenth Year of the late King were ſtrictly purſued, as poſſibly it might have been, if the Reduction had fallen out likewiſe during the whole Reign of that King, even an utter Extirpation of the Nation would have followed.

THERE were three Particulars, which, upon the firſt Mention and View of them, ſeemed in moſt Mens Eyes worthy of his Majeſty's extraordinary Compaſſion and Interpoſition; and yet upon a ſtricter Examination were found as remedileſs as any of the reſt. One was; "the "Condition of that miſerable People, which was likewiſe "very numerous, that was tranſplanted into *Conaught*; "who had been removed from their own Poſſeſſions in "other Provinces, with ſuch Circumſtances of Tyranny "and Cruelty, that their own Conſents obtained after-
(113) "wards with that Force, could not reaſonably be thought "any Confirmation of their unjuſt Title, who were in "Poſſeſſion of their Lands."

Three Particulars in this Affair which diſtreſs the King.

1. The Tranſplantation of the Iriſh *into* Conaught.

To this it was anſwered, "that though it was acted in "an irregular Manner, and without lawful Authority, it "being in a Time of Uſurpation; yet that the Act itſelf "was very prudent and neceſſary, and an Act of Mercy, "without which an utter Extirpation of the Nation muſt "have followed, if the Kingdom were to be preſerved in "Peace. That it cannot be denied to be an Act of

The Adventurers *Defence of this Meaſure.*

" Mercy, ſince there was not one Man tranſplanted, who " had not by the Law forfeited all the Eſtate He had; " and his Life might have been as legally taken from " him: So that both his Life, and whatever Eſtate He " had granted to him in *Conaught*, was from the pure " Bounty of the State, which might and did by the Act " of Parliament ſeize upon the ſame. That, beſide the " unſteady Humour of that People, and their natural In- " clination to rebel, it was notorious, that whilſt They " were diſperſed over the Kingdom, though all their " Forces had been ſo totally ſubdued, that there was not " throughout the whole Kingdom a viſible Number of " twenty Men together, who pretended to be in Arms; " yet there were daily ſuch Diſorders committed by " Thefts and Robberies and Murders, that They could " not be ſaid to be in Peace. Nor could the *Engliſh*, " Man, Woman or Child, go one Mile from their Habi- " tations upon their neceſſary Employment, but They " were found murdered and ſtripped by the *Iriſh*, who " lay in Wait for thoſe Purpoſes; ſo that the People were " very hardly reſtrained from committing a Maſſacre upon " them wherever They were met: So that there ap- " peared no other Way to prevent an utter Extirpation " of them, but to confine and reſtrain them within ſuch " Limits and Bounds, that might keep them from doing " Miſchief, and thereby make them ſafe. That there- " upon this Expedient was laid Hold of. And whereas " They had Nothing to enable them to live upon in the " Places where They were diſperſed, They had now by " this Tranſplantation into *Conaught* Lands given them, " ſufficient with their Induſtry to live well upon; of " which there was good Evidence, by their having " lived well there ſince that Time, and many of them " much better than They had ever done before. And " the State, which had done this Grace for them, had " great Reaſon, when it gave them good Titles to the " Land aſſigned to them, which They might plead in " any Court of Juſtice, to require from them Releaſes of " what They had forfeited; which, though to the Pub- " lick of no Uſe or Validity, were of Benefit and be- " hooveful to many particular Perſons, for the quieting " their Poſſeſſions againſt frivolous Suits and Claims " which might ſtart up. That this Tranſplantation had " been acted, finiſhed, and ſubmitted to by all Parties,

" who

"who had enjoyed the Benefit thereof, quietly and with-
"out Diſturbance, many Years before the King's Return:
"And the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had been likewiſe ſo
"many Years in the Poſſeſſion of their Lots, in Purſuance
"of the Act of Parliament, and had laid out ſo much
"Money in building and planting; that the Conſequence
"of ſuch an Alteration, as was now propoſed, would be
"the higheſt Confuſion imaginable."

AND it cannot be denied, that if the King could have thought it ſafe and ſeaſonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken thoſe Advantages upon former Miſcarriages and Miſapplications, as according to the Strictneſs of that very Law He might have done; the whole Foundation, upon which all the Hopes reſted of preſerving that Kingdom within the Obedience to the Crown of *England*, muſt have been ſhaken and even diſſolved; with no ſmall Influence and Impreſſion upon the
(114) Peace and Quiet of *England* itſelf. For the Memory of the Beginning of the Rebellion in *Ireland* (how many other Rebellions ſoever had followed as bad, or worſe in Reſpect of the Conſequences that attended them) was as freſh and as odious to the whole People of *England*, as it had been the firſt Year. And though no Man durſt avow ſo unchriſtian a Wiſh, as an Extirpation of them (which They would have been very well contented with); yet no Man diſſembled his Opinion, that it was the only Security the *Engliſh* could have in that Kingdom, that the *Iriſh* ſhould be kept ſo low, that They ſhould have no Power to hurt them.

ANOTHER Particular, that ſeemed more againſt the Foundation of Juſtice, was; "that the Soldiers and *Ad-*
"*venturers* expected and promiſed themſelves, that in this
"new Settlement that was under Debate, all Entails and
"Settlements at Law ſhould be deſtroyed, whether upon
"Conſideration of Marriage, or any other Contracts which
"had been made before the Rebellion. Nor had there
"been in the whole former Proceedings in the Time of
"the Uſurpation, any Conſideration taken of Mortgages
"or Debts due by Statute or Recogniſance, or upon any
"other Security; ſo that all ſuch Debts muſt be either
"loſt to the Proprietors, or remain ſtill with the Intereſt
"upon the Land, whoever had enjoyed the Benefit or
"Profits thereof." All which ſeemed to his Majeſty very unreaſonable and unjuſt; and that ſuch Eſtates ſhould re-

2. *The Caſe of Entails and Settlements at Law.*

main forfeited by the Treaſon of the Father, who had been only Tenant for Life, againſt all Deſcents and legal Titles of innocent Children; and of which, in all legal Attainders, the Crown never had or could receive any Benefit.

The Adventurers Anſwer.

YET, how unreaſonable ſoever theſe Pretences ſeemed to be, it was no eaſy Matter to give Rules and Directions for the Remedy of the Miſchief, without introducing another Miſchief equally unjuſt and unreaſonable. For the Commiſſioners declared, "that if ſuch Titles, as are mentioned, were preſerved and allowed to be good, there "would not in that univerſal Guilt, which upon the "Matter comprehended and covered the whole *Iriſh* Nation, be one Eſtate forfeited by Treaſon, but ſuch Conveyances and Settlements would be produced to ſecure "and defend the ſame: And though they would be "forged, there would not be Witneſſes wanting to prove "and juſtify whatſoever the Evidence could be applied "to. And if thoſe Trials were to be by the known "Rules and Cuſtoms of the Law in Caſes of the like Nature, there was too much Reaſon to ſuſpect and fear "that there would be little Juſtice done: Since a Jury "of *Iriſh* would infallibly find againſt the *Engliſh*, let the "Evidence be what it could be; and there was too much "Reaſon to apprehend that the *Engliſh*, whoſe Animoſity was not leſs, would be as unjuſt in bringing in their "Verdict againſt the *Iriſh* right or wrong." And there was Experience afterwards, in the Proſecution of this Affair, of ſuch Forgeries and Perjuries, as have not been heard of amongſt Chriſtians; and in which, to our Shame, the *Engliſh* were not behindhand with the *Iriſh*. The King however thought it not reaſonable or juſt for him, upon what probable Suggeſtions ſoever, to countenance ſuch a barefaced Violation of the Law, by any Declaration of his; but commanded his Council at Law, to make ſuch Alterations in the Expreſſions as might be fit for him to conſent to.

3. The extreme Miſery of the Iriſh.

THE third Particular, and which much affected the King, was; "that in this univerſal Joy for his Reſtora"tion without Blood, and with the Indemnity of ſo ma"ny hundred Thouſands who had deſerved to ſuffer the "utmoſt Puniſhments, the poor *Iriſh*, after ſo long Suf"ferings in the greateſt Extremity of Miſery, ſhould be "the only Perſons who ſhould find no Benefit or Eaſe by

"his

"his Majeſty's Reſtoration, but remain robbed and "ſpoiled of all They had, and be as it were again ſacri- "ficed to the Avarice and Cruelty of them, who had not "deſerved better of his Majeſty than the other poor Peo- "ple had done."

To which there can be no other Anſwer made, which is very ſufficient in Point of Juſtice, but that, "as their "Rebellion and other Crimes had been long before "his Majeſty's Time, ſo full Vengeance had been exe- "cuted upon them; and They had paid the Penalties of "their Crimes and Tranſgreſſions before his Majeſty's "Return: So that He could not reſtore that which They "called their own, without taking it from them, who "were become the juſt Owners by an Act of Parliament; "which his Majeſty could not violate without Injuſtice, "and Breach of the Faith He had given." *Anſwer to this Plea.*

AND that which was their greateſt Miſery and Reproach, and which diſtinguiſhed them from the Subjects of the other two Kingdoms, who were otherwiſe bad enough, was; that Both the other Nations had made many noble Attempts for redeeming their Liberty, and for the Reſtoration of his Majeſty (for *Scotland* itſelf had done much towards it); and his preſent Reſtoration was, with God's Bleſſing and only with his Bleſſing, by the ſole Effects of the Courage and Affection of his own Subjects: So that *England* and *Scotland* had in a great Degree redeemed, and even undone what had been before done amiſs by them; and his Majeſty had improved and ſecured thoſe Affections to him by thoſe Promiſes and Conceſſions, which He was in Juſtice obliged to perform. But the miſerable *Iriſh* alone had no Part in contributing to his Majeſty's Happineſs; nor had God ſuffered them to be the leaſt Inſtruments in bringing his good Pleaſure to paſs, or to give any Teſtimony of their Repentance for the Wickedneſs They had wrought, or of their Reſolution to be better Subjects for the future: So that They ſeemed as a People left out by Providence, and exempted from any Benefit from that bleſſed Conjuncture in his Majeſty's Reſtitution.

AND this Diſadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent Manifeſtation of an inveterate Animoſity againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, and *Engliſh* Government; which again was returned to them in an irreconcileable Jealouſy of all the *Engliſh* towards them. And to this

their preſent Behaviour and Imprudence contributed very much: For it appeared evidently, that They expected the ſame Conceſſions (which the Neceſſity of that Time had made fit to be granted to them) in Reſpect of their Religion ſhould be now likewiſe confirmed. And this Temper made it very neceſſary for the King to be very wary in diſpenſing extraordinary Favours (which his natural merciful Inclination prompted him to) to the *Iriſh*; and to prefer the general Intereſt of his three Kingdoms, before the particular Intereſt of a Company of unhappy Men, who had fooliſhly forfeited their own; though He pitied them, and hoped in the Concluſion to be able, without expoſing the publick Peace to manifeſt Hazard, in ſome Degree to improve their Condition.

Upon the whole Matter, the King found, that if He deferred to ſettle the Government of *Ireland* till a perfect Settlement of all particular Intereſts could be made, it would be very long. He ſaw it could not be done at once; and that there muſt be ſome Examinations taken there, and ſome Matters more clearly ſtated and adjuſted, before his Majeſty could make his Determination upon thoſe Particulars, which purely depended upon his own Judgment; and that ſome Difficulties would be removed or leſſened by Time: And ſo He paſſed that which is (116) called *The firſt Act of Settlement*; and was perſuaded to commit the Execution thereof, to a great Number of Commiſſioners, recommended to his Majeſty by thoſe who were moſt converſant in the Affairs of *Ireland*; none or very few of which were known to his Majeſty, or to any of thoſe who had been ſo many Years from their Country, in their conſtant Attendance upon his Majeſty's Perſon beyond the Seas.

The firſt Act of Settlement paſſed.

And for the better Countenance of this Commiſſion, and likewiſe to reſtrain the Commiſſioners from any Exceſs, if their very large Juriſdiction ſhould prove a Temptation to them, the King thought fit to commit the Sword to three Juſtices, which He had reſolved, when the ſending the Lord *Roberts* was declined. Thoſe three were, Sir *Morrice Euſtace*, whom He newly made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, the Lord *Broghill*, whom He now made Earl of *Orrery*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, whom He likewiſe made Earl of *Montrath*. The firſt had been his Sergeant at Law long in that Kingdom, and had been eminent in the Profeſſion of the Law, and the more eſteemed for being always

Three Lords Juſtices appointed.

ways a *Proteſtant* though an *Iriſhman*, and of approved Fidelity to the King during this whole Rebellion. But He was now old, and made ſo little Shew of any Parts extraordinary, that, but for the Teſtimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether He ever had any. The other two had been Both eminently againſt the King, but upon this Turn, when all other Powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and generous; the other, proud, dull and very avaricious. But the King had not then Power to chooſe any, againſt whom ſome as material Objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much Good. With them, there were too many others upon whom Honours were conferred; upon ſome, that They might do no Harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more; and upon others, that They might not murmur, who murmured the more for having Nothing given them but Honour: And ſo They were all diſpatched for *Ireland*; by which the King had ſome Eaſe, his Service little Advancement.

AFTER a Year was ſpent in the Execution of this Commiſſion (for I ſhall, without diſcontinuing the Relation, ſay all that I intend upon this Subject of *Ireland*), there was very little done towards the ſettling the Kingdom, or towards preparing any Thing that might ſettle it; but on the contrary, the Breaches were made wider, and ſo much Paſſion and Injuſtice ſhewed, that Complaints were brought to his Majeſty from all Parts of the Kingdom, and from all Perſons in Authority there. The Number of the Commiſſioners was ſo great, and their Intereſts ſo different, that They made no Diſpatch. Very many of them were in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands, which others ſued for before them; and They themſelves bought broken Titles and Pretences of other Men, for inconſiderable Sums of Money, which They ſupported and made good by their own Authority. Such of the Commiſſioners, who had their own particular Intereſt and Concernment depending, attended the Service very diligently: The few who were more equal and juſt, becauſe They had no Intereſt of their own at Stake, were weary of their Attendance and Expenſe (there being no Allowance for their Pains); and offended at the Partiality and Injuſtice which They ſaw practiſed, withdrew themſelves, and would be no

Partiality of the Commiſſioners appointed by the Firſt Act.

no longer preſent at thoſe Tranſactions which They could not regulate or reform.

ALL Intereſts were equally offended and incenſed; and the Soldiers and *Adventurers* complained no leſs of the Corruption and Injuſtice than the *Iriſh* did: So that the Lords Juſtices and Council thought it neceſſary to tranſ- (117) mit another Bill to his Majeſty, which, as I remember, They called an explanatory Bill of the former; and in that They provided, "that no Perſon who lived in *Ire-* "*land*, or had any Pretence to an Eſtate there, ſhould be "employed as a Commiſſioner; but that his Majeſty "ſhould be deſired to ſend over a competent Number of "well qualified Perſons out of *England* to attend that "Service, upon whom a fit Salary ſhould be ſettled by "the Bill; and ſuch Rules ſet down as might direct and "govern the Manner of their Proceeding; and that an "Oath might be preſcribed by the Bill, which the Com- "miſſioners ſhould take, for the impartial Adminiſtration "of Juſtice, and for the Proſecution and Execution of "this Bill," which was tranſmitted as an Act by the King.

Second Act of Settlement tranſmitted to the King.

His Majeſty made Choice of ſeven Gentlemen of very clear Reputations; one of them being an eminent Sergeant at Law, whom He made a Judge upon his Return from thence; two others, Lawyers of very much Eſteem; and the other four, Gentlemen of very good Extractions, excellent Underſtandings, and above all Suſpicion for their Integrity, and generally reputed to be ſuperiour to any baſe Temptation.

New Commiſſioners appointed to execute it.

BUT this ſecond Bill, before it could be tranſmitted, took up as much Time as the former. The ſame numerous Retinue of all Intereſts from *Ireland* attended the King; and all that had been ſaid in the former Debates was again repeated, and almoſt with the ſame Paſſion and Impertinence. The *Iriſh* made large Obſervations upon the Proceedings of the late Commiſſioners, to juſtify thoſe Fears and Apprehenſions which They had formerly urged: And there appeared too much Reaſon to believe, that their greateſt Deſign now was, rather to keep off any Settlement, than that They hoped to procure ſuch a one as They deſired; relying more to find their Account from a general Diſſatisfaction, and the Diſtraction and Confuſion that was like to attend it, than from any Determination that was like to be in their Favour. Yet They had Friends in the Court, who made them

The different Parties again heard by the King.

them great Promiſes; which They could not be without, ſince They made as great Promiſes to thoſe who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular Men both of the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, who in Reſpect of their many notorious and opprobrious Actions againſt the Crown throughout their whole Employment (and who even ſince his Majeſty's Return had enough expreſſed how little They were ſatisfied with the Revolution) were ſo univerſally odious both in *England* and *Ireland*, that if their particular Caſes could have been ſevered from the reſt, without Violation of the Rule of Juſtice that ſecured all the reſt, any Thing that could have been done to their Detriment would have been grateful enough to every Body.

AFTER many very tedious Debates, in which his Majeſty endeavoured by all the Ways He could think of to find ſome Expedient, that would enable him to preſerve the miſerable *Iriſh* from the Extremity of Miſery; He found it neceſſary at laſt, to acquieſce with a very poſitive Aſſurance from the Earl of *Orrery* and others, who were believed to underſtand *Ireland* very exactly, and who, upon the Surveys that had been taken with great Punctuality, undertook "that there was Land enough to ſatisfy "all the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, and that there would "be a very great Proportion left for the Accommodation "of the *Iriſh* very liberally." And for the better Improvement of that Proportion, the King preſcribed ſome Rules and Limitations to the immoderate Pretences and Demands of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* upon the *doubling Ordinance* and imperfect Admeaſurement, and ſome other Irregularities, in which his Majeſty was not in Honour or Juſtice obliged to comply with them: And ſo He tranſmitted this ſecond Bill. Second *Act* of Settlement *paſſed.*

(118) WHILST this ſecond Bill was under Deliberation, there fell out an Accident in *Ireland*, which produced great Alterations with Reference to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Differences which had every Day ariſen between the three Juſtices, and their different Humours and Affections, had little advanced the ſettling that Government; ſo that there would have been a Neceſſity of making ſome Mutation in it: So that the Death of the Earl of *Montrath*, which happened at this Time, fell out conveniently enough to the King; for by it the Government was again looſe. For the Earl of *Orrery* was in *England*;

England; and the Power reſided not in leſs than two: So that the Chancellor, who remained ſingle there, was without any Authority to act. And They who took the moſt diſpaſſioned Survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that Nothing could reaſonably produce a Settlement there, but the deputing one ſingle Perſon to exerciſe that Government.

The Duke of Albemarle *reſigns the Office of Lord Lieutenant.*

And the Duke of *Albemarle* himſelf, who had a great Eſtate in that Kingdom, which made him the more long for a Settlement, and who had before the King's Return and ever ſince diſſuaded the King from thinking of employing the Duke of *Ormond* there, who had himſelf Averſion enough from that Command, of which He had ſufficient Experience: I ſay, the General had now ſo totally changed his Mind, that He plainly told the King, "that there was no Way to explicate that Kingdom "out of thoſe Intricacies in which it was involved, but "by ſending over a Lord Lieutenant thither. That He "thought it not fit for his Majeſty's Service, that himſelf, who had that Commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant, "ſhould be abſent from his Perſon; and therefore that "He was very ready and deſirous to give up his Commiſſion: And that in his Judgment Nobody would be "able to ſettle and compoſe the ſeveral Factions in that "Kingdom, but the Duke of *Ormond*, who He believed "would be grateful to all Sorts of People." And therefore He adviſed his Majeſty very poſitively, "that He "would immediately give him the Commiſſion, and as "ſoon as ſhould be poſſible ſend him away into *Ireland*." And Both the King and the General ſpake with the Duke of *Ormond*, and prevailed with him to accept it, before either of them communicated it to the Chancellor, who the King well knew would for many Reaſons, and out of his great Friendſhip to the Duke, diſſuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

And the Duke of Ormond *accepts it.*

And the King and the Duke of *Ormond* came one Day to the Chancellor, to adviſe what was to be done for *Ireland*; and (concealing the Reſolution) the King told him what the General's Advice was, and aſked him "what "He thought of ſending the Duke of *Ormond* his Lieu"tenant into *Ireland*." To which the Chancellor anſwered preſently, "that the King would do very ill in "ſending him, and that the Duke would do much worſe, "if He deſired to go." Upon which They Both ſmiled,

and

and told him "that the General had prevailed with the "King, and the King with the Duke; ſo that the Mat- "ter was reſolved, and there remained Nothing to be "done but preparing the Inſtructions, which He muſt "think upon."

THE Chancellor could not refrain from ſaying very warmly, "that He was ſorry for it; and that it would be "good for neither of them, that the Duke ſhould be from "the King, or that He ſhould be in *Ireland*, where He "would be able to do no Good. Beſides that He had "given himſelf ſo much to his Eaſe and Pleaſure ſince He "came into *England*, that He would never be able to take "the Pains, which that moſt laborious Province would re- "quire." He ſaid, "if this Counſel had been taken when "the King came firſt over, it might have had good Suc- (119) "ceſs, when the Duke was full of Reputation, and of "unqueſtionable Intereſt in his Majeſty, and the King "himſelf was more feared and reverenced than preſumed "upon: So that the Duke would have had full Authority "to have reſtrained the exorbitant Deſires and Expecta- "tions of all the ſeveral Parties, who had all Guilt enough "upon their Hearts to fear ſome Rigour from the King, "or to receive moderate Grace with infinite Submiſſion "and Acknowledgment. But now the Duke, beſides his "withdrawing himſelf from all Buſineſs as much as He "could, had let himſelf fall to Familiarities with all De- "grees of Men; and upon their Averments had under- "taken to protect or at leaſt to ſolicit Mens Intereſts, "which it may be might not appear upon Examination "to be founded upon Juſtice. And the King himſelf had "been expoſed to all Manner of Importunities, received "all Mens Addreſſes, and heard all They would ſay, "made many Promiſes without Deliberation, and ap- "peared ſo deſirous to ſatisfy all Men, that He was irre- "ſolute in all Things. And therefore till He had taken "ſome firm and fixed Reſolutions himſelf, from which "neither Prejudice towards one Man, nor Pity and Com- "paſſion on the Behalf of another, ſhould remove him; "the Lieutenant of *Ireland* would be able to do him "little Service, and would be himſelf continually expoſed "to Scorn and Affronts."

The Chancellor expreſſes his Concern at this.

AND afterwards the Chancellor expoſtulated warmly with the Duke of *Ormond* (who well knew, that all his Commotion proceeded from the Integrity of his unqueſ- tionable

tionable Friendſhip), and told him "that He would re-
"pent this raſh Reſolution; and that He would have
"been able to have contributed more to the Settlement
"of *Ireland*, by being near the Perſon of the King, than
"by being at *Dublin*, from whence in a ſhort Time there
"would be as many Aſperſions and Reproaches ſent hi-
"ther, as had been againſt other Men; and that He had
"no Reaſon to be confident, that they would not make
"as deep Impreſſion by the Arts and Induſtry of his Ene-
"mies, of which He had Store, and would have more by
"being abſent, for the Court naturally had little Regard
"for any Man who was abſent. And that He carried
"with him the ſame Infirmity into *Ireland* with that of the
"King, which kept it from being ſettled here; which
"was an Unwillingneſs to deny any Man what He could
"not but ſee was impoſſible to grant, and a Deſire to
"pleaſe every Body, which whoſoever affected ſhould
"pleaſe Nobody."

The Duke acquaints the Chancellor with his Reaſons for accepting it.

THE Duke, who never took any Thing ill He ſaid to him, told him, "that Nobody knew better than He the "Averſion He had to that Command, when it may be "He might have undertaken it with more Advantage." He confeſſed, "He ſaw many Dangers with Reference "to himſelf, which He knew not how to avoid, and "many Difficulties with Reference to the Publick, which "He had little Hope to overcome; yet *Ireland* muſt not "be given over: And ſince there ſeemed to be a general "Opinion, with which the King concurred, that He could "be able to contribute to the compoſing the Diſtempers, "and the ſettling the Government; He would not ſuſ-"pect himſelf, but believe that He might be able to do "ſomewhat towards it." And He gave his Word to him, "that Nothing ſhould be defective on his Part in Point "of Induſtry; for He was reſolved to take indefatigable "Pains for a Year or two, in which He hoped the Set-"tlement would be compleated, that He might have "Eaſe and Recreation for the other Part of his Life." And He confeſſed, "that He did the more willingly en-"ter upon that Province, that He might have the Op-"portunity to ſettle his own Fortune, which how great "ſoever in Extent of Lands did not yet, by Reaſon of (120)
"the general Unſettlement, yield him a Quarter of the
"Revenue it ought to do. That for what concerned
"himſelf, and the Diſadvantages He might undergo by

"his

"his Abſence, He referred it to Providence and the King's "good Nature; who," He ſaid, "knew him better than "any of his Enemies did; and therefore, He hoped, He "would believe himſelf before them." However, the Truth is, He was the more diſpoſed to that Journey, by the Diſlike He had of the Court, and the neceſſary Exerciſes which Men there were to excel in, for which He was ſuperannuated: And if He did not already diſcern any Leſſening of the King's Grace towards him, He ſaw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon. And within few Years after, He had Cauſe to remember what the Chancellor had foretold him of Both their Fortunes. The Duke (with the ſeven Commiſſioners who were appointed for that *Act of Settlement*, and all other Perſons who attended that Intereſt) entered upon his Journey from *London* about the End of *July*, in the Year one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and four, full four Years and more after the King's happy Return into *England*.

The Duke and the Commiſſioners ſet out for Ireland.

IT was ſome Months after the Commiſſioners Arrival in *Ireland*, before They could ſettle thoſe Orders and Rules for their Proceedings, which were neceſſary to be done, before the People ſhould be appointed to attend. And it was as neceſſary, that they ſhould in the Order of their Judicatory firſt proceed upon the Demands and Pretences of the *Iriſh*; both becauſe there could be no Settlement of Soldiers or *Adventurers* in Poſſeſſion of any Lands, before the Titles of the *Iriſh* to thoſe Lands were determined; and becauſe there was a Clauſe in the laſt Act of Parliament, that all the *Iriſh* ſhould put in their Claims by a Day appointed, and that they ſhould be determined before another Day, which was likewiſe aſſigned; which Days might be prolonged for once by the Lord Lieutenant, upon ſuch Reaſons as ſatisfied him: So that the Delay for ſo many Months before the Commiſſioners ſate, gave great Argument of Complaint to the *Iriſh*, though it could not be avoided, in Regard that the Commiſſioners themſelves had not been nominated by the King above twenty Days before They began their Journey into *Ireland*; ſo that They could never ſo much as read over the Acts of Parliament together, before They came to *Dublin*. And then They found ſo many difficult Clauſes in Both Acts of Parliament, and ſo contrary to each other, that it was no eaſy Matter to determine how

to

to govern themſelves in Point of Right, and to reduce themſelves to any Method in their Proceedings.

The Commiſſioners publiſh their intended Method of proceeding.

But after They had adjuſted all Things as well as They could, They publiſhed their Orders in what Method They meant to proceed, and appointed the *Iriſh* to put in their Claims by ſuch a Day, and to attend the Proſecution of them accordingly. And They had no ſooner entered upon their Work, but the *Engliſh* thought They had began it ſoon enough. For They heard every Day many of the *Iriſh*, who had been known to have been the moſt forward in the firſt Beginning of the Rebellion, and the moſt malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and Deeds of Settlement and Entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reaſonably be believed) before the former Commiſſioners, if They had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the *Iriſh* were immediately put into the Poſſeſſion of a very great Quantity of Land taken from the *Engliſh*. So that in a ſhort Time the Commiſſioners had rendered themſelves as generally odious as the *Iriſh*, and were looked upon as Perſons corrupted for that Intereſt, which had every Day Succeſs almoſt in whatſoever They pretended. And their (121) Determinations happened to have the more of Prejudice upon them, becauſe the Commiſſioners were always divided in their Judgments. And it is no Wonder, that They who ſeemed moſt to adhere to the *Engliſh* Intereſt were moſt eſteemed by them.

The Parliament in *Ireland* was then ſitting: And the Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of many Members who were either Soldiers or *Adventurers*, or had the like Intereſt, was very much offended at the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners, made many Votes againſt them, and threatened them with their Authority and Juriſdiction. But the Commiſſioners, who knew their own Power, and that there was no Appeal againſt their Judgments, proceeded ſtill in their own Method, and continued to receive the Claims of the *Iriſh*, beyond the Time that the Act of Parliament or the Act of State limited to them, as was generally underſtood. And during the laſt eight or ten Days Sitting upon thoſe Claims, They paſſed more Judgments and Determinations than in near a Year before, indeed with very wonderful Expedition; when the *Engliſh* who were diſpoſſeſſed by thoſe Judgments had not their

Witneſſes ready, upon a Preſumption, that in Point of Time it was not poſſible for thoſe Cauſes to come to be heard. By theſe Sentences and Decrees, many hundred Thouſands of Acres were adjudged to the *Iriſh*, which had been looked upon as unqueſtionably forfeited, and of which the *Engliſh* had been long in Poſſeſſion accordingly.

Their Decrees much in Favour of the Iriſh.

THIS raiſed ſo great a Clamour, that the *Engliſh* refuſed to yield Poſſeſſion upon the Decrees of the Commiſſioners, who, by an Omiſſion in the Act of Parliament, were not qualified with Power enough to provide for the Execution of their own Sentences. The Courts of Law eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom would not, nor indeed could, give any Aſſiſtance to the Commiſſioners. And the Lord Lieutenant and Council, who had in the Beginning, by their Authority, put many into the Poſſeſſion of the Lands which had been decreed to them by the Commiſſioners, were now more tender and reſerved in that Multitude of Decrees that had lately paſſed: So that the *Iriſh* were uſing their utmoſt Endeavours, by Force to recover the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands which the Commiſſioners had decreed to them; whilſt the *Engliſh* were likewiſe reſolved by Force to defend what They had been ſo long poſſeſſed of, notwithſtanding the Commiſſioners Determination. And the Commiſſioners were ſo far troubled and diſſatisfied with theſe Proceedings, and with ſome intricate Clauſes in the Act of Parliament concerning the future Proceedings; that, though They had not yet made any Entrance upon the Deciſion of the Claims of the *Engliſh* or of the *Iriſh Proteſtants*, They declared "that They "would proceed no farther in the Execution of their "Commiſſion, until They could receive his Majeſty's far-"ther Pleaſure." And that They might the more effectually receive it, They deſired Leave from the King that They might attend his Royal Perſon; and there being at the ſame Time ſeveral Complaints made againſt them to his Majeſty, and Appeals to him from their Decrees, He gave the Commiſſioners Leave to return. And at the ſame Time all the other Intereſts ſent their Deputies to ſolicit their Rights; in the Proſecution whereof, after much Time ſpent, the King thought fit likewiſe to receive the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Lieutenant: And ſo the Duke of *Ormond* returned again to the Court. And the Settlement of *Ireland* was the third Time brought be-

fore the King and Council; there being then likewiſe tranſmitted a third Bill, as additional and ſupplemental to the other two, and to reverſe many of the Decrees made by the Commiſſioners, They bearing the Reproach of all that had been done or had ſucceeded amiſs, and from all Perſons who were grieved in what Kind ſoever. (122)

The different Parties heard a third Time by the King.

THE King was very tender of the Reputation of his Commiſſioners, who had been always eſteemed Men of great Probity and unqueſtionable Reputation: And though He could not refuſe to receive Complaints, yet He gave thoſe who complained no farther Countenance, than to give the others Opportunity to vindicate themſelves. Nor did there appear the leaſt Evidence to queſtion the Sincerity of their Proceeding, or to make them liable to any reaſonable Suſpicion of Corruption: And the Complaints were ſtill proſecuted by thoſe, who had that taken from them which They deſired to keep for themſelves.

The Author's Reflections on the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners.

THE Truth is; there is Reaſon enough to believe, that upon the firſt Arrival of the Commiſſioners in *Ireland*, and ſome Converſation They had, and the Obſervation They made of the great Bitterneſs and Animoſities from the *Engliſh*, both Soldiers and *Adventurers*, towards the whole *Iriſh* Nation of what Kind ſoever; the ſcandalous Proceeding of the late Commiſſioners upon the firſt Act, when They had not been guided by any Rules of Juſtice, but rejected all Evidence, which might operate to the taking away any Thing from them which They reſolved to keep, the Judges themſelves being both Parties and Witneſſes in all the Cauſes brought before them; together with the very ill Reputation very many of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had for extraordinary Malice to the Crown, and to the Royal Family; and the notable Barbarity They had exerciſed towards the *Iriſh*, who without Doubt for many Years had undergone the moſt cruel Oppreſſions of all Kinds that can be imagined, many Thouſands of them having been forced, without being covered under any Houſe, to periſh in the open Fields for Hunger; the infamous Purchaſes which had been made by many Perſons, who had compelled the *Iriſh* to ſell their Remainders and lawful Pretences for very inconſiderable Sums of Money: I ſay, theſe and many other Particulars of this Kind, together with ſome Attempt that had been made upon their firſt Arrival, to corrupt them againſt all Pretences

Pretences which ſhould be made by the *Iriſh*, might probably diſpoſe the Commiſſioners themſelves to ſuch a Prejudice againſt many of the *Engliſh*, and to ſuch a Compaſſion towards the *Iriſh*, that They might be much inclined to favour their Pretences and Claims; and to believe that the Peace of the Kingdom and his Majeſty's Government might be better provided for, by their being ſettled in the Lands of which They had been formerly poſſeſſed, than by ſupporting the ill gotten Titles of thoſe, who had manifeſted all imaginable Infidelity and Malice againſt his Majeſty whilſt They had any Power to oppoſe him, and had not given any Teſtimony of their Converſion, or of their Reſolution to yield him for the future a perfect and entire Obedience after They could oppoſe him no longer; as if They deſired only to retain thoſe Lands which They had gotten by Rebellion, together with the Principles by which They had gotten them, until They ſhould have an Opportunity to juſtify Both by ſome new Power, or a Concurrence amongſt themſelves. Whenceſoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the *Iriſh* had received more Favour than was expected or imagined.

AND in the very Entrance into the Work, to avoid the Partiality which was too apparent in the *Engliſh* towards each other, and their Animoſity againſt the *Iriſh* as evident, very ſtrict Rules had been ſet down by the Commiſſioners, what Kind of Evidence They would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, "that the Evidence of no Soldier or *Adventurer* ſhould be (123) "received in any Caſe, to which himſelf was never ſo much "a Stranger;" as, if his own Lot had fallen in *Munſter*, and He had no Pretence to any Thing out of that Province, his Evidence ſhould not be received, as to any Thing that He had ſeen done in *Leinſter* or *Conaught* or *Ulſter*, wherein He was not at all concerned: Which was generally thought to be a very unjuſt Rule, after ſo many Years expired, and ſo many Perſons dead, who had likewiſe been preſent at thoſe Actions. And by this Means many Men were declared not to have been in Rebellion, when there might have been full Evidence, that They had been preſent in ſuch and ſuch a Battle, and in ſuch and ſuch a Siege, if the Witneſſes might have been received who were then preſent at thoſe Actions, and ready to give Teſtimony of it, and of ſuch Circumſtances as could not

have been feigned, if their Evidence might have been received.

Too many of the Iriſh Rebels reſtored to their Eſtates.

THAT which raiſed the greateſt Umbrage againſt the Commiſſioners was, that a great Number of the moſt infamous Perſons of the *Iriſh* Nation, who were looked upon by thoſe of their own Country with the greateſt Deteſtation, as Men who had been the moſt violent Fomenters and Proſecutors of the Rebellion, and the greateſt Oppoſers of all moderate Counſels, and of all Expedients which might have contributed towards a Peace in the late King's Time (whereby the Nation might have been redeemed), and who had not had the Confidence ſo much as to offer any Claim before the late Commiſſioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and ſo reſtored to their Eſtates: And that many other, who in Truth had never been in Rebellion, but notoriouſly ſerved the King againſt the Rebels both in *England* and *Ireland*, and had never been put out of their Eſtates, now upon ſome ſlight Evidence, by the Interception of Letters, or Confeſſion of Meſſengers that They had had Correſpondence with the Rebels (though it was evident that even that Correſpondence had been perfunctory, and only to ſecure them that They might purſue his Majeſty's Service), were condemned, and had their Eſtates taken from them, by the Judgment of the Commiſſioners.

Many who had ſerved the King very hardly treated.

An Inſtance of this in the Caſe of the Earl of Tyrconnell.

AND of this I cannot forbear to give an Inſtance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a perſonal Prejudice, upon what Account ſoever, weighs and prevails againſt Juſtice itſelf, even with Men who are not in their Natures Friends to Injuſtice. It was the Caſe of the Earl of *Tyrconnell*, and it was this. He was the younger Son of the Lord *Fitzwilliams* a Catholick Lord in *Ireland*, but of ancient *Engliſh* Extraction, of a fair Eſtate, and never ſuſpected to be inclined to the Rebels; as very few of the *Engliſh* were. *Oliver Fitzwilliams* (who was the Perſon We are now ſpeaking of, and the younger Son of that Lord *Fitzwilliams*) had been ſent by his Father into *France*, to be there educated, many Years before the Rebellion. He was a proper and a handſome Man, and by his Courage had gotten a very good Reputation in the *French* Army; where, after He had ſpent ſome Years in the *Campagna*, He obtained the Command of a Regiment in which He had been firſt a Captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent Officer.

WHEN

WHEN the Army was ſent into Winter-Quarters, He went to *Paris* to kiſs the Hands of the Queen of *England*, who was come thither the Summer before, it being in the Year 1644. Having often waited upon her Majeſty, He made many Profeſſions of Duty and Obedience to the King, and much condemned the Rebellion of the *Iriſh*, and ſaid, "He knew many of them were cozened and "deceived by Tales and Lies, and had no Purpoſe to "withdraw themſelves from his Majeſty's Obedience." He made Offer of his Service to the Queen, "and that, if (124) "She thought He might be able to do the King any Ser- "vice, He would immediately go into *England*, and with "his Majeſty's Approbation into *Ireland*, where if He "could do no other Service, He was confident He could "draw off many of the *Iriſh* from the Service of the Re- "bels." The Queen, upon the good Reputation He had there, accepted his Offer, and writ a Letter by him to the King, with a very good Character of his Perſon, and as very fit to be truſted in *Ireland*.

IT was his Fortune to come to the King very few Days before the Battle of *Naſeby*, where as a Volunteer in the Troop of Prince *Rupert*, He behaved himſelf with very ſignal Courage in the View of the King himſelf; who ſhortly after gave him a Letter full of Recommendation and Teſtimony to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and underſtood all He intended to do, gave him Leave to go into the *Iriſh* Quarters and to return again, as He thought fit. And in a ſhort Time after, both his Father and his elder Brother died; whereby both the Title and the Eſtate devolved to him, and He was poſſeſſed accordingly.

THE Man was before and in his Nature elate and proud enough, had a greater Value of himſelf than other Men had, and a leſs of other Men than They deſerved, whereby He got not himſelf beloved by many; but Nobody who loved him worſt ever ſuſpected him to incline to the Rebels, though They knew that He was often in their Quarters, and had often Conferences with them: And a good Part of his Eſtate lay in their Quarters. He attended upon the Lord Lieutenant in all his Expeditions: And when the *Iriſh* ſo infamouſly broke the firſt Peace, and beſieged the Lieutenant in *Dublin* (upon which He was compelled to deliver it into the Hands of the Parliament

with the King's Conſent), the Lord *Fitzwilliams* returned with him or about the ſame Time into *England*, and from thence again into *France*; where He married the Daughter of the Widow Counteſs of *Clare*, and Siſter to that Earl, a Lady of a Religion the moſt oppoſite to the Roman Catholick, which He ſuffered her to enjoy without any Contradiction. When the War was at an End in *England*, and the King a Priſoner, He with his Wife and Family tranſported himſelf into *England*, and after ſome Time into *Ireland*; where *Cromwell* had a jealous Eye upon him, but not being able to diſcover any Thing againſt him, could not hinder him from poſſeſſing the Eſtate that had deſcended to him from his Father and his elder Brother. And the War being there ended, and the Settlement made by the Act of Parliament upon the Statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the leaſt Trouble given to him; but He quietly enjoyed the Poſſeſſion of his whole Eſtate till the King's Return, when He came into *England* to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, and was by him made Earl of *Tyrconnell*.

When the Commiſſioners ſate upon the firſt Act, who obſerved no Rules of Juſtice, Law or Equity, when they contradicted any Intereſt or Appetite of their own, He received no Diſturbance; but when theſe new Commiſſioners came over, all Men, as well *Proteſtants* as others, whoſe Eſtates had never been queſtioned, thought it ſafeſt for them to put in their Claims before the Commiſſioners, to prevent any Trouble that might ariſe hereafter. This Gentleman followed that Advice and Example, put in his Claim, and preſſed the Commiſſioners for a ſhort Day to be heard. The Day was appointed. Neither *Adventurer*, Soldier, or any other Perſon, made any Title to the Land: But ſome envious Perſon, unqualified for any Proſecution, offered a Letter to the Commiſſioners which had many Years before, and before his Coming into *Ireland*, (125) been written by Colonel *Fitzwilliams* in *Paris* to a *Jeſuit*, one *Hartogan*, then in *Ireland*; in which He gave him Notice "of his Purpoſe of coming into *Ireland*, where "He hoped to do their Friends ſome Service."

This Letter was writ when the Queen firſt deſigned to ſend him to the King, that the *Iriſh*, who were the moſt jealous People in the World, might know of his Purpoſe to come thither, before They ſhould hear of his being in *Dublin*; and now being produced before the Commiſſioners,

ſioners, without conſidering how long ſince it was writ or the Reaſon of writing it, that He had ſerved the King, and never in the leaſt Degree againſt him, upon one of their Rules, "that a Correſpondence with the Rebels was "a good Evidence," They without any Pauſe declared him nocent, and preſently aſſigned his Eſtate to ſome Perſons to whom Repriſals were to be made: Whilſt They who thought the Judgment very unjuſt, laughed at the ill Luck of a Man whom They did not love; and all Men were well enough pleaſed with the Sentence, who were diſpleaſed with the Perſon. And this Party purſued him ſo ſeverely into *England*, that the King's Interpoſition to redeem him from ſo unjuſt a Decree, was looked upon as overfavouring the *Iriſh*; when none were ſo glad of the Decree as the *Iriſh*, who univerſally hated him. Nor was He at laſt reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, without making ſome Compoſition with thoſe to whom the Commiſſioners had aſſigned it.

Many Decrees made upon Settlements notoriouſly forged.

MANY, who had formerly made their Claims without inſiſting upon any Deeds of Settlement or other Conveyances in Law, now produced former Settlements in Conſideration of Marriage, or other like good Conſiderations in Law, made before the Beginning of the Rebellion: Which being now proved by Witneſſes enough, Decrees were every Day obtained for the Reſtitution of great Quantities of Land upon thoſe Deeds and Conveyances; though the Forgeries of thoſe Deeds and Perjury of thoſe Witneſſes were very notorious. And ſome Inſtances were given of the Manifeſtation and direct Proof that was made of the Forgery of Deeds, upon which Decrees had been made, to the Satisfaction of the Commiſſioners themſelves, within a very ſhort Time after the pronouncing thoſe Decrees: And yet no Reparation was given, but the Decrees proceeded and were executed with all Rigour, as if no ſuch Thing had appeared.

The Commiſſioners Defence.

THE Commiſſioners anſwered, "that They had made "no Decrees but according to their Conſciences, and ſuch "as They were obliged to make by the Courſe and Rule "of Juſtice. That They did doubt and in Truth believe, "that there had been evil Practices uſed both in the forg-"ing of Deeds and corrupting of Witneſſes, and that the "ſame was equally practiſed by the *Engliſh* as the *Iriſh*: "And therefore that They had been obliged to make "that Order, which had been ſo much excepted againſt,

" *not to admit the Teſtimony of any* Engliſh Adventurer *or* " *Soldier in the Caſe of another* Adventurer *or Soldier*; for " that it was very notorious, They looked upon the " Whole as one joint Intereſt, and ſo gratified each other " in their Teſtimonies." And of this They gave many ſad Inſtances, by which it was too evident that the Perjuries were mutual, and too much practiſed by the one and the other Side.

" THAT They had uſed all the Providence and Vigi- " lance They could, by the careful Examination of Wit- " neſſes (which were produced apart, and never in the " Preſence of each other), and by aſking them all ſuch " material Queſtions as occurred to their Underſtandings, " and which They could not expect to be aſked, to diſ- " cover the Truth, and to prevent and manifeſt all Per- (126) " juries. That They had likewiſe uſed their utmoſt Di- " ligence and Care, to prevent their being impoſed upon " with falſe and forged Deeds and Conveyances, by tak- " ing a preciſe and ſtrict View themſelves of all Deeds pro- " duced; and interrogated the Witneſſes with all the " Cunning They could, upon the Matter and Conſidera- " tion upon which ſuch Deeds had been entered into, and " upon the Manner and Circumſtances in the Execution " thereof: Which was all the Providence They could " uſe. And though They met with many Reaſons often- " times to doubt the Integrity of the Proceedings, and " in their own private Conſciences to apprehend there " might be great Corruption; yet that They were obliged " judicially to determine according to the Teſtimony of " the Witneſſes, and the Evidence of thoſe Deeds in Law " againſt which no Proofs were made. That They had " conſtantly heard all that the adverſe Party had thought " fit to object, both againſt the Credit of any Witneſſes, " and the Truth and Validity of any Conveyances which " were produced; upon which They had rejected many " Witneſſes, and diſallowed ſome Conveyances: But when " the Objections were only founded upon Preſumptions " and Probabilities, as moſt uſually they were, they " could not weigh down the full and categorical Evidence " that was given."

" THAT if They had yielded to the Importunities of the " Perſons concerned, who often preſſed to have farther " Time given to them to prove ſuch a Perjury, or to diſ- " prove ſuch a Conveyance; it muſt have made their

" Work

"Work endleſs, and ſtopped all Manner of Proceedings, "for which it appeared They were ſtreightened too much "in Time: And that indeed would have but opened the "Door wider for Perjuries and other Corruptions; ſince "it was very plain to them, that either Side could bring "as many Witneſſes as They pleaſed, to prove what They "pleaſed, and that They would bring as many as They "believed neceſſary to the Work in Hand. And there-"fore the Commiſſioners having before preſcribed a Me-"thod and Rule to themſelves for their Proceedings, and "that no Man could have a Cauſe, in which He was con-"cerned, brought to Hearing without his knowing when "it was to be heard, and ſo it was to be preſumed, that "He was well provided to ſupport his own Title; They "had thought fit, upon mature Deliberation amongſt "themſelves, to adhere to the Order They had preſcribed "to themſelves and others, and to conclude, that They "would not be able to prove that another Day, which "They were not able to prove at the Time when They "ought to have been ready."

"FOR the Diſcovery of any Forgery after the Decrees "had been paſſed, and upon which They had given no "Reparation," They confeſſed, "that ſome few ſuch Diſ-"coveries had been made to them, by which the Forgery "appeared very clearly: But as They had no Power by "the Act of Parliament to puniſh either Forgery or Per-"jury, but muſt leave the Examination and Puniſhment "thereof to the Law and to the Judges of the Law; ſo, "that They had only Authority to make Decrees upon "ſuch Grounds as ſatisfied their Conſciences, but had not "any Authority to reverſe thoſe Decrees, after they were "once made and publiſhed, upon any Evidence whatſo-"ever." They concluded with their humble Deſire to the King, "that the moſt ſtrict Examinations might be "made of their Corruptions, in which," They ſaid, "They were ſure to be found very innocent, againſt all "the Malice that was diſcovered againſt them: That "They had proceeded in all Things according to the In-"tegrity of their Hearts, and the beſt of their Under-"ſtanding; and if through the Defect of that They had (127)"erred in any Part of their Determinations and Judg-"ments, They hoped their Want of Wiſdom ſhould not "be imputed to them as a Crime."

MANY,

Their Defence not perfectly ſatisfactory.

MANY, who had a very good Opinion of the Perſons and Abilities of the Commiſſioners, were not yet ſatisfied with their Defence; nor did They believe, that They were ſo ſtrictly bound to judge upon the Teſtimony of ſuſpected Witneſſes; but that They were therefore truſted with an arbitrary Power, becauſe it was foreſeen that Juries were not like to be entire: So that They were, upon weighing all Circumſtances, to declare what in their Conſciences They believed to be true and juſt. That if They had bound themſelves up by too ſtrict and unreaſonable Rules, They ſhould rather in Time have reformed thoſe Rules, than think to ſupport what was done amiſs, by the Obſervation of what They had preſcribed to themſelves. And it was believed, that the entire Excluſion of the *Engliſh* from being Witneſſes for the proving of what could not in Nature be otherwiſe proved, was not juſt or reaſonable. That their Want of Power to reverſe or alter their own Decrees, upon any emergent Reaſons which could afterwards occur, was a juſt Ground for their more ſerious Deliberation in and before They paſſed any ſuch Decrees. And their Excuſe for not granting longer Time when it was preſſed for, was founded upon Reaſons which were viſibly not to be juſtified; it not being poſſible for any Man to defend himſelf againſt the Claims of the *Iriſh*, without knowing what Deeds or Witneſſes They could produce for making good their Suggeſtions; and therefore it was as impoſſible for them to have all their Evidence upon the Place. Beſides that it was very evident, that in the laſt ten Days of their Sitting (which was likewiſe thought to be when their Power as to thoſe Particulars was determined, and in which They had made more Decrees than in all the Time before), They had made ſo many in a Day, contrary to their former Rule and Method, that Men were plainly ſurpriſed, and could not produce thoſe Proofs which in a ſhort Time They might have been ſupplied with; and the refuſing to allow them that Time, was upon the Matter to determine their Intereſt, and to take away their Eſtates without being once heard, and upon the bare Allegations of their Adverſaries. And in theſe laſt Decrees many Inſtances were given of that Nature, wherein the Evidence appeared to be very full, if Time had been given to produce it.

A Decree in Favour of the Marquis of Antrim *univerſally complained of.*

THERE was one very notable Caſe decreed by the Commiſſioners extremely complained of, and cried out againſt

againſt by all Parties, as well *Iriſh* as *Engliſh*; and for which the Commiſſioners themſelves made no other Excuſe or Defence, but the Receipt of a Letter from the King, which was not thought a good Plea for ſworn Judges, as the Commiſſioners were. It was the Caſe of the Marquis of *Antrim*. Which Caſe having been ſo much upon the Stage, and ſo much enlarged upon to the Reproach of the King, and even to the traducing of the Memory of his bleſſed Father; and thoſe Men who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiſs, having done all They could to wound the Reputation of the Chancellor, and to get it to be believed, "that He "had by ſome ſiniſter Information miſled the King to "oblige the Marquis:" It is a Debt due to Truth, and to the Honour of Both their Majeſties, to ſet down a very particular Narration of that whole Affair; by which it will appear, how far the King was from ſo much as wiſhing that any Thing ſhould be done for the Benefit of the Marquis, which ſhould be contrary to the Rules of Juſtice.

A very particular Relation of the Marquis of Antrim's *Caſe.*

WHILST his Majeſty was in foreign Parts, He received frequent Advertiſements from *England* and from *Ireland*, "that the Marquis of *Antrim* behaved himſelf very undu-
(128) "tifully towards him; and that He had made himſelf very "grateful to the Rebels, by calumniating the late King: "And that He had given it under his Hand to *Ireton*, or "ſome other principal Perſon employed under *Cromwell*, "*that his late Majeſty had ſent him into* Ireland *to join with* "*the Rebels, and that his Majeſty was not offended with the* "Iriſh *for entering into that Rebellion:*" Which was a Calumny ſo falſe and ſo odious, and reflected ſo much upon the Honour of his Majeſty, that the King was reſolved, as ſoon as God ſhould put it into his Power, to cauſe the ſtricteſt Examination to be made concerning it; the Report having gained much Credit with his Majeſty, by the Notoriety that the Marquis had procured great Recommendations from thoſe who governed in *Ireland*, to thoſe who governed in *England*; and that upon the Preſumption of that He had come into *England*, and as far as *St. Albans* towards *London*, from whence He had been forced ſuddenly to return into *Ireland* by the Activity of his many Creditors, who upon the News of his Coming had provided for his Reception, and would unavoidably have caſt him into Priſon. And no Recommendation could have

have inclined thoſe who were in Authority, to do any Thing extraordinary for the Protection of a Perſon, who from the Beginning of the *Iriſh* Rebellion lay under ſo ill a Character with them, and had ſo ill a Name throughout the Kingdom.

THE King had been very few Days in *London*, after his Arrival from the Parts beyond the Seas, when He was informed that the Marquis of *Antrim* was upon his Way from *Ireland* towards the Court: And the Commiſſioners from *Ireland*, who have been mentioned before, were the firſt who gave his Majeſty that Information, and at the ſame Time told him all that his Majeſty had heard before concerning the Marquis, and of the bold Calumnies with which He had traduced his Royal Father, with many other Particulars; "all which," They affirmed, "would "be proved by unqueſtionable Evidence, and by Letters "and Certificates under his own Hand." Upon this full Information (of the Truth whereof his Majeſty entertained no Doubt), as ſoon as the Marquis came to the Town, He was by the King's ſpecial Order committed to the *Tower*; nor could any Petition from him, or Intreaty of his Friends, of which He had ſome very powerful, prevail with his Majeſty to admit him into his Preſence. But by the firſt Opportunity He was ſent Priſoner to *Dublin*, where He was committed to the *Caſtle*; the King having given Direction, that He ſhould be proceeded againſt with all Strictneſs according to Law: And to that Purpoſe, the Lords Juſtices were required to give all Orders and Directions neceſſary. The Marquis ſtill profeſſed and avowed his Innocence, and uſed all the Means He could to procure that He might be ſpeedily brought to his Trial; which the King likewiſe expected. But after a Year's Detention in Priſon, and Nothing brought againſt him, He was ſet at Liberty, and had a Paſs given him from the Council there to go into *England*. He then applied himſelf to his Majeſty, demanding Nothing of Favour, but ſaid, "He expected Juſtice; and that "after ſo many Years being deprived of his Eſtate, He "might at laſt be reſtored to it, if Nothing could be "objected againſt him wherein He had differved his Ma-"jeſty."

HE was a Gentleman who had been bred up in the Court of *England*, and having married the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* (though againſt the King's Will) He had been

been afterwards very well received by Both their Majeſties, and was frequently in their Preſence. He had ſpent a very vaſt Eſtate in the Court, without having ever received the leaſt Benefit from it. He had retired into *Ireland*, and lived upon his own Eſtate in that Country, ſome Years before the Rebellion brake out; in the Beginning (129) whereof He had undergone ſome Suſpicion, having held ſome Correſpondence with the Rebels, and poſſibly made ſome Undertakings to them: But He went ſpeedily to *Dublin*, was well received by the Juſtices there, and from thence tranſported himſelf with their Licenſe to *Oxford*, where the King was; to whom He gave ſo good an Account of all that had paſſed, that his Majeſty made no Doubt of his Affection to his Service, though He had very little Confidence in his Judgment and Underſtanding, which were never remarkable. Beſides that it was well known, that He had a very unreaſonable Envy towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, and would fain have it believed that his Intereſt in *Ireland* was ſo great, that He could reclaim that whole Nation to his Majeſty's Obedience; but that Vanity and Preſumption never gained the leaſt Credit with his Majeſty: Yet it may reaſonably be believed that He thought ſo himſelf, and that it was the Source from which all the bitter Waters of his own Misfortune iſſued.

UPON the *Scots* ſecond Entring into *England* with their Army upon the Obligation of the *Covenant*, and all his Majeſty's Endeavours to prevent it being diſappointed, the Marquis of *Mountroſe* had propoſed to the King, "to make a Journey privately into *Scotland*, aud to get "into the *Highlands*, where, with his Majeſty's Autho- "rity, He hoped He ſhould be able to draw together "ſuch a Body of Men, as might give his Countrymen "Cauſe to call for their own Army out of *England*, to ſe- "cure themſelves." And with this Overture or upon Debate thereof, He wiſhed "that the Earl of *Antrim*" (for He was then no more) "might be likewiſe ſent into "*Ulſter*, where his Intereſt lay, and from whence He "would be able to tranſport a Body of Men into the "*Highlands*, where He had likewiſe the Clan of *Macdon-* "*nels*, who acknowledged him to be their Chief, and "would be conſequently at his Devotion; by which "Means, the Marquis of *Mountroſe* would be enabled "the more powerfully to proceed in his Undertaking."

The

The Earl of *Antrim* entered upon this Undertaking with great Alacrity, and undertook to the King to perform great Matters in *Scotland*; to which his own Intereſt and Animoſity enough diſpoſed him, having an old and a ſharp Controverſy and Conteſtation with the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had diſpoſſeſſed him of a large Territory there. All Things being adjuſted for this Undertaking, and his Majeſty being well pleaſed with the Earl's Alacrity, He created him at that Time a Marquis, gave him Letters to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there, as well to ſatisfy him of the good Opinion He had of the Marquis of *Antrim*, and of the Truſt He had repoſed in him, as to wiſh him to give him all the Aſſiſtance He could with Convenience, for the carrying on the Expedition for *Scotland*.

And for the better preventing of any Inconvenience that might fall out by the Raſhneſs and Inadvertency of the Marquis of *Antrim* towards the Lord Lieutenant, his Majeſty ſent *Daniel ONeile* of his Bedchamber into *Ireland* with him, who had great Power over him, and very much Credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and was a Man of that Dexterity and Addreſs, that no Man could ſo well prevent the Inconveniences and Prejudice, which the natural Levity and Indiſcretion of the other might tempt him to, or more diſpoſe and incline the Lord Lieutenant to take little Notice of thoſe Vanities and Indiſcretions. And the King, who had no Deſire that the Marquis ſhould ſtay long in *Dublin*, upon his Promiſe that He would uſe all poſſible Expedition in tranſporting himſelf into *Scotland*, gave him Leave to hold that Correſpondence with the *Iriſh* Rebels (who had the Command of all the Northern Parts, and without whoſe Connivance at leaſt, He could very hardly be able to make his Levies and tranſport his Men) as was neceſſary to his Pur- (130)
poſes: Within the Limits of which, it is probable enough that He did not contain himſelf; for the Education and Converſation He had in the World, had not extirpated that natural Craft in which that Nation excels, and by which They only deceive themſelves; and might ſay many Things, which He had not Authority or Warrant to ſay.

Upon his Coming to *Dublin*, the Lord Lieutenant gave him all the Countenance He could wiſh, and aſſiſted him in all the Ways He could propoſe, to proſecute

cute his Deſign; but the Men were to be raiſed in or near the Rebels Quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the Levies He made, and ſent over into *Scotland* under the Command of *Calkito*, were the Foundation of all thoſe wonderful Acts, which were performed afterwards by the Marquis of *Mountroſe* (They were fifteen hundred Men, very good, and with very good Officers, all ſo hardy, that neither the ill Fare nor the ill Lodging in the *Highlands* gave them any Diſcouragement), and gave the firſt Opportunity to the Marquis of *Mountroſe* of being in the Head of an Army; under which He drew together ſuch of the *Highlanders* and others of his Friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military Action, and Defeat given to the Enemy, which happened as often as They encountered the *Scots*, the *Highlanders* went always home with their Booty, and the *Iriſh* only ſtayed together with their General. And from this Beginning the Marquis of *Mountroſe* grew to that Power, that after many Battles won by him with notable Slaughter of the Enemy, He marched victoriouſly with his Army till He made himſelf Maſter of *Edinburgh*, and redeemed out of the Priſon there the Earl of *Crawford*, Lord *Ogilby*, and many other noble Perſons, who had been taken and ſent thither, with Reſolution that They ſhould all loſe their Heads. And the Marquis of *Mountroſe* did always acknowledge, that the Riſe and Beginning of his good Succeſs was due and to be imputed to that Body of *Iriſh*, which had in the Beginning been ſent over by the Marquis of *Antrim*; to whom the King had acknowledged the Service by ſeveral Letters, all of his own Handwriting; in which were very gracious Expreſſions of the Senſe his Majeſty had of his great Services, and his Reſolution to reward him.

IT is true, that the Marquis of *Antrim* had not gone over himſelf with his Men, as He had promiſed to do, but ſtayed in *Ulſter* under Pretence of raiſing a greater Body of Men, with which He would adventure his own Perſon; but either out of Jealouſy or Diſpleaſure againſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, or having in Truth no Mind to that Service of *Scotland*, He proſecuted not that Purpoſe, but remained ſtill in *Ulſter*, where all his own Eſtate lay, and ſo was in the Rebels Quarters, and no Doubt was often in their Councils; by which He gave great Advantages againſt himſelf, and might in Strictneſs

of

of Law have been as ſeverely puniſhed by the King, as the worſt of the Rebels. At laſt, in his moving from Place to Place (for He was not in any Expedition with the Rebels) He was taken Priſoner by the *Scots*, who intended to have put him to Death for having ſent Men into *Scotland*; but He made his Eſcape out of their Hands, and tranſported himſelf into *Flanders*, and from thence, having Aſſurance that the Prince (his Majeſty that now is) was then in the *Weſt*, He came with two good Frigats into the Port of *Falmouth*, and offered his Service to his Royal Highneſs; and having in his Frigats a Quantity of Arms and ſome Ammunition, which He had procured in *Flanders* for the Service of *Ireland*, moſt of the Arms and Ammunition were employed, with his Conſent, for the Supply of the Troops and Garriſons in *Cornwall*: And the Prince made Uſe of one of the Frigats to tranſport his Perſon to *Scilly*, and from thence to *Jerſey*; without which Convenience, his Highneſs had (131) been expoſed to great Difficulties, and could hardly have eſcaped the Hands of his Enemies. After all which, when *Dublin* was given up to the Parliament, and the King's Authority was withdrawn out of that Kingdom, He again (not having wherewithal to live any where elſe) tranſported himſelf into *Ireland*, made himſelf gracious with the *Iriſh*, and was by them ſent into *France*, to deſire the Queen Mother and the Prince of *Wales* "to ſend "the Marquis of *Ormond* to reaſſume his Majeſty's Go- "vernment in that Kingdom;" which was done accordingly, in the Manner that is mentioned elſewhere.

THE Marquis of *Antrim* alleged all theſe Particulars, and produced many original Letters from the late King (beſides thoſe which are mentioned), the Queen Mother, and the Prince, in all which his Services had been acknowledged, and many Promiſes made to him; and concluded with a full Proteſtation, "that He deſired no Par- "don for any Thing that He had ever done againſt the "King; and if there were the leaſt Proof that He had "failed in his Fidelity to him, or had not according to "the beſt of his Underſtanding advanced his Service, "He looked for no Favour. But if his being in the *Iriſh* "Quarters and conſulting with them, without which He "could not have made his Levies for *Scotland*, nor tran- "ſported them if He had levied them, and if his living "amongſt them afterwards, when his Majeſty's Autho- "rity

"rity was drawn from thence, and when He could live "no where elſe, do by the ſtrict Letter of the Law ex- "poſe him to Ruin without his Majeſty's Grace and Fa- "vour, He did hope his Majeſty would redeem him from "that Miſery, and that the Forfeiture of his Eſtate ſhould "not be taken, as if He were a Traitor and a Rebel to "the King." And it appeared that if He were reſtored to all He could pretend to, or of which He had ever been poſſeſſed, his Debts were ſo great, and his Creditors had thoſe legal Incumbrances upon his Eſtate, that his Condition at beſt would not be liable to much Envy.

THOUGH the King had been never taken Notice of to have any great Inclinations to the Marquis, who was very little known to him; yet this Repreſentation and clear View of what He had done and what He had ſuffered, raiſed great Compaſſion towards him in the Royal Breaſt of his Majeſty. And He thought it would in ſome Degree reflect upon his own Honour and Juſtice, and upon the Memory of his bleſſed Father, if in a Time when He paſſed by ſo many Tranſgreſſions very heinous, He ſhould leave the Marquis expoſed to the Fury of his Enemies (who were only his Enemies becauſe They were poſſeſſed of his Eſtate, and becauſe He deſired to have his own from them) for no other Crime upon the Matter, than for not having that Prudence and that Providence in his Endeavours to ſerve the King, as He ought to have had; that is, He ought to have been wiſer. And the Rigour exerciſed towards him upon his firſt Arrival, in ſending him to the *Tower* and afterwards into *Ireland*, by thoſe who enough wiſhed his Deſtruction, and that They had not been able to make the leaſt Proof againſt him, improved his Majeſty's good Diſpoſition towards him. Yet He refuſed poſitively to write a Letter to the Commiſſioners on his Behalf; which the Marquis moſt importunately deſired, as the only Thing that could do him Good. But his Majeſty directed a Letter to be prepared to the Lord Lieutenant, in which all his Allegations and Suggeſtions ſhould be ſet down, and the Truth thereof examined by him; and that if He ſhould be found to have committed no greater Faults againſt the King, than thoſe which He confeſſed, then that Letter ſhould be ſent to the Commiſſioners, that They might ſee Both
(132) their Majeſties Teſtimonies in ſuch Particulars as were known to themſelves. And this Letter was very warily

drawn, and being approved by his Majeſty, was ſent accordingly to the Lord Lieutenant. And ſhortly after a Copy of it ſigned by the King (who conceived it only to be a Duplicate, leſt the other ſhould miſcarry) was, contrary to his Majeſty's Reſolution, and contrary to the Advice of the Chancellor and without his Knowledge, likewiſe ſent to the Commiſſioners; who had thereupon made ſuch a Decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that "They had made it only upon that Ground;" which gave his Majeſty ſome Trouble, and obliged him to inſert a Clauſe in the next Bill concerning that Affair.

AND this was the whole Proceeding that related to the Marquis of *Antrim:* And it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more Favour ſhewed towards him by his Majeſty, than He might in Truth very reaſonably pretend to, what Noiſe ſoever was raiſed, and what Gloſſes ſoever made; which proceeded only from the general Diſlike of the Man, who had much more Weakneſs than Wickedneſs in him, and was an Object rather of Pity than of Malice or Envy.

WHEN his Majeſty entered upon the Debate of the third Bill, which was tranſmitted to him for a Supplement and Addition to the other two, He quickly found the Settlement propoſed, and which was the End of the three Bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the Meaſures, which had formerly been taken from the great Proportion of Land which would remain to be diſpoſed of, were no more to be relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong Foundation from the Beginning; which was now made more deſperate, by the vaſt Proportions which had been aſſigned to the *Iriſh* by the Commiſſioners Decrees: And ſomewhat had intervened by ſome Acts of Bounty from his Majeſty, which had not been carefully enough watched and repreſented to him.

The Difficulties of a Settlement increaſed.

By ſome improvident Acts of Bounty in the King.

THE King had, upon paſſing the former Bills, and upon diſcerning how much the *Iriſh* were like to ſuffer, reſolved to retain, all that ſhould by Forfeiture or otherwiſe come to his Majeſty, in his own Power; to the End, that when the Settlement ſhould be made, He might be able to gratify thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation, who had any Thing of Merit towards him, or had been leaſt faulty. And if He had obſerved that Reſolution, very much of the Trouble He underwent afterwards had been prevented:

ed: For He would then, beſides that which *Cromwell* had reſerved to himſelf (which was a vaſt Tract of Ground), have had all thoſe Forfeitures which the Regicides had been poſſeſſed of, and other criminal Perſons; which amounted to a huge Quantity of the beſt Land. And though the King had before deſigned all thoſe forfeited Lands to his Brother the Duke, yet his Highneſs was ſo pleaſed with the Reſolution his Majeſty had taken, to retain them to that Purpoſe, that He forbore to proſecute that Grant, till He heard of great Quantities of Land every Day granted away by his Majeſty to his Servants and others; whereby He ſaw the main End would be diſappointed. And then He reſolved to be no longer a Loſer for the Benefit of thoſe, who had no Pretence to what They got; and ſo proceeded in getting that Grant from the King to himſelf of thoſe Lands deſigned to him.

THE King had ſwerved from that Rule, before it was ſcarce diſcerned: And the Error of it may be very juſtly imputed to the Earl of *Orrery*, and to none but him; who believing that He could never be well enough at Court, except He had Courtiers of all Sorts obliged to him, who would therefore ſpeak well of him in all Places (133) and Companies (and thoſe Arts of his put the King to much Trouble and Loſs both in *England* and *Ireland*), He commended to many of ſuch Friends (though He had adviſed the King to the former Reſolution) many Suits of that Kind, and ſent Certificates to them, oftentimes under his own Hand, of the Value thoſe Suits might be to them if obtained, and of the little Importance the granting of them would be to his Majeſty; which, having been ſhewed to the King, diſpoſed him to thoſe Conceſſions, which otherwiſe He would not ſo eaſily have made. Then He directed them a Way (being then one of the Lords Juſtices) for the more immediate paſſing thoſe Grants They could obtain, without meeting thoſe Obſtructions which They had been ſubject to; for when any of thoſe Grants had been brought to the Great Seal of *England*, the Chancellor always ſtopped them, and put his Majeſty in Mind of his former Reſolution: But this new Way (in itſelf lawful enough) kept him from knowing any of thoſe Tranſactions, which were made by Letters from the King to the Lords Juſtices; and thereupon

This Improvidence owing to the Earl of Orrery.

This done without the Chancellor's Knowledge.

the Grants were prepared there, and paſſed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*.

THERE was then likewiſe a new Clauſe introduced into thoſe Grants, of a very new Nature; for being grounded always upon Letters out of *England*, and paſſed under the Seal of *Ireland*, the Letters were prepared and formed there, and tranſmitted hither only for his Majeſty's Sign Manual: So that neither the King's learned Council at Law, nor any other his Miniſters (the Secretaries only excepted), had any Notice or the Peruſal of any of thoſe Grants. The Clauſe was, "that if any of thoſe Lands "ſo granted by his Majeſty ſhould be otherwiſe decreed, "his Majeſty's Grantee ſhould be repriſed with other "Lands:" So that in many Caſes, the greateſt Inducement to his Majeſty's Bounty being the Incertainty of his own Right, which the Perſon to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own Charge, the King was now bound to make it good, if his Grant was not valid. And ſo that which was but a contingent Bounty, which commonly was the ſole Argument for the paſſing it, was now turned into a real and ſubſtantial Benefit, as a Debt; which created another Difficulty in the Settlement: Which was yet the more hard, becauſe there were many Claims of the *Iriſh* themſelves yet unheard, all the falſe Admeaſurements to be examined, and many other Uncertainties to be determined by the Commiſſioners; which left thoſe who were in quiet Poſſeſſion, as well as thoſe who were out of it, in the higheſt Inſecurity and Apprehenſion.

And with an extraordinary Clauſe inſerted in the Grants.

THIS Intricacy and even Deſpair, which poſſeſſed all Kind of People, of any Settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be propoſed. They found his Majeſty very unwilling to conſent to the Repeal of the Decrees made by the Commiſſioners; which muſt have taken away the Confidence and Aſſurance of whatſoever was to be done hereafter, by making Men ſee, that what was ſettled by one Act of Parliament might immediately be unſettled by another: So that there was no Hope by that Expedient to increaſe the Number of Acres, which being left might in any Degree comply with the ſeveral Pretences. The *Iriſh* found, that They might only be able to obſtruct any Settlement, but ſhould never be able to get ſuch a one as would turn to their own Satisfaction. The Soldiers and *Adventurers* agreed leſs

amongſt

amongſt theemſelves: And the Clamour was as great againſt thoſe, who by falſe Admeaſurements had gotten more than They ſhould have, as from thoſe who had received leſs than was their Due; and They who leaſt feared any new Examination could not yet have any ſecure Title, before all the reſt were ſettled. In a Word, all Men found that any Settlement would be better than none;
(134) and that more Profit would ariſe from a ſmaller Proportion of Land quietly poſſeſſed and huſbanded accordingly, than from a much greater Proportion under a doubtful Title and an Incertainty, which muſt diſhearten any Induſtry and Improvement.

UPON theſe Conſiderations and Motives, They met amongſt themſelves, and debated together by what Expedient They might draw Light out of this Darkneſs. There appeared only one Way which adminiſtered any reaſonable Hope; which was, by increaſing the Stock for Repriſals to ſuch a Degree, that all Mens Pretences might in ſome Meaſure be provided for: And there was no other Way to arrive to this, but by every Man's parting with ſomewhat which He thought to be his own. And to this They had one Encouragement, that was of the higheſt Prevalence with them, which was, that this Way an End would be put to the illimited Juriſdiction of the Commiſſioners (which was very terrible to all of them), who from henceforth could have little other Power, than to execute what ſhould here be agreed upon.

The different Parties at laſt agree upon an Expedient for a Settlement.

IN Concluſion, They brought a Propoſition to the King, raiſed and digeſted between themſelves, "that all "Perſons, who were to receive any Benefit by this Act, "ſhould abate and give a fourth Part of what They had, "towards the Stock for Repriſals; all which the Com-"miſſioners ſhould diſtribute amongſt thoſe *Iriſh*, who "ſhould appear moſt fit for his Majeſty's Bounty." And this Agreement was ſo unanimous, that though it met with ſome obſtinate Oppoſition after it was brought before the King, yet the Number of the Oppoſers was ſo ſmall in Reſpect of the others who agred to it, that They grew weary and aſhamed of farther Contention. And thereupon that *Third Act of Settlement*, as ſupplemental to the other two, was conſented to by the King; who, to publiſh to the World that Nothing ſtuck with him which ſeemed to reflect upon the Commiſſioners, reſolved to make no Change: And ſo though two of them, who

Hereupon the King paſſes the Third Act of Settlement.

had Offices here to diſcharge, prevailed with his Majeſty that They might not return again into *Ireland*; the other five were continued, to execute what was more to be done by this Act, and ſo to perfect the Settlement. And no Doubt it will be here ſaid, that this Expedient might have been ſooner found, and ſo prevented many of thoſe Diſorders and Inconveniences which intervened. But They who knew that Time, and the Perverſeneſs and Obſtinacy that poſſeſſed all Pretenders, muſt confeſs that the Seaſon was never ripe before: Nor could their Conſent and Agreement, upon which this Act was founded, ever be obtained before.

THESE were all the Tranſactions which paſſed with Reference to *Ireland*, whilſt the Chancellor remained at that Board; in which He acted no more than any other of the Lords who were preſent did: Except when any Difficulties occurred in their private Meetings and Debates, They ſometimes reſorted to him for Advice, which He was ready to give; being always willing to take any Pains, which might make that very difficult Work more eaſy to be brought to a good End. But as He never thought He deſerved any Reward for ſo doing, ſo He never expected the Benefit of one Shilling in Money or in Money's Worth, for any Thing He ever did in that Affair; and was ſo far from entertaining any Overture to that Purpoſe, that it is notoriouſly known to many Perſons of Honour, who I preſume will be ready to teſtify the ſame, that when, upon his Majeſty's firſt Return into *England*, ſome Propoſitions were made to him of receiving the Grant of ſome forfeited Lands, and for the buying other Lands there upon the Deſire of the Owners thereof, and at ſo low a Price that the very Profit of the Land would in a ſhort Time have paid for the Purchaſe, and other Overtures of imme- (135)
diate Benefit in Money (which others did and lawfully might accept); He rejected all Propoſitions of that Kind or relating to it, and declared publickly and privately, "that He would neither have Lands in *Ireland* nor the "leaſt Benefit from thence, till all Differences and Pre- "tences in that Kingdom ſhould be ſo fully ſettled and "agreed, that there could be no more Appeal to the "King, or repairing to the King's Council for Juſtice; "in which," He ſaid, "He ſhould never be thought ſo "competent an Adviſer, if He had any Title of his own "in that Kingdom to bias his Inclinations." And He

was

was often heard to ſay, "that He never took a firmer "Reſolution in any Particular in his Life, than to adhere "to that Concluſion." Yet becauſe it was notorious afterwards, that He did receive ſome Money out of *Ireland*, and had a lawful Title to receive more (with which He was reproached when He could not anſwer for himſelf); it may not be amiſs in this Place, for his Vindication, to ſet down particularly how that came to paſs, and to mention all the Circumſtances which preceded, accompanied or attended, that Affair.

A Vindication of the Chancellor with Regard to the Iriſh Affairs.

IN the Bills which were firſt tranſmitted from *Ireland* after his Majeſty's happy Return, there was an Impoſition of a certain Sum of Money upon ſome ſpecified Lands in ſeveral Provinces, "which was to be paid to his Majeſty "within a limited Time, and to be diſpoſed of by his "Majeſty to ſuch Perſons who had ſerved him faithfully, "and ſuffered in ſo doing," or Words to that Effect; for He often proteſted that He never ſaw the Act of Parliament, and was moſt confident that He never heard of it at the Time when it paſſed, He being often abſent from the Council, by Reaſon of the Gout or other Accidents, when ſuch Matters were tranſacted. But two Years after the King's Return or thereabout, He received a Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*, "that there "would be in his Hands, and in the Earl of *Angleſey's* "and the Lord *Maſſaren's*" (who it ſeems were appointed Treaſurers to receive the Money to be raiſed by that Act of Parliament), "a good Sum of Money for him; which "He gave him Notice of, to the End that He might give "Direction for the Diſpoſal thereof, whether He would have "it returned into *England*, or laid out in Land in *Ireland*;" and He wiſhed "that He would ſpeedily ſend his Direc-"tion, becauſe He was confident that the Money would "be paid in, at leaſt by the Time that his Letter could "arrive there." No Man can be more ſurpriſed, than the Chancellor was at the Receipt of this Letter, believing that there was ſome Miſtake in it, and that his Name might have been uſed in Truſt by Somebody who had given him no Notice of it. And without returning any Anſwer to the Earl of *Orrery*, He writ by that Poſt to the Lord Lieutenant, to inform him of what the Earl of *Orrery* had writ to him, and deſired him to "inform him "by his own Enquiry, what the Meaning of it was."

Before He had an Anſwer from the Lord Lieutenant, or indeed before his Letter could come to the Lord Lieutenant's Hands, He received a ſecond Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*; in which He informed him, "that there "was now paid in to his Uſe, the Sum of twelve thou- "ſand ſix hundred and odd Pounds, and that there would "be the like Sum again received for him at the End of "ſix Months;" and ſent him a particular Direction, "to "what Perſon and in what Form He was to ſend his Or- "der for the Payment of the Money." The Chancellor ſtill forbore to anſwer this Letter, till He had received an Anſwer to what He had written to the Lord Lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what Title He had to that Money, and how He came to have it: "That "ſhortly after the paſſing that Act of Parliament, which "had given his Majeſty the Diſpoſal of the Money before "mentioned, the Earl of *Orrery* had come to him, the (136)
"Lord Lieutenant, and putting him in Mind, how the "Chancellor had rejected all Overtures which had been "made to him of Benefit out of that Kingdom" (which Refuſal, and many others that ſhew how unſolicitous He had always been in the Ways of getting, is not more known to any Man living than to the Lord Lieutenant), "wiſhed that He would move the King to confer ſome "Part of that Money upon the Chancellor; which the "Lord Lieutenant very willingly did, and his Majeſty as "cheerfully granted: That a Letter was accordingly pre- "pared, and his Majeſty's Royal Signature procured by "Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who was at the ſame Time "commanded by the King not to let him know of it; to "which Purpoſe there was likewiſe a Clauſe in the Let- "ter, whereby it was provided that He ſhould have no "Notice of it; which," the Lord Lieutenant ſaid, "was "by his Majeſty's Direction or with his Approbation, be- "cauſe it was ſaid, that if He had Notice of it, He "would be ſo fooliſh as to obſtruct it himſelf. And "there was a Clauſe likewiſe in the ſaid Letter, which "directed the Payment of the ſaid Monies to his Heirs, "Executors or Aſſigns, if He ſhould die before the Re- "ceipt thereof."

The Chancellor being ſo fully advertiſed of all this by the Lord Lieutenant, and of which till that Time He had not the leaſt Notice or Imagination, He deſired Secretary *Nicholas* to give him a Copy of that Letter (which had been

been ſince paſſed as a Grant to him under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, according to the Form then uſed); which the Secretary gave him, with a large Account of many gracious Circumſtances in the King's granting it, and the Obligation laid upon him of Secrecy, and the great Caution that was uſed that He might have no Notice of it. After He was informed of all this, He did not think that there was any Thing left for him to do, but to make his humble Acknowledgment to his Majeſty for his Royal Bounty, and to take Care for the receiving and tranſmitting the Money; and doubted not but that He might receive it very honeſtly. He did therefore wait upon his Majeſty with that Duty that became him: And his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to enlarge his Bounty with thoſe Expreſſions of Favour, and of the Satisfaction He had vouchſafed to take himſelf in conferring his Donative, that his Joy was much greater from that Grace, than in the Greatneſs of the Gift.

AT the very ſame Time, and the very Day that the Chancellor received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Portland* came to him, and informed him of a Difference that was fallen out between the Lord *Lovelace* and Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, upon a Defect in the Title to certain Lands purchaſed heretofore by Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlock* from the Lord *Lovelace*, and enjoyed by him ever ſince; but being by the Neceſſity of that Time, the Delinquency of *Lovelace* and the Power of *Whitlock*, bought and ſold at an Undervalue, and the Time being now more equal, *Lovelace* reſolved to have more Money, or not to perform a Covenant He had entered into; the Notperformance whereof would leave the other's Title very defective. The Earl deſired to reconcile thoſe two, which could not be done without Sale of the Land: And ſo He propoſed to the Chancellor the buying this Land, which lay next to ſome Land He had in *Wiltſhire*. This Propoſition was made upon the very Day, as is ſaid before, that He had received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; by which it appeared that there was near as much Money already received for him, as would pay for that Purchaſe, beſides what was more to be received within ſix Months after. The Land was well known to the Chancellor; ſo that upon a ſhort Conference with the Parties, They all agreed upon the Pur-
(137) chaſe: And He was eaſily prevailed with to undertake the

the Payment of the greateſt Part of the Money upon ſealing the Writings, not making the leaſt Doubt, but that He ſhould by that Time receive the Money from *Ireland*; which was the ſole Ground and Motive to his making that Purchaſe.

But the next Letters He received from *Ireland* informed him, "that the Neceſſities of that Kingdom had "been ſuch, that They could only return ſix thouſand "Pounds of that Money; and that They had been com- "pelled to make Uſe of the reſt for the Publick, which "would take Care to repay it to him in a ſhort Time:" And ſo He found himſelf engaged in a Purchaſe which He could not retract, upon Preſumption of Money which He could not receive. And He did not only never after receive one Penny of what was due upon the ſecond Payment (which He ſo little ſuſpected could fail, there being an Act of Parliament for the Security, that He aſſigned it upon the Marriage of his ſecond Son to him, as the beſt Part of his Portion); but the Remainder of the firſt Sum, which was ſo borrowed or taken from him, or any Part of it, was never after paid to him or to his Uſe: By which, and the Inconveniences and Damages which enſued to him from thence, He might reaſonably ſay that He was a Loſer, and involved in a great Debt, by that ſignal Bounty of his Majeſty; and which was afterwards made Matter of Reproach to him, and as an Argument of his Corruption. But this is a very true Account of that Buſineſs, and of all the Money that He ever received from *Ireland*, with all the Circumſtances thereof; which, in the Judgment of all impartial Men, cannot reflect to the Prejudice of his Integrity and Honour.

And ſo We ſhall no further purſue or again reſume any Mention of the Affairs of *Ireland*, though they will afford a large Field of Matter; but ſhall return to the Beginning of the Parliament, from whence We departed.

Tranſactions in Parliament.

It cannot be expreſſed, hardly imagined, with what Alacrity the Parliament entered upon all particular Affairs which might refer to the King's Honour, Safety or Profit. They pulled up all thoſe Principles of Sedition and Rebellion by the Roots, which in their own Obſervation had been the Ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous Rebellion in the long Parliament. They declared "that ſottiſh Diſtinction between the King's Perſon "and his Office to be Treaſon; that his Negative Voice "could

The King's Prerogative aſſerted.

" could not be taken from him, and was ſo eſſential to the " making a Law, that no Order or Ordinance of either " Houſe could be binding to the Subject without it; " that the Militia was inſeparably veſted in his Majeſty, " and that it was High Treaſon to raiſe or levy Soldiers " without the King's Commiſſion." And becauſe the Licenſe of ſpeaking ſeditiouſly, and of laying ſcandalous Imputations and Aſperſions upon the Perſon of the King, as ſaying *that He was a Papiſt*, and ſuch like Terms, to alienate the Affections of the People from his Majeſty, had been the Prologue and principal Ingredient to that Rebellion, and corrupted the Hearts of his loving Subjects; They declared, " that the raiſing any Calumnies of " that Kind upon the King, as ſaying *that He is a Papiſt*, " *or popiſhly affected*, or the like, ſhould be Felony." In a Word, They vindicated all his Regalities and Royal Prerogatives, and provided for the Safety of his Perſon in as loving and ample a Manner as He could wiſh: And towards raiſing and ſettling a Revenue proportionable to his Dignity and neceſſary Expenſe, over and above the Confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the laſt Convention, They entered upon all the Expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive Propoſitions or Advice from any Body that might contribute
(138) thereunto. In all theſe publick Matters, no Man could wiſh a more active Spirit to be in them, than They were in Truth poſſeſſed with.

The Parliament unwilling to confirm the Act of Indemnity.

BUT in that which the King had principally recommended to them, the Confirmation of the *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity*, They proceeded very ſlowly, coldly and unwillingly, notwithſtanding the King's frequent Meſſages to them " to diſpatch it, though with the Delay of " thoſe other Things which They thought did more im- " mediately concern him." They had many Agents and Solicitors in the Court, who thought that all that was releaſed by that Act might lawfully be diſtributed amongſt them; and ſince the King had referred that whole Affair to the Parliament, He might well leave it to their Judgments, without his own Interpoſition. But his Majeſty looked upon himſelf as under another Obligation both of Honour and Conſcience, and upon the Thing itſelf as more for the publick Peace and Security, than any Thing the Parliament could provide inſtead thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent Unwillingneſs

willingneſs to paſs it. And thereupon He went himſelf to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for the Commons, and told them, "that it was abſolutely neceſſary to diſpatch "that Bill, which He himſelf had ſent to them near "two Months before:" For it was now the eighth of *July*. His Majeſty told them, "that it was to put him-"ſelf in Mind as well as them, that He ſo often, as often "as He came to them, mentioned to them his Declara-"tion from *Breda*." And He ſaid, "He ſhould put them "in Mind of another Declaration publiſhed by themſelves "about that Time, and which He was perſuaded made "his the more effectual, an honeſt, generous and Chriſt-"ian Declaration, ſigned by the moſt eminent Perſons, "who had been the moſt eminent Sufferers; in which "They renounced all former Animoſities, all Memory of "former Unkindneſſes, vowed all imaginable Good-Will "and all Confidence in each other." All which being preſſed with ſo much Inſtance by his Majeſty prevailed with them: And They then forthwith diſpatched that Bill; and the King as ſoon confirmed it, and would not ſtay a few Days, till other important Bills ſhould be likewiſe ready to be preſented to him.

The King ſtrenuouſly urges them to it.

Whereupon They confirm it.

And there cannot be a greater Inſtance of their Deſire to pleaſe his Majeſty from thenceforth, than that before that Seſſion was concluded, notwithſtanding the Prejudice the Clergy had brought upon themſelves (as I ſaid before) upon their too much good Huſbandry in granting Leaſes, and though the Preſbyterian Party was not without an Intereſt in Both Houſes of Parliament; They paſſed a Bill for the Repeal of that Act of Parliament, by which the Biſhops were excluded from ſitting there. It was firſt propoſed in the Houſe of Commons by a Gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a Preſbyterian Family: And in that Houſe it found leſs Oppoſition than was looked for; all Men knowing, that beſides the Juſtice of it, and the Prudence to wipe out the Memory of ſo infamous an Act, as the Excluſion of them with all the Circumſtances was known to be, it would be grateful to the King.

The Commons paſs a Bill for reſtoring Biſhops to their Seats in Parliament.

But when it came into the Houſe of Peers, where all Men expected it would find a general Concurrence, it met with ſome Obſtruction; which made a Diſcovery of an Intrigue, that had not been ſuſpected. For though there were many Lords preſent, who had induſtriouſly laboured

boured the paſſing the former Bill for the Excluſion, yet They had likewiſe been guilty of ſo many other ill Things, of which They were aſhamed, that it was believed that They would not willingly revive the Memory of the Whole, by perſevering in ſuch an odious Particular. Nor
(139) in Truth did They. But when They ſaw that it would unavoidably paſs (for the Number of that Party was not conſiderable), They either gave their Conſents, as many of them did, or gave their Negative without Noiſe. The Obſtruction came not from thence. The *Catholicks* leſs owned the Contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though They ſuffered in it. But the Truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial Brain of the Earl of *Briſtol*, who much affected to be looked upon as the Head of the *Catholicks*; which They did ſo little deſire that He ſhould be thought, that They very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the King deſired (which his Majeſty never diſſembled) to give the *Roman Catholicks* Eaſe from all the ſanguinary Laws; and that He did not deſire that They ſhould be liable to the other Penalties which the Law had made them ſubject to, whilſt They ſhould in all other Reſpects behave themſelves like good Subjects. Nor had They ſince his Majeſty's Return ſuſtained the leaſt Prejudice by their Religion, but enjoyed as much Liberty at Court and in the Country, as any other Men; and with which the wiſeſt of them were abundantly ſatisfied, and did abhor the Activity of thoſe of their own Party, whom They did believe more like to deprive them of the Liberty They enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them.

Which is obſtructed in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Briſtol.

WHEN the Earl of *Briſtol* ſaw this Bill brought into the Houſe for reſtoring the Biſhops to their Seats, He went to the King, and informed his Majeſty, "that if "this Bill ſhould ſpeedily paſs, it would abſolutely deprive "the *Catholicks* of all thoſe Graces and Indulgence which "He intended to them; for that the Biſhops, when They "ſhould ſit in the Houſe, whatever their own Opinions "or Inclinations were, would find themſelves obliged, "that They might preſerve their Reputation with the "People, to contradict and oppoſe whatſoever ſhould look "like Favour or Connivance towards the *Catholicks*: And "therefore, if his Majeſty continued his former gracious "Inclination towards the *Roman Catholicks*, He muſt "put ſome Stop (even for the Biſhops own Sakes) to the "paſſing that Bill, till the other ſhould be more advanced,

"which

"which He ſuppoſed might ſhortly be done;" there having been already ſome Overtures made to that Purpoſe, and a Committee appointed in the Houſe of Lords to take a View of all the ſanguinary Laws in Matters of Religion, and to preſent them to the Houſe that it might conſider farther of them. The King ſurpriſed with the Diſcourſe from a Man who had often told him the Neceſſity of the reſtoring the Biſhops, and that it could not be a perfect Parliament without their Preſence, thought his Reaſon for the Delay to have Weight in it, and that the Delay for a few Days could be attended with no Prejudice to the Matter itſelf; and thereupon was willing the Bill ſhould not be called for, and that when it ſhould be under Commitment, it ſhould be detained there for ſome Time; and that He might, the better to produce this Delay, tell ſome of his Friends, "that the King would "be well pleaſed, that there ſhould not be overmuch "Haſte in the preſenting that Bill for his Royal Aſſent."

THIS grew quickly to be taken Notice of in the Houſe, that after the firſt Reading of that Bill, it had been put off for a ſecond Reading longer than was uſual, when the Houſe was at ſo much Leiſure; and that now it was under Commitment, it was obſtructed there, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours ſome Lords of the Committee could uſe for the Diſpatch; the Bill containing very few Words, being only for the Repeal of a former Act, and the Expreſſions admitting, that is, giving little Cauſe for any Debate. The Chancellor deſired to know how this came to paſs, and was informed by one of the Lords of the Committee, "that They were aſſured that the King "would have a Stop put to it, till another Bill ſhould be "provided which his Majeſty looked for." Hereupon (140) the Chancellor ſpake with his Majeſty, who told him all the Conference which the Earl of *Briſtol* had held with him, and what He had conſented ſhould be done. To which the other replied, "that He was ſorry that his Ma-"jeſty had been prevailed with to give any Obſtruction "to a Bill, which every Body knew his Majeſty's Heart "was ſo much ſet upon for Diſpatch; and that if the "Reaſon were known, it would quickly put an End to "all the Pretences of the *Catholicks*; to which his Ma-"jeſty knew He was no Enemy." The King preſently concluded that the Reaſon was not ſufficient, and wiſhed "that the Bill might be diſpatched as ſoon as was poſſi-

"ble,

"ble, that He might paſs it that Seſſion;" which He had appointed to make an End of within few Days: And ſo the next Day the Report was called for and made, and the Bill ordered to be engroſſed againſt the next Morning; the Earl not being at that Time in the Houſe. But the next Morning, when the Chancellor had the Bill engroſſed in his Hand to preſent to the Houſe to be read the third Time, the Earl came to him to the Woolſack, and with great Diſpleaſure and Wrath in his Countenance told him, "that if that Bill were "read that Day, He would ſpeak againſt it;" to which the Chancellor gave him an Anſwer that did not pleaſe him: And the Bill was paſſed that Day. And from that Time the Earl of *Briſtol* was a more avowed and declared Enemy to him, than He had before profeſſed to be; though the Friendſhip that had been between them had been diſcontinued or broken, from the Time the Earl had changed his Religion.

But is at laſt paſſed.

THE King within few Days came to the Parliament, to give his Royal Aſſent to thoſe Bills which were prepared for him; and then told them, "that He did thank "them with all his Heart, indeed as much as He could "for any Thing, for the Repeal of that Act which ex-"cluded the Biſhops from ſitting in Parliament." He ſaid, "it was an unhappy Act in an unhappy Time, "paſſed with many unhappy Circumſtances, and at-"tended with miſerable Events; and therefore He did "again thank them for repealing it: And that They had "thereby reſtored Parliaments to their primitive Inſtitu-"tions." This was upon the thirtieth of *July* 1661, when the Parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of *November* following.

The Parliament adjourned.

BECAUSE We have mentioned the gracious Purpoſes the King had to his Roman Catholick Subjects, of which afterward much Uſe was made to his Diſſervice, to which the Vanity and Preſumption of many of that Profeſſion contributed very much; it may not be unſeaſonable in this Place to mention the Ground of that his Majeſty's Goodneſs, and the Reaſons why that Purpoſe of his was not proſecuted to the Purpoſe it was intended, after ſo fair a Riſe towards it, by the Appointment of that Committee in the Houſe of Peers, which is remembered above.

The true Ground of the King's Favour to the Roman Catholicks.

It

It is not to be wondered at, that the King, at the Age He was of when the Troubles began in *England*, and when He came out of *England*, knew very little of the Laws which had been long ſince made and were ſtill in Force againſt *Roman Catholicks*, and leſs of the Grounds and Motives which had introduced thoſe Laws. And from the Time that He was firſt beyond the Seas, He could not be without hearing very much ſpoken againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and more for extolling and magnifying the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; neither of which Diſcourſes made any Impreſſion upon him. After the Defeat at *Worceſter*, and his Eſcape from thence into *France*, the Queen his Mother (who had very punctually complied with the King her Huſband's Injunctions, in not ſuffering any Body to endeavour to pervert the Prince her Son in his Religion, and when He came afterwards into *France* after He was King, continued the ſame Reſervation) uſed much more Sharpneſs in her Diſcourſe againſt the *Proteſtants*, than She had been accuſtomed to. The Liberty that his Majeſty formerly had in the *Louvre*, to have a Place ſet aſide for the Exerciſe of his Religion, was taken away: And continual Diſcourſes were made by the Queen in his Preſence, "that He had now no Hope ever to be reſtored to his "Dominions, but by the Help of the *Catholicks*; and "therefore that He muſt apply himſelf to them in ſuch "a Way, as might induce them to help him." (141)

About this Time there was a ſhort Collection and Abridgment made of all the penal Laws, which had been made and which were ſtill in Force in *England* againſt the *Roman Catholicks*; "that all Prieſts for ſay-"ing Maſs were to be put to Death;" the great Penalties which They were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a Prieſt in their Houſe, or were preſent at Maſs, and the like; with all other envious Clauſes, which were in any Acts of Parliament, that had been enacted upon ſeveral Treaſon and Conſpiracies of the *Roman Catholicks*, in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. And this Collection They cauſed to be tranſlated into *French* and into *Latin*, and ſcattered it abroad in all Places; after They had cauſed Copies of it to be preſented to the Queen Mother of *France*, and to the Cardinal: So that the King came into no Place where thoſe Papers were not ſhewed to him, and where

He

He was not ſeriouſly aſked, "whether it was a true Col-"lection of the Laws of *England*," and "whether it was "poſſible, that any Chriſtian Kingdom could exerciſe ſo "much Tyranny againſt the Catholick Religion." The King, who had never heard of theſe Particulars, did really believe that the Paper was forged, and anſwered, "He did not believe that there were ſuch Laws:" And when He came to his Lodgings, He gave the Chancellor the Paper, and bade him read it, and tell him "whe-"ther ſuch Laws were in Force in *England*." He had heard before of the ſcattering of thoſe Papers, and knew well who had made the Collection; who had been a Lawyer, and was a *Proteſtant*, but had too good an Opinion of the *Roman Catholicks*, and deſired too much to be grateful to them.

THE Chancellor found an Opportunity the next Day to enlarge upon the Paper to his Majeſty, and informed him of "the Seaſons in which, and the Occaſions and "Provocations upon which, thoſe Laws had been made; "of the frequent Treaſons and Conſpiracies which had "been entered into by ſome *Roman Catholicks*, always "with the Privity and Approbation of their Prieſts and "Confeſſors, againſt the Perſon and Life of Queen *Eli-"zabeth*; and after her Death, of the infamous and de-"teſtable Gunpowder Treaſon to have deſtroyed King "*James* and his Poſterity, with the whole Nobility of "the Kingdom: So that in thoſe Times, the Pope hav-"ing excommunicated the whole Kingdom, and abſolved "the Subjects from all their Oaths of Fidelity, there "ſeemed no Expedient to preſerve the Crown, but the "uſing theſe Severities againſt thoſe who were profeſſed "Enemies to it. But that ſince thoſe Times, that the "*Roman Catholicks* had lived quietly, that Rigour had "not been uſed: And that the King his Father's Cle-"mency towards thoſe of that Profeſſion (which Cle-"mency extended no farther than the diſpenſing with "the utmoſt Rigour of the Laws), was the Ground of "the Scandal of his being popiſhly affected, that con-"tributed as much to his Ruin, as any particular Ma-"lice in the worſt of his Enemies."

(142) THE King hearkened attentively to all that was ſaid, and then anſwered, "that He could not doubt but there "was ſome very extraordinary Reaſon for the making "ſuch ſtrange Laws: But whatever the Reaſon then

"was, that it was at preſent and for many Years paſt "very evident, that there was no ſuch Malignity in the "*Roman Catholicks*, that ſhould continue that heavy Yoke "upon their Necks. That He knew well enough, that "if He were in *England*, He had not in himſelf the "Power to repeal any Act of Parliament, without the "Conſent of Parliament: But that He knew no Reaſon "why He might not profeſs, that He did not like thoſe "Laws which cauſed Men to be put to Death for their "Religion; and that He would do his beſt, if ever God "reſtored him to his Kingdom, that thoſe bloody Laws "might be repealed. And that if there were no other "Reaſon of State than He could yet comprehend, againſt "the taking away the other Penalties, He ſhould be glad "that all thoſe Diſtinctions between his Subjects might "be removed; and that whilſt They were all equally "good Subjects, They might equally enjoy his Pro-"tection." And his Majeſty did frequently, when He was in the Courts of Catholick Princes, and when He was ſure to hear the Sharpneſs of the Laws in *England* inveighed againſt, enlarge upon the ſame Diſcourſe: And it had been a very unſeaſonable Preſumption in any Man, who would have endeavoured to have diſſuaded him from entertaining that Candour in his Heart.

With this gracious Diſpoſition his Majeſty returned into *England*; and received his Catholick Subjects with the ſame Grace and Frankneſs, that He did his other: And They took all Opportunities to extol their own Sufferings, which They would have underſtood to have been for him. And ſome very noble Perſons there were, who had ſerved his Father very worthily in the War, and ſuffered as largely afterwards for having done ſo: But the Number of thoſe was not great, but much greater than of thoſe who ſhewed any Affection to him or for him, during the Time of his Abſence, and the Government of the Uſurper. Yet ſome few there were, even of thoſe who had ſuffered moſt for his Father, who did ſend him Supply when He was abroad, though They were hardly able to provide Neceſſaries for themſelves: And in his Eſcape from *Worceſter*, He received extraordinary Benefit, by the Fidelity of many poor People of that Religion; which his Majeſty was never reſerved in the Remembrance of. And this gracious Diſpoſition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then,

upon

upon an Addreſs made to the Houſe of Peers in the Name of the *Roman Catholicks*, for ſome Relaxation of thoſe Laws which were ſtill in Force againſt them, the Houſe of Peers appointed that Committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all thoſe penal Statutes, which reached to the taking away the Life of any *Roman Catholick*, Prieſt or Layman, for his Religion; there not appearing one Lord in the Houſe, who ſeemed to be unwilling that thoſe Laws ſhould be repealed. And after that Committee was appointed, the Roman Catholick Lords and their Friends for ſome Days diligently attended it, and made their Obſervations upon ſeveral Acts of Parliament, in which They deſired Eaſe. But on a ſudden this Committee was diſcontinued, and never after revived; the *Roman Catholicks* never afterwards being ſolicitous for it.

A Committee of the Lords for relaxing the penal Laws againſt the Roman Catholicks.

THE Argument was now to be debated amongſt themſelves, that They might agree what would pleaſe them: And then there quickly appeared that Diſcord and Animoſity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguiſhed; and of which the State might make much other Uſe than it hath done. The Lords and Men of Eſtates were not ſatisfied, in that They (143) obſerved the Good-Nature of the Houſe did not appear to extend farther, than the aboliſhing thoſe Laws which concerned the Lives of the Prieſts, which did not much affect them: For beſides that thoſe Spectacles were no longer grateful to the People, They were confident that They ſhould not be without Men to diſcharge thoſe Functions; and the Number of ſuch was more grievous to them than the Scarcity. That which They deſired was, the Removal of thoſe Laws, which being let looſe would deprive them of ſo much of their Eſtates, that the Remainder would not preſerve them from Poverty. This Indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other They cared not. Nor were the Eccleſiaſticks at all pleaſed with what was propoſed for their Advantage, but looked upon themſelves as deprived of the Honour of Martyrdom by this Remiſſion, that They might undergo Reſtraints, which would be more grievous than Death itſelf: And They were very apprehenſive, that there would remain ſome Order of them excluded, as there was even a moſt univerſal Prejudice againſt the *Jeſuits*; or that there would be ſome

The Roman Catholicks *diſagree amongſt themſelves.*

Limitation of their Numbers, which They well knew the *Catholicks* in general would be very glad of, though They could not appear to desire it.

THERE was a Committee chosen amongst them of the Superiours of all Orders, and of the secular Clergy, that sate at *Arundel-House*, and consulted together with some of the principal Lords and others of the prime Quality of that Religion, what They should say or do in such and such Cases which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at least apprehended, that They should never be dispensed with in Respect of the Oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all Men, without their submitting to take some other Oath, that might be an equal Security of and for their Fidelity to the King, and the Preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom. And there had been lately scattered abroad some printed Papers, written by some Regular and Secular Clergy, with sober Propositions to that Purpose, and even the Form of an Oath and Subscription to be taken or made by all *Catholicks*; in which there was an absolute Renunciation or Declaration against the temporal Authority of the Pope, which, in all common Discourses amongst the *Protestants*, all *Roman Catholicks* made no Scruple to renounce and disclaim: But it coming now to be the Subject-Matter of the Debate in this Committee, the *Jesuits* declared with much Warmth, "that They ought not, nor could "They with a good Conscience as *Catholicks*, deprive "the Pope of his temporal Authority, which He hath in "all Kingdoms granted to him by God himself," with very much to that Purpose; with which most of the temporal Lords, and very many of the Seculars and Regulars, were so much scandalized, that the Committee being broken up for that Time, They never attended it again; the wiser and the more conscientious Men discerning, that there was a Spirit in the rest that was raised and governed by a Passion, of which They could not comprehend the Ground. And the Truth is, the *Jesuits*, and They who adhered to them, had entertained great Hopes from the King's too much Grace to them, and from the great Liberty They enjoyed; and promised themselves and their Friends another Kind of Indulgence, than They saw was intended to them by the House of Peers. And this was the Reason that that Com-

Committee was no more looked after, nor any publick Addreſs was any farther proſecuted. *Upon which the Commit ee is diſcontinued.*

AND from this Time there every Day appeared ſo much Inſolence and Indiſcretion amongſt the imprudent *Catholicks*, that They brought ſo many Scandals upon his Majeſty, and kindled ſo much Jealouſy in the Parliament, that there grew a general Averſion towards
(144) them. And the King's Party remembered, with what Warineſs and Diſregard the *Roman Catholicks* had lived towards them in the whole Time of the Uſurpation; and how little Sorrow They made Shew of upon the horrid Murder of the King (which was then exceedingly taken Notice of): And They who had been abroad with the King remembered, that his Majeſty had received leſs Regard and Reſpect from his Catholick Subjects, wherever He found them abroad, than from any foreign *Catholicks*; who always received him with all imaginable Duty, whilſt his own looked as if They had no Dependance upon him. And ſo We return to the Parliament after its Adjournment.

THE Parliament, that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of *July*, met again upon the twentieth of *November*, with the ſame Zeal and Affection to advance the King's Service. And the King himſelf came to them upon the ſame Day They met, and told them, "that "He knew that Viſit was not of Courſe; yet if there "were no more in it, it would not be ſtrange, that He "came to ſee what He and They had ſo long deſired to ſee, "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons "of *England*, met together to conſult for the Peace and "Safety of the Church and State, by which Parliaments "were reſtored to their primitive Luſtre and Integrity:" His Majeſty ſaid, "He did heartily congratulate with "them for that Day." But He told them withal, "that "He came thither upon another Occaſion; which was to "ſay ſomewhat to them on his own Behalf, to aſk ſome-"what of them for himſelf, which was more than He had "done of them, or of thoſe who met before them, ſince his "Coming into *England*. Nor did He think, that what He "had to ſay to them did alone, or did moſt concern him-"ſelf: If the uneaſy Condition He was in, if the Streights "and Neceſſities He was to ſtruggle with, did not mani-"feſtly relate to the publick Peace and Safety, more than "to his own Particular, otherwiſe than as He was concern-

The Parliament meets again.

The King's Speech.

"ed in the Publick, He would not give them that Trou-
"ble that Day; He could bear his Neceſſities which
"merely related to himſelf, with Patience enough."

He told them, "that He did not importune them to
"make more Haſte in the ſettling the conſtant Revenue
"of the Crown, than was agreeable to the Method They
"had propoſed to themſelves, nor to conſider the inſup-
"portable Weight that lay upon it, the Obligations it
"lay under to provide for the Intereſt, Honour and Se-
"curity of the Nation, in another Proportion than in
"any former Times it had been obliged to: His Ma-
"jeſty well knew, that They had very affectionately and
"worthily taken all that into their Thoughts, and would
"proceed in it with Expedition: But that He came to
"put them in Mind of the crying Debts which did every
"Day call upon him, of ſome neceſſary Proviſions, which
"were to be made without Delay for the very Safety of
"the Kingdom, of the great Sum of Money that ſhould
"be ready to diſcharge the ſeveral Fleets when they
"came Home, and for the neceſſary Preparations that
"were to be made for the ſetting out new Fleets to Sea
"againſt the next Spring. Theſe were the preſſing Oc-
"caſions which He was forced to recommend to them
"with all poſſible Earneſtneſs, and He did conjure them
"to provide for as ſpeedily as was poſſible, and in ſuch
"a Manner as might give them Security at Home, and
"ſome Reputation abroad." His Majeſty ſaid, "that
"He made this Diſcourſe to them with ſome Confidence,
"becauſe He was very willing and deſirous that They
"ſhould thoroughly examine, whether thoſe Neceſſities
"which He mentioned were real or imaginary, or whe-
"ther they were fallen upon him by his own Fault, his
"own ill Managery, or Exceſſes, and provide for them (145)
"accordingly. He was very willing that They ſhould
"make a full Inſpection into his Revenue, as well the
"Diſburſements as Receipts; and if They ſhould find
"that it had been ill managed by any Corruptions in
"the Officers He truſted, or by his own Unthriftineſs,
"He ſhould take the Advice and Information They
"ſhould give him very kindly."

He told them, "that He was very ſorry that the ge-
"neral Temper and Affections of the Nation were not
"ſo well compoſed, as He hoped they would have been,
"after ſo ſignal Bleſſings from God Almighty upon them
"all,

"all, and after ſo great Indulgence and Condeſcenſions "from him towards all Intereſts. But that there were "many wicked Inſtruments ſtill as active as ever, who "laboured Night and Day to diſturb the publick Peace, "and to make all People jealous of each other: It would "be worthy their Care and Vigilance to provide proper "Remedies for the Diſeaſes of that Kind; and if They "ſhould find new Diſeaſes, They muſt ſtudy new Re-"medies. For thoſe Difficulties which concerned Mat-"ters in Religion," his Majeſty confeſſed to them, "that "they were too hard for him; and therefore He did re-"commend them to their Care and Diſcretion, which "could beſt provide for them."

THE two Houſes were abundantly pleaſed with all that his Majeſty had ſaid to them, and immediately betook them to the Conſideration of thoſe Particulars, which He had principally recommended to them. And though for the preſent They looked upon that Clauſe of his Majeſty's Speech, wherein He referred to them to make an Inſpection into his Revenue and his Expenſes, but as a generous and princely Condeſcenſion, which would not become them to make Uſe of (nor indeed had They at that Time the leaſt Prejudice to or Jealouſy of any, who were of the neareſt Truſt about his Majeſty); yet four Years after, when the Expenſes had grown to be much greater, and it may be all Diſburſements not ſo warrantable, and when the Factions in Court and Parliament were at a great Height, and Men made Uſe of publick Pretences to ſatisfy their private Animoſities and Malice, They made Uſe of that frank Offer of his Majeſty, to entitle themſelves to make Inquiſition into publick and private Receipts and Diſburſements, in a very extraordinary Manner never practiſed before.

The Reaſons why the King's Debts were ſo great.

LET no Man wonder, that within ſo little Time as a Year and a Half or very little more after the King's Return, that is, from *May* to *November* in the next Year, and after ſo great Sums of Money raiſed by Acts of Parliament upon the People, his Majeſty's Debts could be ſo crying and importunate, as to diſturb him to that Degree as He expreſſed. It was never enough underſtood, that in all that Time He never received from the Parliament more than the ſeventy thouſand Pounds towards his Coronation; nor were the Debts which were now ſo grievous to him contracted by himſelf (though

it cannot be ſuppoſed but that He had contracted Debts himſelf in that Time): All the Money that had been given and raiſed had been applied to the Payment of the Land and Sea Forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do ſeldom make their Computations right, but reckon what They give to be much more than is ever received, and what They are to pay to be as much leſs than in Truth They owe; ſo that when all the Money that was collected was paid, there remained ſtill very much due to the Soldiers, and much more to the Seamen: And the Clamour from Both reached the King's Ears, as if They had been levied by his Warrant and for his Service. And his Majeſty underſtood too well, by the Experience of the ill Huſbandry of the laſt Year, when both the Army and the Ships were ſo long continued in Pay, (147) for Want of Money to diſband and pay them off, what the Trouble and Charge would be, if the ſeveral Fleets ſhould return before Money was provided to diſcharge the Seamen; and for that the Clamour would be only upon him.

But there was an Expenſe that He had been engaged in from the Time of his Return, and by which He had contracted a great Debt, of which very few Men could take Notice; nor could the King think fit to diſcover it, till He had firſt provided againſt the Miſchief which might have attended the Diſcovery. It will hardly be believed, that in ſo warlike an Age, and when the Armies and Fleets of *England* had made more Noiſe in the World for twenty Years, had fought more Battles at Land and Sea, than all the World had done beſides, or any one People had done in any Age before; and when at his Majeſty's Return there remained a hundred Ships at Sea, and an Army of near threeſcore thouſand Men at Land; there ſhould not be in the *Tower* of *London*, and in all the Stores belonging to the Crown, Fire-Arms enough, nor indeed of any other Kind, to arm three thouſand Men; nor Powder and naval Proviſions enough to ſet out five Ships of War.

From the Death of *Cromwell*, no Care had been taken for Supplies of any of the Stores. And the Changes which enſued in the Government, and putting out and in new Officers; the Expeditions of *Lambert* againſt Sir *George Booth*, and afterwards into the *North*; and other Preparations for thoſe Factions and Parties which ſucceeded

each

each other; and the continual Opportunities which the Officers had for Embezzlement; and laſtly, the ſetting out that Fleet which was ſent to attend upon the King for his Return; had ſo totally drained the Stores of all Kinds, that the Magazines were no better repleniſhed than is mentioned before: Which as ſoon as his Majeſty knew, as He could not be long ignorant of it, the firſt Care He took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at Home, in how ill a Poſture He was to defend himſelf againſt an Enemy. And then He committed the Care of that Province to a noble Perſon, whom He knew He could not truſt too much, and made Sir *William Compton* Maſter of the Ordnance, and made all the Shifts He could deviſe for Monies, that the Work might be begun. And hereby inſenſibly He had contracted a great Debt: And theſe were Part of the crying Debts, and the neceſſary Proviſions which were to be made without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom, which He told the Parliament. And in this He had laboured ſo effectually, that at the Time when the firſt *Dutch* War was entered into, all the Stores were more completely ſupplied and provided for, and the Ships and all naval Proviſions in greater Strength and Plenty, than they had ever been in the Reign of any former King, or in the Time of the Uſurper himſelf.

THAT Part of the King's Speech, of the Diſtempers in the Nation by the Differences in Religion, which He confeſſed were too hard for him, and recommended the compoſing them to their Care and Deliberation, gives me a ſeaſonable Opportunity to enter upon the Relation, how that Affair ſtood at that Time, and how far the Diſtractions of thoſe ſeveral Factions were from being reconciled, though Epiſcopacy ſeemed to be fully reſtored, and the Biſhops to their Votes in Parliament; which had been looked upon as the moſt ſovereign Remedy, to cure, reform or extinguiſh all thoſe Maladies. The Biſhops had ſpent the Vacation in making ſuch Alterations in the *Book of Common Prayer*, as They thought would make it more grateful to the *diſſenting Brethren*, for ſo the ſchiſmatical (147) Party called themſelves; and ſuch Additions, as in their Judgments the Temper of the preſent Time and the paſt Miſcarriages required. It was neceſſarily to be preſented to the Convocation, which is the national Synod of the Church; and that did not ſit during the Receſs of the Parliament,

An Account of the Reviſal of the Liturgy.

liament, and ſo came not together till the End of *November:* Where the Conſideration of it took up much Time; all Men offering ſuch Alterations and Additions, as were ſuitable to their own Fancies, and the Obſervations which They had made in the Time of Confuſion.

Some of the Biſhops are againſt all Alterations in the Liturgy.

THE Biſhops were not all of one Mind. Some of them, who had greateſt Experience and were in Truth wiſe Men, thought it beſt "to reſtore and confirm the old *Book of* "*Common Prayer*, without any Alterations and Additions; "and that it would be the beſt Vindication the *Liturgy* "and Government of the Church could receive, that af- "ter ſo many Scandals and Reproaches caſt upon Both, "and after a bloody Rebellion and a War of twenty Years "raiſed, as was pretended, principally againſt Both, and "which had prevailed and triumphed in the total Suppreſ- "ſion and Deſtruction of Both, they ſhould now be re- "ſtored to be in all Reſpects the ſame They had been be- "fore. Whereas any Alterations and Additions (beſides "the Advantage it might give to the common Adverſary, "the *Papiſt*, who would be apt to ſay that We had re- "formed and changed our Religion again), would raiſe "new Scruples in the factious and ſchiſmatical Party, that "was aſhamed of all the old Arguments, which had ſo "often been anſwered, and ſtood at preſent exploded in "the Judgment of all ſober Men; but would recover new "Spirits to make new Objections, and complain that the "Alterations and Additions are more grievous and bur- "denſome to the Liberty of their Conſcience, than thoſe "of which They had formerly complained."

Others of them preſs earneſtly for ſome.

OTHERS, equally grave, of great Learning and unble- miſhed Reputation, preſſed earneſtly both for the Altera- tions and Additions; ſaid, "that it was a common Re- "proach upon the Government of the Church, that it "would not depart from the leaſt unneceſſary Expreſſion "or Word, nor explain the moſt inſignificant Ceremony; "which would quiet or remove the Doubts and Jealouſies "of many conſcientious Men, that They did in Truth "ſignify ſomewhat that was not intended: And therefore "ſince ſome powerful Men of that troubleſome Party had "made it their earneſt Requeſt, that ſome ſuch Altera- "tions and Additions might be made, and profeſſed that "it would give great Satisfaction to many very good "Men; it would be great Pity, now there was a fit Op- "portunity for it, which had not been in former Times

"of

"of Clamour, not to gratify them in thoſe ſmall Particu-
"lars, which did not make any important Difference
"from what was before." It may be there were ſome, who believed that the Victory and Triumph of the Church would be with the more Luſtre, if ſomewhat were inſerted, that might be underſtood to reflect upon the rude and rebellious Behaviour of the late Times, which had been regulated and conducted by that Clergy: And ſo both Additions and Alterations were made.

The former Opinion the more prudent.

BUT the Truth is, what Shew of Reaſon ſoever and Appearance of Charity the latter Opinion ſeemed to carry with it, the former Advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many Inconveniences which enſued. Whatever had been pretended or deſired, the Alterations which were made to pleaſe them did not reduce one of them to the Obedience of the Church; and the Additions raiſed the Clamour higher than it had been. And when it was evident that They ſhould not be left
(148) longer without a Liturgy, They cried aloud for the ſame They had before, though They had inveighed againſt it for near a hundred Years together.

The unhappy Policy of making Conceſſions to the Diſſenters.

IT is an unhappy Policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that *Claſſis* of Men can be recovered and reconciled by partial Conceſſions, or granting leſs than They demand. And if all were granted, They would have more to aſk, ſomewhat as a Security for the Enjoyment of what is granted, that ſhall preſerve their Power, and ſhake the whole Frame of the Government. Their Faction is their Religion: Nor are thoſe Combinations ever entered into upon real and ſubſtantial Motives of Conſcience how erroneous ſoever, but conſiſt of many glutinous Materials, of Will, and Humour, and Folly, and Knavery, and Ambition, and Malice, which make Men cling inſeparably together, till They have Satisfaction in all their Pretences, or till They are abſolutely broken and ſubdued, which may always be more eaſily done than the other. And if ſome few, how ſignal ſoever (which often deceives us), are ſeparated and divided from the Herd upon reaſonable Overtures, and ſecret Rewards which make the Overtures look the more reaſonable; They are but ſo many ſingle Men, and have no more Credit and Authority (whatever They have had) with their Companions, than if They had never known them, rather leſs; being leſs mad than They were makes them

them thought to be leſs fit to be believed. And They, whom You think You have recovered, carry always a Chagrin about them, which makes them good for Nothing, but for Inſtances to divert you from any more of that Kind of Traffick.

And it is very ſtrange, that the Clergy did not at this Time remember what had ſo lately befallen the poor Church of *Scotland*, upon the Tranſmiſſion of their *Liturgy*, which had been compoſed with this very Proſpect that now dazzled their Eyes. "To receive a Liturgy from *Eng-*"*land* was below the Dignity of that Nation, which were "governed by their own Laws, without Dependance upon "any other. Beſides there were many Errors in that Li-"turgy that They could never ſubmit to, and ſome De-"fects which ought to be ſupplied; and if ſuch a one "ſhould be compiled, in which all thoſe Exceptions, "which were well enough known, might be provided "for, They would gladly receive it." All this was carefully performed; and what Reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the Scars which ſtill remain from thoſe Wounds. And then the great Objection that was moſt impudently urged was, "that it differed from the Liturgy of the Church of "*England*, which They were ready to have received, and "would have declared to the World, that the two Na-"tions had but one Religion; whereas the Book ſent "to them would have manifeſted the contrary, and was "the Product of a few particular Men, to whoſe Spirit "and Humour They would not ſacrifice their native Li-"berty of Conſcience."

None of the Diſſenters gained by the Conceſſions now made.

They of the ſame Fraternity in *England* at this preſent governed themſelves by the ſame Method, though, God be thanked, not yet with the ſame Succeſs. And there is great Reaſon to believe, that the very Men, who laboured ſo much for the Alterations which were made, and profeſſed to receive ſo much Satisfaction in them, did it for no other End, but to procure more Opportunity to continue and enlarge the Contentions; and to gain Excuſe and Credit to the ill Things They had done, by the Redreſs and Reparation that was given them in the Amendment of many Particulars, againſt which They had always complained. There was not one of them who had uſed that Importunity and made that Profeſſion, who afterwards was conformable to the Government of (149) the

the Church, or frequented thoſe Churches where or when the *Liturgy* was uſed.

The factious Preachers aſſume much Licenſe.

WHILST the Clergy was buſy and ſolicitous to prepare this Remedy for the preſent Diſtempers, the People of all the ſeveral Factions in Religion aſſumed more Licenſe than ever They had done. The *Preſbyterians* in all their Pulpits inveighed againſt the *Book of Common Prayer* that They expected, and took the ſame Liberty to inveigh againſt the Government of the Church, as They had been accuſtomed to before the Return of the King; with Reflections upon the Perſons of the Biſhops, as if They aſſumed a Juriſdiction that was yet at leaſt ſuſpended. And the other Factions in Religion, as if by Concert, took the ſame Liberty in their ſeveral Congregations. The *Anabaptiſts* and the *Quakers* made more Noiſe than ever, and aſſembled together in great Numbers, and talked what Reformations They expected in all Particulars. Theſe Inſolencies offended the Parliament very much: And the Houſe of Commons expreſſed much Impatience, that the *Liturgy* was ſo long in Preparation, that the *Act of Uniformity* might without Delay be paſſed and publiſhed; not without ſome Inſinuations and Reflections, that his Majeſty's Candour, and Admiſſion of all Perſons to reſort to his Preſence, and his Condeſcenſion to confer with them, had raiſed their Spirits to an Inſolence inſupportable; and that Nothing could reduce them to the Temper of good Subjects, but the higheſt Severity.

IT is very true, from the Time of his Majeſty's Coming into *England*, He had not been reſerved in the Admiſſion of thoſe who had been his greateſt Enemies, to his Preſence. The Preſbyterian Miniſters He received with Grace; and did believe that He ſhould work upon them by Perſuaſions, having been well acquainted with their common Arguments by the Converſation He had had in *Scotland*, and was very able to confute them. The *Independents* had as free Acceſs, both that He might hinder any Conjunction between the other Factions, and becauſe They ſeemed wholly to depend upon his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, without reſorting to the Parliament, in which They had no Confidence; and had rather that Epiſcopacy ſhould flouriſh again, than that the *Preſbyterians* ſhould govern. The King had always admitted the *Quakers* for his Divertiſement and Mirth, becauſe He thought, that of all the Factions They were the moſt innocent,

nocent, and had leaſt of Malice in their Natures againſt his Perſon and his Government: And it was now too late, though He had a worſe Opinion of them all, to reſtrain them from coming to him, till there ſhould be ſome Law made to puniſh them; and therefore He ſtill called upon the Biſhops, to cauſe the *Liturgy* to be expedited in the Convocation. And finding that thoſe Diſtempers had that Influence upon the Houſe of Commons, that the Diſpleaſure and Jealouſy which They conceived from thence did retard their Counſels, and made them leſs ſolicitous to advance his Service in the ſettling his Revenue, They having ſate near three Months after their coming together again upon their Adjournment, without making any conſiderable Progreſs in it; He ſent for the Speaker and the Houſe of Commons to attend him at *Whitehall*, where He ſpake unto them, though very graciouſly, in a Style that ſeemed to have more of Expoſtulation and Reprehenſion than They had been accuſtomed to.

The King ſends for the Houſe of Commons to attend him at Whitehall.

His Speech to them.

He ſaid, "He ſpake his Heart to them when He told "them, that He did believe, that from the firſt Inſtitu- "tion of Parliaments to that Hour, there had never been "a Houſe of Commons fuller of Affection and Duty to "their King, than They were to him; never any that "was more deſirous and ſolicitous to gratify their King, "than They were to oblige him; never a Houſe of Com- (150) "mons, in which there were fewer Perſons without a full "Meaſure of Zeal for the Honour and Welfare of the "King and Country, than there are in this: In a Word," He ſaid, "He knew moſt of their Perſons and Names, "and could never hope to find better Men in their Places. "Yet after all this He could not but lament and even "complain, that He and They and the Kingdom were "yet without that preſent Fruit and Advantage, which "They might reaſonably promiſe themſelves from ſuch a "Harmony of Affections, and Unity in Reſolutions to "advance the publick Service, and to provide for the "Peace and Security of the Kingdom; that They did not "expedite thoſe good Counſels, which were moſt neceſ- "ſary for Both. He knew not how it came to paſs, but "for many Weeks paſt, even ſince their laſt Adjourn- "ment, private and particular Buſineſs had almoſt thruſt "the Conſideration of the publick out of Doors; and He "did not know that They were nearer the ſettling his Re-

"venue,

"venue, than They had been at *Chriſtmas*. He was ſure "He had communicated his Condition to them without "Reſerve; what He had coming in, and what his neceſ- "ſary Diſburſements were. And," He ſaid, "He was "exceedingly deceived, if whatever They gave him were "any otherwiſe given to him, than to be iſſued out for "their own Uſe and Benefit; and if They conſidered it "well, They would find that They were the richer by "what They gave, ſince it was all to be laid out that "They might enjoy the reſt in Peace and Security."

HE ſaid, "He need not put them in Mind of the mi- "ſerable Effects, that had attended the Wants and Ne- "ceſſities of the Crown; that He needed not to tell them, "that there was a Republican Party ſtill in the Kingdom, "which had the Courage ſtill to promiſe themſelves an- "other Revolution: And He thought He had as little "Need to tell them, that the only Way, with God's "Bleſſing, to diſappoint their Hopes, and indeed to re- "duce them from thoſe extravagant Hopes and Deſires, "was, to let them ſee that They had ſo provided for the "Crown, that it had wherewithal to ſupport itſelf, and to "ſecure his People; which He was ſure was all He de- "ſired, and deſired only for their Preſervation. There- "fore He conjured them by all the Profeſſions of Affect- "ion which They had made to him, by all the Kindneſs "which He knew They had for him, that They would, "after all their Deliberations, betake themſelves to ſome "ſpeedy Reſolutions, and ſettle ſuch a real and ſubſtan- "tial Revenue upon him, as might hold ſome Proportion "with the neceſſary Expenſes He was at for the Peace "and Benefit and Honour of the Kingdom; that They "who looked for Troubles at Home might deſpair of "their Wiſhes; and that our Neighbours abroad, by ſee- "ing that all is well at Home, might have that Eſteem "and Value of his Majeſty, as might ſecure the Honour "and Intereſt of the Nation, and make the Happineſs of "the Kingdom and of that City once more the Admira- "tion and Envy of the World."

HE told them, "that He heard that They were very "zealous for the Church, and very ſolicitous and even "jealous that there was not Expedition enough uſed in "that Affair: He thanked them for it, ſince He pre- "ſumed that it proceeded from a good Root of Piety and "Devotion. But," He ſaid, "that He muſt tell them,

"that

" that He had the worſt Luck in the World, if after all " the Reproaches of being a *Papiſt* while He was abroad, " He was ſuſpected to be a *Preſbyterian* now He was come " Home. He knew They would not take it unkindly, if " He told them, that He was as zealous for the Church " of *England* as any of them could be, and was enough " acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides; that " He was as much in Love with the *Book of Common* " *Prayer* as They could wiſh, and had Prejudice enough " to thoſe who did not love it, who He hoped in Time (151) " would be better informed, and ſo change their Minds; " and They might be confident, He did as much deſire " to have an Uniformity ſettled, as any Man amongſt " them. He prayed them to truſt him in that Affair, " and promiſed them to haſten the Diſpatch of it with all " convenient Speed; They might rely upon him in it." He ſaid, " He had tranſmitted the *Book of Common Prayer*, " with thoſe Alterations and Additions which had been " preſented to him by the Convocation, to the Houſe of " Peers with his Approbation, that the *Act of Uniformity* " might relate to it: ſo that He preſumed that it would " ſhortly be diſpatched there: And that when They had " done all They could," He ſaid, " the well ſettling that " Affair would require great Prudence and Diſcretion, " and the Abſence of all Paſſion and Precipitation."

His Majeſty concluded with aſſuring them, " that He " did promiſe himſelf great Fruits from that Converſation " He had with them, and that They would juſtify the " Confidence He had in their Affections, by letting the " World ſee, that They took his Concernments to Heart, " and were ready to do whatſoever He deſired for the " Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom."

The Liturgy preſented to the Houſe of Lords with the King's Confirmation.

When the *Book of Common Prayer* was, by the King's Command, preſented to the Houſe of Lords by the two Archbiſhops (for it had been approved by the Convocation of the Province of *York*, as well as by that of *Canterbury*) confirmed by his Majeſty under the Great Seal of *England*; the Book itſelf took up no Debate: Only the Earl of *Northumberland* propoſed, " that the old *Book of* " *Common Prayer* might be confirmed without any Altera- " tion or Addition, and then the ſame *Act of Uniformity*, " that had been in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, would " be likewiſe applied to it; whereas a new Act of Uni- " formity might take up much Time and raiſe much " Debate,

"Debate, all which would be avoided by adhering to "the old."

WHATEVER that Lord's Opinion was, He was known to be of the Preſbyterian Party. And it was anſwered, "that if that Propoſition had been heartily made when "the King came into *England*, it would have met with a "general Approbation, and prevented much Sharpneſs "and Animoſity, which had ſince riſen by thoſe who op- "poſed that excellent Form. But after the Clergy had "ſo bitterly inveighed againſt many Parts thereof, and "prevailed with his Majeſty to ſuſpend the Uſe of it till "it might be reviſed, as by his Declaration of the five "and twentieth of *October* He had done, and thereupon "had granted his Commiſſion under the Great Seal of "*England* to ſeveral Biſhops and other Divines, to review "the *Book of Common Prayer*, and to prepare ſuch Altera- "tions and Additions as They thought fit to offer; and "that afterwards his Majeſty had been pleaſed to author- "ize the Convocations of Both the Provinces of *Can- "terbury* and *York*, called and aſſembled by his Majeſ- "ty's Authority, to review the ſaid *Book of Prayer*, and "the *Book of the Form and Manner of the making and "conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*; and that "now after the Biſhops and Clergy of Both Provinces "had, upon great Deliberation and upon reviewing thoſe "Books, prepared and conſented to ſome Alterations, "and to the Addition of ſeveral Prayers to be uſed upon "emergent Occaſions, all which his Majeſty had already "ratified and confirmed: It could not but be underſtood "Matter of great Levity and Offence, to reject this Book, "that was now with all this Ceremony and Solemnity pre- "ſented, for no other Reaſon but becauſe They liked bet- "ter the old Book, which had been for twenty Years diſ- (152) "continued and rejected." And therefore it was moved, "that there might not be ſuch an Affront put upon the "Convocation, and upon the King himſelf." And ſo with little more publick Conteſt the Book itſelf was conſented and ſubmitted to. *And conſented to by them.*

BUT then the *Act of Uniformity* depended long, and took up much Debate in Both Houſes. In the Houſe of Peers, where the Act firſt began, there were many Things inſerted, which had not been contained in the former *Act of Uniformity*, and ſo ſeemed to carry ſomewhat of Novelty in them. It admitted "no Perſon to have any Cure *Debates there upon the Act of Uniformity.*

"of Souls or any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity in the Church of "*England*, but ſuch who had been or ſhould be ordained "Prieſt or Deacon by ſome Biſhop, that is, who had not "Epiſcopal Ordination; excepting only the Miniſters or "Paſtors of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London* "and other Places, allowed by the King, who ſhould en-"joy the Privileges They had."

THIS was new; for there had been many and at preſent there were ſome, who poſſeſſed Benefices with Cure of Souls, and other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who had never received Orders but in *France* or in *Holland*; and theſe Men muſt now receive new Ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the Church, or by this Act of Parliament muſt be deprived of their Livelihood, which They enjoyed in the moſt flouriſhing and peaceable Time of the Church. And therefore it was ſaid, "that this had "not been the Opinion of the Church of *England*; and "that it would lay a great Reproach upon all other Pro-"teſtant Churches who had no Biſhops, as if They had "no Miniſters, and conſequently were no Churches: For "that it was well known the Church of *England* did not "allow Reordination, as the ancient Church never ad-"mitted it; inſomuch as if any Prieſt of the Church of "*Rome* renounces the Communion thereof, his Ordina-"tion is not queſtioned, but he is as capable of any Pre-"ferment in this Church, as if He had been ordained in "it. And therefore the not admitting the Miniſters of "other *Proteſtants* to have the ſame Privilege, can pro-"ceed from no other Ground, than that They looked not "upon them as Miniſters, having no Ordination; which "is a Judgment the Church of *England* had not ever "owned: And that it would be very imprudent to do "it now."

Upon the Clauſe requiring Epiſcopal Ordination.

To this it was anſwered, "that the Church of *England* "judged none but her own Children, nor did determine "that other Proteſtant Churches were without Ordina-"tion. It is a Thing without her Cognizance: And moſt "of the learned Men of thoſe Churches had made Ne-"ceſſity the chief Pillar to ſupport that Ordination of "theirs. That Neceſſity cannot be pleaded here, where "Ordination is given according to the unqueſtionable "Practice of the Church of Chriſt: If They who pretend "foreign Ordination are his Majeſty's Subjects, They "have no Excuſe of Neceſſity, for They might in all

"Times

"Times have received Epiſcopal Ordination, and ſo "They did upon the Matter renounce their own Church; "if They are Strangers, and pretend to Preferment in "this Church, They ought to conform and to be ſubject "to the Laws of the Kingdom, which concern only thoſe "who deſire to live under the Protection thereof. For "the Argument of Reordination, there is no ſuch Thing "required. Rebaptization is not allowed in or by any "Church: Yet in all Churches where it is doubted, as it "may be often with very good Reaſon, whether the Per-"ſon hath been baptized or no, or if it hath been bap-"tized by a Midwife or lay Perſon; without determining "the Validity or Invalidity of ſuch Baptiſm, there is an "hypothetical Form, *If Thou haſt not been already bap-"tized, I do baptize*, &c. So in this Caſe of Ordina-
(153) "tion, the Form may be the ſame, *If Thou haſt not been "already ordained, then I do ordain*, &c. If his former "Ordination were good, this is void; if the other was in-"valid or defective, He hath Reaſon to be glad that it "be thus ſupplied." After much Debate, that Clauſe remained ſtill in the Act: And very many who had received Preſbyterian Orders in the late Times, came very willingly to be ordained in the Manner aforeſaid by a Biſhop; and very few choſe to quit or loſe a Parſonage or Vicarage of any Value upon that Scruple.

THERE was another Clauſe in the Bill, that made very much more Noiſe afterwards, though for the preſent it took not up ſo much Time, and in Truth was little taken Notice of: That is, a Form of Subſcription that every Man was to make, who had received, or before He received, any Benefice or Preferment in the Church; which comprehended all the Governours, Superiours and Fellows, in all the Colleges and Halls of either Univerſity, and all Schoolmaſters and the like, who are ſubſervient towards Learning. Every ſuch Perſon was to declare "his unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every Thing "contained and preſcribed in and by the Book, entitled "*The Book of Common Prayer*, &c." The Subſcription was generally thought ſo reaſonable, that it ſcarce met with any Oppoſition in either Houſe. But when it came abroad, and was to be ſubmitted to, all the diſſenting Brethren cried out, that it was a Snare to catch them, "to ſay that which [illegible]d not conſiſt with their Con-"ſciences." They t[illegible]reat Pains to diſtinguiſh and to

A Clamour afterwards raiſed about the Clauſe of Aſſent *and* Conſent.

make great Difference between *Aſſent* and *Conſent:* "They "could be content to read the Book in the Manner They "were obliged to do, which ſhewed their Conſent; but "declaring their unfeigned Aſſent to every Thing con- "tained and preſcribed therein would imply, that They "were ſo fully convinced in their Judgments, as to think "that it was ſo perfect, that Nothing therein could be "amended, which for their Part They thought there "might. That there were many Expreſſions in the *Ru-* "*brick*, which They were not bound to read; yet by "this Aſſent They declared their Approbation thereof." But after many tedious Diſcourſes of this tyrannical Impoſition, They grew by Degrees aſhamed of it; and were perſuaded to think, that *Aſſent* and *Conſent* had ſo near the ſame Signification, that They could hardly conſent to do what They did not aſſent to: So that the chiefeſt amongſt them, to avoid a very little Inconvenience, ſubſcribed the ſame.

The Bill paſſed by the Lords.

But there was ſhortly after another Clauſe added, that gave them Trouble indeed. When the Bill had paſſed the Lords Houſe, it was ſent of Courſe to the Commons; where though all the Factions in Religion had too many Friends, for the moſt contrary and oppoſite one to another always were united and reconciled againſt the Church, yet They who were zealous for the Government, and who hated all the other Factions at leaſt enough, were very much ſuperiour in Number and in Reputation. And the Bill was no ſooner read there, than every Man according to his Paſſion thought of adding ſomewhat to it, that might make it more grievous to Somebody whom He did not love; which made the Diſcourſes tedious and vehement and full of Animoſity. And at laſt They agreed upon a Clauſe, which contained another Subſcription and Declaration, which every Man was to make before He could be admitted into any Benefice or Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, or to be a Governour or Fellow in either of the Univerſities. He muſt firſt declare, "that it is not lawful "upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt "the King; and that He doth abhor that traiterous Po- "ſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Per- "ſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him; "and that He will conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church "of *England*, as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed." And He doth declare, "that He doth hold there lies no Obliga-

Amendments made by the Houſe of Commons.

(154)

"tion

"tion upon him, or on any other Perſon, from the Oath "commonly called *The ſolemn League and Covenant*, to "endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government, "either in Church or State; and that the ſame was in it-"ſelf an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects "of this Realm, againſt the known Laws and Liberties "of the Kingdom;" with ſome other Clauſes, which need not be mentioned becauſe they were afterwards left out. And with this Addition, and ſome other Alterations, They returned the Bill again to the Lords for their Approbation.

The Bill returned to the Lords.

THE framing and forming this Clauſe had taken up very much Time, and raiſed no leſs Paſſion in the Houſe of Commons: And now it came among the Lords, it was not leſs troubleſome. It added to the Diſpleaſure and Jealouſy againſt the Biſhops, by whom it was thought to be prepared, and commended to their Party in the lower Houſe. Many Lords, who had taken the *Covenant*, were not ſo much concerned that the Clergy (for whom only this Act was prepared) ſhould be obliged to make this Declaration; but apprehended more, that when ſuch a Clauſe ſhould be once paſſed in one Act of Parliament, it could not after be diſputed, and ſo would be inſerted into all other Acts which related to the Function of any other Offices, and ſo would in a ſhort Time be required of themſelves. And therefore They oppoſed it warmly "as a "Thing unneceſſary, and which would widen the Breach, "inſtead of cloſing up the Wounds that had been made; "which the King had made it his Buſineſs to do, and the "Parliament had hitherto concurred with his Majeſty in "that Endeavour. That many Men would believe or "fear (which in ſuch a Caſe is the ſame), that this Clauſe "might prove a Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, which had "not only provided againſt Indictments and Suits at Law "and Penalties, but againſt Reproaches for what was "paſt, which this Clauſe would be underſtood to give "new Life to. For what concerned the Conformity to "the *Liturgy* of the Church as it is now eſtabliſhed, it is "provided for as fully in the former Subſcription in this "Act, and therefore is impertinent in this Place. That "the *Covenant* contained many good Things in it, as "defending the King's Perſon, and maintaining the Pro-"teſtant Religion: And therefore to ſay that there "lies no Obligation from it, would neither be for the

Debates upon the Amendments made by the Commons.

"Service of the King or the Intereſt of the Church; eſ-
"pecially ſince it was well known, that it had wrought
"upon the Conſcience of many to ſerve the King in
"the late Revolution, from which his Majeſty had re-
"ceived great Advantage. However it was now dead,
"all Men were abſolved from taking it, nor could it be
"impoſed or offered to any Man without Puniſhment;
"and They, who had in the ill Times been forced to take
"it, did now inviolably and cheerfully perform all the
"Duties of Allegiance and Fidelity to his Majeſty. If it
"had at any Time produced any Good, that was an Ex-
"cuſe for the Irregularity of it: It could do no Miſchief
"for the future; and therefore that it was Time to bury
"it in Oblivion."

MANY Men believed, that though They inſiſted principally on that Part which related to the *Covenant*, They were in Truth more afflicted with the firſt Part; in which it was declared, "that it was not lawful, upon any Pre-
"tence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and
"that He doth abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking
"Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon:" Which Concluſions had been the Principles which ſupported their (155)
Rebellion, and by which They had impoſed upon the People, and got their Concurrence. They durſt not oppoſe this, becauſe the Parliament had already by a former Act declared the Law to be ſo in thoſe Particulars: Yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular Declaration (for They looked upon it as that which in a ſhort Time muſt be their own), They ſhould upon the Matter confeſs themſelves to have been Traitors, which They had not yet been declared to have been; and no Man could now juſtify the calling them ſo.

THEY who were moſt ſolicitous that the Houſe ſhould concur with the Commons in this Addition, had Field-room enough to expatiate upon the groſs Iniquity of the *Covenant*. They made themſelves very merry with the Allegation, "that the King's Safety and the Intereſt of
"the Church were provided for by the *Covenant*, when
"it had been therefore entered into, to fight againſt the
"King and to deſtroy the Church. That there was no
"one lawful or honeſt Clauſe in the *Covenant*, that was
"not deſtroyed or made of no Signification by the next
"that ſucceeded; and if it were not, the ſame Obliga-
"tion was better provided for by ſome other Oaths, which

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"the ſame had or ought to have taken, and which ought "to have reſtrained them from taking the *Covenant*: And "therefore it may juſtly be pronounced that there is no "Obligation upon any Man from thence. That there "was no Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, nor any Re-"proach upon any Man for having taken it, except what "would reſult from his own Conſcience. But that it was "moſt abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of the King's "Perſon, and the Peace of the Kingdom, that They who "had taken it ſhould declare, that They do not believe "themſelves to be bound by it: Otherwiſe They may ſtill "think, that They may fight againſt the King, and muſt "conſpire the Deſtruction of the Church. And They "cannot take too much Care, or uſe too much Diligence, "to diſcover who are of that Opinion; that They may be "ſtrictly looked unto, and reſtrained from doing that "which They take themſelves obliged to do. That the "*Covenant* is not dead, as was alleged, but ſtill retains "great Vigour; was ſtill the Idol to which the *Preſby-*"*terians* ſacrificed: And that there muſt and would al-"ways be a general Jealouſy of all thoſe who had taken it, "until They had declared that it did not bind them; "eſpecially of the Clergy, who had ſo often enlarged in "their Pulpits, how abſolutely and indiſpenſably all Men "were obliged to proſecute the End of it, which is to de-"ſtroy the Church, whatever Danger it brings the King's "Perſon to. And therefore They of all Men ought to "be glad of this Opportunity, that was offered, to vin-"dicate their Loyalty and Obedience; and if They were "not ready to do ſo, They were not fit to be truſted "with the Charge and Care of the Souls of the King's "Subjects."

The Lords conſent to moſt of the Amendments.

AND in Truth there were not any more importunate for the enjoining this Declaration, than many who had taken the *Covenant*. Many who had never taken it, and had always deteſted it, and paid ſoundly for being known to do ſo, were yet very ſorry that it was inſerted at this Time and in this Place; for They foreſaw it would make Diviſions, and keep up the ſeveral Factions, which would have been much weakened, and in a ſhort Time brought to Nothing, if the *Preſbyterians* had been ſeparated from the reſt, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all the reſt. But ſince it was brought upon the Stage, and it had been the Subject of ſo much Debate,

They believed the Houſe of Lords could not now refuſe to concur with the Commons, without undergoing ſome Reproach and Scandal of not having an ill Opinion enough of the *Covenant*; of which as They were in no Degree (156) guilty, ſo They thought it to be of miſchievous Conſequence to be ſuſpected to be ſo. And therefore, after They had expunged ſome other Parts of that Subſcription which had been annexed to it, and mended ſome other Expreſſions in other Places, which might rather irritate than compoſe thoſe Humours which already boiled too much, They returned the Bill to the Houſe of Commons; which ſubmitted to all that They had done: And ſo it was preſented to the King, who could not well refuſe his Royal Aſſent, nor did in his own Judgment or Inclination diſlike what was offered to him.

The Commons agree with the Lords.

The King confirms the Bill.

By this *Act of Uniformity* there was an End put to all the Liberty and Licenſe, which had been practiſed in all Churches from the Time of his Majeſty's Return, and by his Declaration that He had emitted afterwards. The *Common Prayer* muſt now be conſtantly read in all Churches, and no other Form admitted: And what Clergyman ſoever did not fully conform to whatſoever was contained in that Book, or enjoined by the *Act of Uniformity*, by or before *St. Bartholomew-Day*, which was about three Months after the Act was publiſhed; He was *ipſo facto* deprived of his Benefice, or any other ſpiritual Promotion of which He ſtood poſſeſſed, and the Patron was to preſent another in his Place, as if He were dead: So that it was not in the King's Power to give any Diſpenſation to any Man, that could preſerve him againſt the Penalty in the *Act of Uniformity*.

This Act was no ſooner publiſhed (for I am willing to continue this Relation to the Execution of it, becauſe there were ſome intervening Accidents that were not underſtood), than all the Preſbyterian Miniſters expreſſed their Diſapprobation of it with all the Paſſion imaginable. They complained "that the King had violated his Pro- "miſe made to them in his Declaration from *Breda*," which was urged with great Uningenuity, and without any Shadow of Right; for his Majeſty had thereby referred the whole Settlement of all Things relating to Religion, to the Wiſdom of Parliament; and declared, "in "the mean Time that Nobody ſhould be puniſhed or "queſtioned, for continuing the Exerciſe of his Religion

The Preſbyterian Miniſters complain of the King's Violation of his Declaration,

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"in the Way He had been accuſtomed to in the late "Confuſions." And his Majeſty had continued this Indulgence by his Declaration after his Return, and thereby fully complied with his Promiſe from *Breda*; which He ſhould indeed have violated, if He had now refuſed to concur in the Settlement the Parliament had agreed upon, being in Truth no leſs obliged to concur with the Parliament in the Settlement that the Parliament ſhould propoſe to him, than He was not to cauſe any Man to be puniſhed for not obeying the former Laws, till a new Settlement ſhould be made. But how evident ſoever this Truth is, They would not acknowledge it; but armed their Proſelytes with confident Aſſertions, and unnatural Interpretations of the Words in the King's Declaration, as if the King were bound to grant Liberty of Conſcience, whatever the Parliament ſhould or ſhould not deſire, that is, to leave all Men to live according to their own Humours and Appetites, let what Laws ſoever be made to the contrary. They declared "that They could not with "a good Conſcience either ſubſcribe the one or the other "Declaration: They could not ſay that They did aſſent "or conſent in the firſt, nor declare in the ſecond that "there remained no Obligation from the *Covenant*; and "therefore that They were all reſolved to quit their Liv-"ings, and to depend upon Providence for their Sub-"ſiſtence."

THERE cannot be a better Evidence of the general Affection of the Kingdom, than that this Act of Parliament had ſo concurrent an Approbation of the two Houſes of (157) Parliament, after a Suppreſſion of that Form of Devotion for near twenty Years, and the higheſt Diſcountenance and Oppreſſion of all thoſe who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the Time of the King's Return, when it was lawful to uſe it, though it was not enjoined, Perſons of all Conditions flocked to thoſe Churches where it was uſed. And it was by very many ſober Men believed, that if the *Preſbyterians* and the other Factions in Religion had been only permitted to exerciſe their own Ways, without any Countenance from the Court; the Heart of all the Factions againſt the Church would have been broken, before the Parliament did ſo fully declare itſelf. *The Act in general well received.*

AND there cannot be a greater Manifeſtation of the Diſtemper and Licenſe of the Time, than the Preſumption

Reflections on the Behaviour of the Presbyterian Ministers.

tion of those Presbyterian Ministers, in the opposing and contradicting an Act of Parliament; when there was scarce a Man in that Number, who had not been so great a Promoter of the Rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that They had no other Title to their Lives but by the King's Mercy; and there were very few amongst them, who had not come into the Possession of the Churches They now held, by the Expulsion of the Orthodox Ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their Imprisonment, Poverty, and other Kinds of Oppression and Contempt during so many Years, departed this Life, the Usurpers remained undisturbed in their Livings, and thought it now the highest Tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the Law, and Disobedience to the Government. That those Men should give themselves an Act of Oblivion of all their Transgressions and Wickedness, and take upon them again to pretend a Liberty of Conscience against the Government, which They had once overthrown upon their Pretences; was such an Impudence, as could not have fallen into the Hearts even of those Men from the Stock of their own Malice, without some great Defect in the Government, and Encouragement or Countenance from the highest Powers. The King's too gracious Disposition and Easiness of Access, as hath been said before, had from the Beginning raised their Hopes and dispelled their Fears; whilst his Majesty promised himself a great Harvest in their Conversion, by his Gentleness and Affability. And They insinuated themselves by a Profession, "that it was more "the Regard of his Service, than any Obstinacy in them-"selves, which kept them from Conformity to what the "Law had enjoined; that They might still preserve their "Credit with their Parishioners, and by Degrees bring "them to a perfect Obedience:" Whereas indeed all the Corruption was in the Clergy; and where a prudent and Orthodox Man was in the Pulpit, the People very willingly heard the *Common Prayer*.

They have too free Access to the King.

Nor did this Confidence leave them, after the passing and publishing this *Act of Uniformity*: But the *London* Ministers, who had the Government of those in the Country, prevailed with the General (who without any violent Inclinations of his own was always ready for his Wife's Sake) to bring them to the King, who always received

received them with too much Clemency, and diſmiſſed them with too much Hope. They lamented "the Sad-"neſs of their Condition, which (after having done ſo "much Service to his Majeſty, and been ſo graciouſly "promiſed by him his Protection) muſt now be expoſed "to all Miſery and Famine." They told him "what "a vaſt Number of Churches" (five Times more than was true) "would become void by this Act, which "would not prove for his Service; and that They much "feared, the People would not continue as quiet and "peaceable as They had been under their Overſight." They uſed all the Arguments They thought might work upon him: And He ſeemed to be the more moved, be-
(158) cauſe He knew that it was not in his Power to help them. He told them, "He had great Compaſſion for "them; and was heartily ſorry that the Parliament had "been ſo ſevere towards them, which He would remit, "if it were in his Power; and therefore that They ſhould "adviſe with their Friends, and that if They found that "it would be in his Power to give them any Eaſe, They "ſhould find him inclined to gratify them in whatſoever "They deſired:" Which gracious Expreſſions raiſed their Spirits as high as ever; and They reported to their Friends much more than in Truth the King had ſaid to them (which was no new Artifice with them), and adviſed their Friends in all Parts "to be firm to their Principles," and aſſured them, "that the Rigour of the Act of Parliament "ſhould not be preſſed againſt them."

IT cannot be denied, that the King was too irreſolute, and apt to be ſhaken in thoſe Counſels which with the greateſt Deliberation He had concluded, by too eaſily permitting or at leaſt not reſtraining any Men who waited upon him, or were preſent with him in his Receſſes, to examine and cenſure what was reſolved; an Infirmity that brought him many Troubles, and expoſed his Miniſters to Ruin: Though in his Nature, Judgment and Inclinations He did deteſt the *Preſbyterians*; and by the Experience He had of their Faculties, Pride and Inſolence in *Scotland*, had brought from thence ſuch an Abhorrence of them, that for their Sakes He thought better of any of the other Factions. Nor had He any Kindneſs for any Perſon whom He ſuſpected to adhere to them: For the Lord *Lautherdale* took all Pains to be thought no *Preſbyterian*; and pleaſed himſelf better with

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no Humour, than laughing at that People, and telling ridiculous Stories of their Folly and foul Corruptions. Yet the King, from the Opinion He had of their great Power to do him Good or Harm, which was oftentimes unskilfully insinuated to him by Men who He knew were not of their Party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong Computation and Estimate of their Interest, was not willing to be thought an Enemy to them. And there were too many bold Speakers about the Court too often admitted into his Presence, who being without any Sense of Religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any Trouble and Disturbance on the Behalf of any one.

The continued Address and Importunity of these Ministers, as *St. Bartholomew's* Day approached nearer, more disquieted the King. They enlarged with many Words "on the great Joy that They and all their Friends had "received, from the Compassion his Majesty so graciously "had expressed on their Behalf, which They would never "forget, or forfeit by any undutiful Carriage." They confessed "that They found, upon Conference with their "Friends who wished them well, and upon Perusal of "the Act of Parliament, that it was not in his Majesty's "Power to give them so much Protection against the "Penalty of the Act of Parliament, as They had hoped, "and as his great Goodness was inclined to give them. "But that it would be an unspeakable Comfort to them, "if his Majesty's Grace towards them were so manifested, "that the People might discern that this extreme Rigour "was not grateful to him, but that He could be well "content it it were for some Time suspended; and therefore They were humble Suitors to him, that He would "by his Letters to the Bishops, or by a Proclamation, or "an Act of Council, or any other Way his Majesty should "think fit, publish his Desire that the Execution of the "*Act of Uniformity*, as to all but the Reading of the *Liturgy*, which They would conform to, might be suspended for three Months; and that He would take "it well from the Bishops or any of the Patrons, who (159) "would so far comply with his Desire, as not to take "any Advantage of those Clauses in the Statute, which "gave them Authority to present as in a Vacancy. They "doubted not there would be many, who would willingly submit to his Majesty's Pleasure: But whatever the

"Effect

"Effect ſhould be, They would pay the ſame humble "Acknowledgments to his Majeſty, as if it had pro- "duced all that They deſired."

WHETHER his Majeſty thought it would do them no Good, and therefore that it was no Matter if He granted it; or that He thought it no Prejudice to the Church, if the Act were ſuſpended for three Months; or that He was willing to redeem himſelf from the preſent Importunity (an Infirmity He was too often guilty of): True it is, He did make them a poſitive Promiſe, "that He "would do what They deſired;" with which They were abundantly ſatisfied, and renewed their Encouragement to their Friends "to perſevere to the End." And this Promiſe was ſolemnly given to them in the Preſence of the General, who was to ſolicit the King's Diſpatch, that his Pleaſure might be known in due Time. It was now the long Vacation, and few of the Council were then in Town, or of the Biſhops, with whom his Majeſty too late thought it neceſſary to confer, that ſuch an Inſtrument might be prepared as was fit for the Affair. Hereupon the King told the Chancellor (who was not thought Friend enough to the *Preſbyterians* to be ſooner communicated with) all that had paſſed, what the Miniſters had deſired, and what He had promiſed; and bade him "to "think of the beſt Way of doing it." *The King promiſes to ſuſpend the Execution of the Act.*

THE Chancellor was one of thoſe, who would have been glad that the Act had not been clogged with many of thoſe Clauſes, which He foreſaw might produce ſome Inconveniences; but when it was paſſed, He thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſee Obedience paid to it without any Connivance: And therefore, as He had always diſſuaded the King from giving ſo much Countenance to thoſe Applications, which He always knew publiſhed more to be ſaid than in Truth was ever ſpoken, and was the more troubled for this Progreſs They had made with the King; He told his Majeſty, "that it was not in his "Power to preſerve thoſe Men, who did not ſubmit to "do all that was to be done by the Act, from Depriva- "tion." He gave many Reaſons which occurred, why "ſuch a Declaration as was deſired would prove ineffec- "tual to the End for which it was deſired, and what In- "conveniences would reſult from attempting it." His Majeſty alleged many Reaſons for the doing it, which He had received from thoſe who deſired it, and ſeemed

ſorry

ſorry that they were no better; however concluded, "that "He had engaged his Word, and that He would perform "what He had promiſed;" and required him not to oppoſe it. The Chancellor had always been very tender of his Honour; and adviſed him "to be very wary in "making any Promiſe, but when He had made it, to "perform it though to his Diſadvantage:" And it was no new Thing to him, to be reproached for oppoſing the reſolving to do ſuch or ſuch a Thing, and then to be reproached again for purſuing the Reſolution.

The King was at *Hampton-Court*, and ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London* and of *Wincheſter*, to attend him, with the Chief Juſtice *Bridgman*, and the Attorney General: There were likewiſe the Chancellor, the General, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Secretaries. His Majeſty acquainted them with "the "Importunities uſed by the *London* Miniſters, and the "Reaſons They had offered why a further Time ſhould "be given to them to conſider of what was ſo new to "them; and what Anſwer He had given to them; and (160) "how They had renewed their Importunity with a De- "ſire of ſuch a Declaration from him as is mentioned "before, in which He thought there was no Inconveni- "ence, and therefore had promiſed to do it, and called "them now together to adviſe of the beſt Way of doing "it." The Biſhops were very much troubled, that thoſe Fellows ſhould ſtill preſume to give his Majeſty ſo much Vexation, and that They ſhould have ſuch Acceſs to him. They gave ſuch Arguments againſt the doing what was deſired, as could not be anſwered; and for themſelves, They deſired "to be excuſed for not con- "niving in any Degree at the Breach of the Act of Par- "liament, either by not preſenting a Clerk where them- "ſelves were Patrons, or deferring to give Inſtitution "upon the Preſentation of others: And that his Majeſty's "giving ſuch a Declaration or Recommendation would "be the greateſt Wound to the Church, and to the Go- "vernment thereof, that it could receive."

He endeavours to fulfil his Promiſe.

The Chancellor, who did really believe that the King and his Service would ſuffer more by the Breach of his Word and Promiſe, than either could do from doing the Thing deſired, confeſſed "that He believed it would do "them little Good, which would not be imputed to his "Majeſty, when He had done all He could do; and "that

"that it would be a greater Conformity, if the Miniſters "generally performed what They offered to do, in read- "ing all the Service of the Church, than had been theſe "many Years; and that once having done what was "known to be ſo contrary to their Inclinations, would "be an Engagement upon them in a ſhort Time to com- "ply with the reſt of their Obligations: And therefore," He ſaid, "He ſhould not diſſuade his Majeſty from do- "ing what He had promiſed;" which indeed He had good Reaſon to think He was reſolved to do, whatever He was adviſed to the contrary. The King demanded the Judgment of the Lawyers, "whether He could "legally diſpenſe with the Obſervation of the Act for "three Months;" who anſwered, "that notwithſtanding "any Thing He could do in their Favour, the Patrons "might preſent their Clerk as if the Incumbents were "dead, upon their Not-performance of what They were "enjoined." Upon the whole Matter the King was converted; and with great Bitterneſs againſt that People in general, and againſt the particular Perſons whom He had always received too graciouſly, concluded that He would not do what was deſired, and that the Connivance ſhould not be given to any of them.

But finds it not in his Power.

THE Biſhops departed full of Satisfaction with the King's Reſolution, and as unſatisfied with their Friend the Chancellor's Inclination to gratify that People, not knowing the Engagement that was upon him. And this Jealouſy produced a greater Coldneſs from ſome of them towards him, and a greater Reſentment from him, who thought He had deſerved better from their Function and their Perſons, than was in a long Time, if ever, perfectly reconciled. Yet He never declined in the leaſt Degree his Zeal for the Government of the Church, or the Intereſt of thoſe Perſons; nor thought They could be blamed for their Severity againſt thoſe Miniſters, who were ſurely the proudeſt Malefactors, and the moſt incapable of being gently treated, of any Men living. For if any of the Biſhops uſed them kindly, and endeavoured to perſuade them to Conformity, They reported "that "They had been careſſed and flattered by the Biſhops, and "offered great Preferments, which They had bravely re- "fuſed to accept for the Preſervation of a good Con- "ſcience:" And in Reports of this Kind, few of them ever obſerved any Rules of Ingenuity or Sincerity.

The great Diſingenuity of the Preſbyterian Miniſters.

WHEN

They endeavour to raiſe Diſcontents in the People.

(161) WHEN They ſaw that They were to expect and undergo the worſt, They agreed upon a Method to be obſerved by them in the leaving and parting with their Pulpits: And the laſt *Sunday* They were to preach, They endeavoured to infuſe Murmur, Jealouſy and Sedition into the Hearts of their ſeveral Auditories; and to prepare them "to expect and bear with Patience and Cou-"rage all the Perſecutions which were like to follow, now "the Light of the Goſpel was ſo near being extinguiſhed." And all thoſe Sermons They called their Farewel Sermons, and cauſed to be printed together, with every one of the Preachers Pictures before their Sermons; which in Truth contained all the Vanity and Oſtentation with Reference to themſelves, and all the Inſinuations to Mutiny and Rebellion, that could be warily couched in Words which could not be brought within Penalty of Law, though their Meaning was well underſtood.

WHEN the Time was expired, better Men were put into their Churches, though with much murmuring of ſome of their Pariſhes for a Time, increaſed by their loud Clamour, "that They had been betrayed by the King's "Promiſe that They ſhould have three Months longer "Time:" Which drew the like Clamour upon them by thoſe, who had hearkened to their Advice in continuing their Obſtinacy in Confidence of a Diſpenſation; whereas otherwiſe They would have conformed, as very many of their Party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and ſo loſt the Livings They had, made all the Haſte They could to make themſelves capable of getting others, by as full Subſcriptions and Conformity as the *Act of Uniformity* required. And the greateſt of them, after ſome Time, and after They found that the private Bounty and Donatives, which at firſt flowed in upon them in Compaſſion of their Sufferings and to keep up their Courages, every Day began to ſlacken, and would in the End expire, ſubſcribed to thoſe very Declarations, which They had urged as the greateſt Motives to their Nonconformity. And the Number was very ſmall, and of very weak and inconſiderable Men, that continued refractory, and received no Charge in the Church: Though it may without Breach of Charity be believed, that many who did ſubſcribe had the ſame Malignity to the Church, and to the Government of it; and it may

At length moſt of them conform.

may be did more Harm, than if They had continued in their Inconformity.

THE long Time ſpent in Both Houſes upon the *Act of Uniformity* had made the Progreſs of all other publick Buſineſs much the ſlower; or rather, the Multitude of private Bills which depended there (and with which former Parliaments had been very rarely troubled), and the Bitterneſs and Animoſities which aroſe from thence, exceedingly diſquieted and diſcompoſed the Houſe; every Man being ſo much concerned for the Intereſt of his Friends or Allies, that He was more ſolicitous for the Diſpatch of thoſe, than of any which related to the King and the Publick, which He knew would by a general Concurrence be all paſſed before the Seſſion ſhould be made; whereas if the other ſhould be deferred, the Seſſion would quickly follow (which the King by frequent Meſſages deſired to haſten, having received News already of the Queen's having been at Sea many Days), and the Benefit of thoſe Pretences would be loſt, and with greater Difficulty be recovered in a ſucceeding Seſſion. Then as thoſe private Bills were for the particular Benefit and Advantage of ſome Perſons, which engaged all their Friends to be very ſolicitous for their Diſpatch; ſo for the moſt Part they were to the Loſs and Damage of other Perſons, who likewiſe called in Aid of all their Friends to prevent the Houſes Conſent: And by this Means ſo many Factions were kindled in Both Houſes, between thoſe who (162) drove on the Intereſt of their own or of their Relations, who mutually looked upon one another as Enemies, and againſt thoſe who for Juſtice and the Dignity of Parliament would have rejected all or moſt of the Addreſſes of that Kind; that in moſt Debates which related to neither, the Cuſtom of Contradiction, and the Averſion to Perſons, very much diſturbed and prolonged all Diſpatch.

Great Animoſities in Parliament about private Bills.

IT cannot be denied, that after a civil War of ſo many Years, proſecuted with that Height of Malice and Revenge, ſo many Houſes plundered and ſo many burned, in which the Evidences of many Eſtates were totally deſtroyed, and as many by the unſkilful Providence of others, who in Order to preſerve them had buried their Writings ſo unwarily under Ground, that they were taken up ſo defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any Court of Juſtice; many who had followed the

King in the War, and ſo made themſelves liable to thoſe Penalties which the Parliament had prepared for them and ſubjected them to, had made many feigned Conveyances, with ſuch Limitations and ſo abſolutely (that no Truſt might be diſcovered by thoſe who had Power to avoid it) that they were indeed too abſolute to be avoided by themſelves, and their Eſtates become ſo much out of their own Diſpoſal, that They could neither apply them to the Payment of their juſt Debts, or to the Proviſion for their Children: I ſay, there were many ſuch Caſes, which could be no other Way provided for but by an Act of Parliament, and to which an Act of Parliament without too much Severity and Rigour could not be denied. And againſt any of thoſe there appeared none or very little Oppoſition to be made.

But the Example and Precedent of ſuch drew with them a World of unreaſonable Pretences; and They, who were not in a Condition to receive Relief in any Court of Juſtice, thought They had a Ground to appeal to Parliament. They who had been compelled, for raiſing the Money They were forced to pay for their Delinquency, to ſell Land, and could not ſell it but at a very low Value (for it was one Species of the Oppreſſion of that Time, that when a powerful Man had an Aſpect upon the Land of any Man who was to compound, and ſo in View like to ſell it, no other Man would offer any Money for it, ſo that He was ſure at laſt to have it upon his own Price); now all that monſtrous Power was vaniſhed, They who had made thoſe unthrifty Bargains and Sales, though with all the Formalities of Law, by Fines and Recoveries and the like (which is all the Security that can be given upon a Purchaſe), eſpecially if the Purchaſer was of an ill Name, came with all imaginable Confidence to the Parliament, to have their Land reſtored to them. Every Man had raiſed an Equity in his own Imagination, that He thought ought to prevail againſt any Deſcent, Teſtament or Act of Law; and that whatever any Man had been brought to do, which common Reaſon would make manifeſt that He would never have done if He could have choſen, was Argument ſufficient of ſuch a Force, and ought to find Relief in Parliament, from the unbounded Equity They were Maſters of and could diſpenſe, whatever Formalities of Law had preceded or accompanied the Tranſaction. And whoever oppoſed thoſe extra-

extravagant Notions, which ſometimes deprived Men of the Benefit of the *Act of Oblivion*, was thought to be without Juſtice, or which to them was worſe, to be without any Kindneſs to the King's Party. And without Queſtion, upon thoſe Motives or others as unreaſonable, many Acts were paſſed of very ill Example, and which many Men were ſcandalized at in the preſent, and Poſterity will more cenſure hereafter, when Infants who were then unborn ſhall find themſelves diſinherited of thoſe Eſtates, which (163) their Anceſtors had carefully provided ſhould deſcend to them; upon which Irregularities the King made Reflection when He made the Seſſion.

The Parliament proceeds with great Duty towards the King.

BUT notwithſtanding all theſe Incongruities, and the Indiſpoſitions which attended them, They performed all thoſe Reſpects towards the King, which He did or could expect from them; there being ſcarce a Man, who oppoſed the granting any Thing that was propoſed for the Benefit of his Majeſty, or the Greatneſs of the Crown: And though ſome of the Particulars mentioned before did ſometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the preſent Reſolutions and Concluſions in thoſe Counſels, the Reſolutions and Concluſions in a ſhort Time after ſucceeded according to the King's Wiſh. The Militia and many other Regalities were declared and ſettled according to the original Senſe of the Law, and the Authority of the Crown vindicated to the Height it had been at upon the Heads of the greateſt Kings who had ever reigned in the Nation. Monies were raiſed by ſeveral Bills, ſufficient as They conceived to have paid all the Debts the King or the Kingdom owed; for in their Computations They comprehended the Debts that were owing before his Majeſty's Return, and for which the publick Faith had been engaged: And if as much had been paid as They conceived They had given, probably it might have been enough to have diſcharged all thoſe. They ſettled a conſtant Revenue upon the Crown, which according to the Eſtimate They made would amount to the yearly Revenue of twelve hundred thouſand Pounds, a Proportion double to what it was in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and it may be of any King preceding; and declared, "that if it did not amount "to that full Value, They would ſupply it at another Meet-"ing." And though it hath not in Truth amounted to that Sum in his Majeſty's Receipts, the Parliament hath imputed it rather to ill Managery, and letting Farms at

too easy Rates, than to an Error in their Computation. For the present, it was looked upon by the King and by his Ministers as answerable to his Expectation. And so, upon Notice of the Queen's being upon the Coast, and afterwards of her Arrival at *Portsmouth*, the King appointed the Houses to present all their Bills to him upon the nineteenth of *May* for his Royal Assent, it being few Days above a Year from the Time of their being first convened.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

When the King came to the Parliament, and They had presented the great Number of Bills which They had prepared, and after He had given his Royal Assent to most of them, his Majesty told them, "that He thought "there had been very few Sessions of Parliament, in "which there had been so many Bills, as He had passed "that Day: He was confident, never so many private "Bills, which He hoped They would not draw into Ex- "ample. It was true," He said, "the late ill-Times had "driven Men into great Streights, and might have "obliged them to make Conveyances colourably, to "avoid Inconveniences, and yet not afterwards to be "avoided; and Men had gotten Estates by new and "greater Frauds than had been heretofore practised; and "therefore in this Conjuncture extraordinary Remedies "might be necessary, which had induced him to comply "with their Advice in passing those Bills; but He prayed "them that this should be rarely done hereafter: That "the good old Rules of the Law are the best Security;" and He wished "that Men might not have too much "Cause to fear, that the Settlements which They make "of their Estates shall be too easily unsettled, when They "are dead, by the Power of Parliament."

He said, "They had too much obliged him, not only "in the Matter of those Bills which concerned his Reve- "nue, but in the Manner of passing them, with so great "Affection and Kindness, that He knew not how to "thank them enough. He did assure them, and prayed (164) "them to assure their Friends in the Country," that He "would apply all that They had given to him, to the "utmost Improvement of the Peace and Happiness of "the Kingdom; and that He would, with the best Ad- "vice and good Husbandry He could, bring his own "Expenses within a narrower Compass." And He said, "now He was speaking to them of his own good Hus-

"bandry,

"bandry, He muſt tell them, that would not be enough;
"He could not but obſerve, that the whole Nation ſeemed
"to him a little corrupted in their Exceſs of Living. All
"Men ſpend much more in their Cloaths, in their Diet,
"in all their Expenſes, than They had uſed to do. He
"hoped it had only been the Exceſs of Joy after ſo long
"Sufferings, that had tranſported him and them to thoſe
"other Exceſſes; but," He deſired them, "that They
"might all take Heed that the Continuance of them did
"not indeed corrupt their Natures. He did believe that
"He had been that Way very faulty himſelf: He pro-
"miſed that He would reform, and that if They would
"join with him in their ſeveral Capacities, They would by
"their Examples do more Good both in City and Coun-
"try, than any new Laws would do." He ſaid many other good Things that pleaſed them, and no Doubt He intended all He ſaid; but the Ways and Expedients towards good Huſbandry were no where purſued.

THE Chancellor, by the King's Command, enlarged upon "the general Murmurs upon the Expenſe, and that "it ſhould ſo much exceed all former Times." He put them in Mind, "how the Crown had been uſed ſince "thoſe Times, how the King had found it at his bleſſed "Return: That as ſoon as He came hither, beſides the "infinite Sums that He forgave, He gave more Money "to the People than He had ſince received from them" (He meant I ſuppoſe the Releaſe of all the Rents, Debts and Receipts which were due to him); "that at leaſt two "Parts of three that They had ſince given him had iſ-"ſued for the diſbanding of Armies never raiſed by him, "and for Payment of Fleets never ſent out by him, and "of Debts never incurred by him." He put them in Mind, "of the vaſt Diſparity between the former Times "and theſe in which They now lived, and conſequently "of the Diſproportion in the Expenſe the Crown was now "at, for the Protection and Benefit of the Subject, to "what it formerly underwent. How great a Difference "there was in the preſent Greatneſs and Power of the two "Crowns, and what they had been then poſſeſſed of, was "evident to all Men; and if the Greatneſs and Power of "the Crown of *England* ſhould not be in ſome Proportion "improved too, it might be liable to Inconveniencies it "would not undergo alone. How our Neighbours and "our Rivals, who court one and the ſame Miſtreſs, Trade

The Chancellor's Speech.

"and Commerce, with all the World, are advanced in "Shipping, Power, and an immoderate Deſire to en- "groſs the whole Traffick of the Univerſe, was notorious "enough; and that this unruly Appetite would not be "reſtrained or diſappointed, nor the Trade of the Nation "be ſupported and maintained, with the ſame Fleets and "Forces which had been maintained in the happy Times "of Queen *Elizabeth*. He needed not ſpeak of the "naval Power of the *Turks*, who inſtead of ſculking "abroad in poor ſingle Ships as They were wont to do, "domineer now on the Ocean in ſtrong Fleets, make na- "val Fights, and had brought ſome *Chriſtians* to a better "Correſpondence, and another Kind of Commerce and "Traffick with them, than was expected" (for at that Time the *Dutch* had made a low and diſhonourable Peace with the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*): "Inſomuch as "They apprehended no Enemy upon the Sea, but what "They find in the King of *England's* Ships, which had (165) "indeed brought no ſmall Damage upon them, with no "ſmall Charge to the King, but a great Reputation to "the Nation."

"He did aſſure them, that the Charge the Crown was "then at, by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Security "and Wealth and Honour of the Nation, amounted to "no leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds in the Year; "all which did not coſt the Crown before the late Trou- "bles fourſcore thouſand Pounds the Year: And there- "fore that Nobody could blame them for any Supply "They had given, or Addition They had made to the "Revenue of the Crown." He told them, "that the "new Acquiſitions of *Dunkirk*, *Mardike*, *Tangier*, *Ja- "maica*, and *Bombayne*, ought to be looked upon as "Jewels of an immenſe Magnitude in the Royal Dia- "dem; and though they were of preſent Expenſe, they "were like in a ſhort Time, with God's Bleſſing, to "bring vaſt Advantages to the Trade, Navigation, "Wealth and Honour of the King and Kingdom. His "Majeſty had enough expreſſed his Deſire to live in a "perfect Peace and Amity with all his Neighbours; nor "was it an ill ingredient towards the Firmneſs and Sta- "bility of that Peace and Amity which his Royal Anceſ- "tors had held with them, that He hath ſome Advant- "ages in Caſe of a War, which They were without."

The (16

The ſame Day the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth Day of *February* following. *The Parliament prorogued.*

IT was about the End of *May*, when the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*. The Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had reduced thoſe of *Algiers* and *Tunis* to good Conditions, went to *Tangier*, which was to be delivered to him before He was to go to *Liſbon* for the Reception of the Queen: And delivered to him it was, though by an Accident that might have cauſed it to be delivered into another Hand. There was never the leaſt Doubt, but that the Queen Regent did reſolve religiouſly to perform all the Conditions on the Part of *Portugal*; and the Government was yet in her Hands. But the King growing towards his Majority, and of a Nature not like to comply long with his Mother's Advice; Factions began likewiſe to grow in that Court. The Delivery of *Tangier*, and into the Hands of Hereticks, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the Pope, who did already carry himſelf towards them very unlike a common Father, notwithſtanding the powerful Interpoſition of *France*, which, upon the Peace lately made between the two Crowns, was already ceaſed: So that They now apprehended, that this new Provocation would give ſome Excuſe to the Court of *Rome*, to comply more ſeverely with the Importunities from *Spain*, which likewiſe upon this Occaſion They were ſure would be renewed with all poſſible Inſtance. And though the Queen had lately ſent a Governour to *Tangier*, whom She therefore made Choice of, as a Man devoted to her, and who would obey her Commands in the Delivery of this Place; yet it is certain, He went thither with a contrary Reſolution. *The Earl of* Sandwich *takes Poſſeſſion of* Tangier.

"VERY few Days before the Earl of *Sandwich* came thither, the Governour marched out with all the Horſe and above Half the Foot of the Garriſon into the Country, and fell into an Ambuſh of the *Moors*, who being much more numerous cut off the whole Party: And ſo the Governour with ſo many of the chief Officers and Soldiers being killed, the Town was left ſo weak, that if the *Moors* had purſued their Advantage with ſuch Numbers as They might, and did intend within few Days to bring with them, They would have been able to have made little Reſiſtance. And the Earl of *Sandwich* coming happily thither in that Conjuncture, it was delivered into his (166) Hands, who convoyed the Remainder of the Garriſon in- *A Deſign of not giving it up to him.*

to *Portugal*, where They were like to be ſtoned by the People; and then, having put a good Garriſon of Horſe and Foot which were ſent from *England* into it, He delivered it up to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had a Commiſſion from the King to be Governour thereof; and himſelf with the Fleet ſailed to *Liſbon*, where He had been long expected, and found his Houſe and Equipage ready, He being then to appear in the Quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſadour to demand the Queen.

He comes to Liſbon in a critical Conjuncture.

His Arrival there happened likewiſe in a very happy Conjuncture; for the *Spaniſh* Army, ſtronger than it had been before, was upon its March to beſiege a Seaport Town, which lay ſo near *Liſbon*, that being in the Enemies Hands it would very much have infeſted their whole Trade, and was not ſtrong enough long to have reſiſted ſo powerful an Enemy. But upon the Fame of the *Engliſh* Fleet's Arrival, the *Spaniard* gave over that Deſign, and retired: Since as it was impoſſible that They ſhould be able to take that Place, which the Fleet was ſo ready to relieve; ſo They knew not but that the *Engliſh* might make a Deſcent into their own Quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other Town. But the Alarum the March of that Army had given had ſo much diſturbed *Portugal*, which never keep their whole Forces on Foot, but draw them together upon ſuch emergent Occaſions; that They were compelled to make Uſe of moſt of that Money, which They ſaid had been laid up and ſhould be kept for the Payment of the Queen's Portion, which was to be tranſported with her into *England*.

Whereupon, after the Ambaſſadour had been received with all poſſible Demonſtration of Reſpect and publick Joy, and had had his ſolemn Audience from the King and from the Queen Regent and the Queen his Miſtreſs; and ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen of Quality, who were ſent by the King, were admitted to thoſe Places of Attendance about the Queen, to which his Majeſty had aſſigned them: The Queen Mother with infinite Apologies told the Ambaſſadour, "that the Streights and Poverty of the Kingdom were ſo great upon the late Advance of the *Spaniſh* Army, that there could at this preſent be only paid one Half of the Queen's Portion, and that the other Half ſhould infallibly be paid within a Year, with which She hoped the King her Brother would be ſatisfied; and that for the better doing it, She reſolved

The Portugueſe not able to pay the Queen's Portion.

"reſolved to ſend back the ſame Ambaſſadour, who had "brought ſo good a Work with God's Bleſſing to ſo good "an End, with her Daughter to the King."

THE Earl of *Sandwich* was much perplexed, nor did eaſily reſolve what He was to do. His Inſtructions were to receive the whole Portion, which He knew the King expected, and which They were not able to pay. He had already received *Tangier*, and left a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and had neither Authority to reſtore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the Men. And at laſt, after He had uſed all the Means to have the Whole paid, and was ſo fully informed, that He did in Truth believe that They could do no more; He reſolved that He would receive the Queen aboard the Fleet. That which They were ready to deliver for Half the Portion, was not in Money, but to be made up by Jewels, Sugar and other Commodities, which ſhould not be overvalued. The Ambaſſadour was contented to give his Receipt for the ſeveral Species of the Money They would deliver, leaving the Value to be computed in *England*; but expreſsly refuſed to accept the Jewels, Sugar and Merchandiſes at any Rates or Prices; but was contented to receive them on Board the Ships, and to deliver them *in Specie* at *London* to any Perſon who ſhould be appointed by them to receive them,
(167) who ſhould be obliged to pay the Money they were valued at, and to make up the whole Sum that ſhould be paid to the King for the Moiety. In Concluſion, all Things were delivered on Board the Ships; and *Diego Silvas*, a Jew of great Wealth and full Credit at *Amſterdam*, was ſent with it, and obliged to make even the Account with the King's Miniſters at *London*, and to pay what ſhould remain due. And a new Obligation was entered into by the Crown of *Portugal*, for the Payment of the other Moiety within the Space of a Year. And the Queen with all her Court and Retinue were embarked on Board the Fleet; and without any ill Accidents her Majeſty arrived ſafely at *Portſmouth*: And having reſted only three or four Days there, to recover the Indiſpoſition contracted in ſo long a Voyage at Sea, her Majeſty together with the King came to *Hampton-Court* at the Time mentioned before, the twenty ninth of *May*, the King's Birthday, full two Years after his Majeſty's Return and entering *London*.

The Queen arrives in England.

HOWEVER

Endeavours uſed to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen.

HOWEVER the publick Joy of the Kingdom was very manifeſt upon this Conjunction, yet in a ſhort Time there appeared not that Serenity in the Court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, uſed ever after all the ill Arts They could to make it diſagreeable, and to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen to ſuch a Degree, that it might never be in her Power to prevail with him to their Diſadvantage; an Effect They had Reaſon to expect from any notable Intereſt She might gain in his Affections, ſince She could not be uninformed by the Ambaſſadour of the Diſſervice They had formerly endeavoured to do her.

Some Circumſtances that contribute towards a Miſunderſtanding between them.

THERE was a Lady of Youth and Beauty, with whom the King had lived in great and notorious Familiarity from the Time of his Coming into *England*, and who, at the Time of the Queen's Coming or a little before, had been delivered of a Son whom the King owned. And as that Amour had been generally taken Notice of, to the leſſening of the good Reputation the King had with the People; ſo it underwent the leſs Reproach from the King's being young, vigorous, and in his full Strength; and upon a full Preſumption that when He ſhould be married, He would contain himſelf within the ſtrict Bounds of Virtue and Conſcience. And that his Majeſty himſelf had that firm Reſolution, there want not many Arguments, as well from the excellent Temper and Juſtice of his own Nature, as from the Profeſſions He had made with ſome Solemnity to Perſons who were believed to have much Credit, and who had not failed to do their Duty, in putting him in Mind "of the infinite Obliga-"tions He had to God Almighty, and that He expected "another Kind of Return from him, in the Purity of "Mind and Integrity of Life:" Of which his Majeſty was piouſly ſenſible, albeit there was all poſſible Pains taken by that Company which were admitted to his Hours of Pleaſure, to divert and corrupt all thoſe Impreſſions and Principles, which his own Conſcience and reverent Eſteem of Providence did ſuggeſt to him; turning all Diſcourſe and Mention of Religion into Ridicule, as if it were only an Invention of Divines to impoſe upon Men of Parts, and to reſtrain them from the Liberty and Uſe of thoſe Faculties which God and Nature had given them, that They might be ſubject to their Reproofs and Determinations; which Kind of Licenſe was not grateful to the King,

King, and therefore warily and accidentally uſed by thoſe who had pleaſant Wit, and in whoſe Company He took too much Delight.

THE Queen had Beauty and Wit enough to make herſelf very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their firſt Meeting and for ſome Time after the King had very good Satisfaction in her, and without Doubt made very good Reſolutions within himſelf, and promiſed him-
(168) ſelf a happy and an innocent Life in her Company, without any ſuch Uxoriouſneſs, as might draw the Reputation upon him of being governed by his Wife, of which He had obſerved or been too largely informed of ſome inconvenient Effects in the Fortune of ſome of his neareſt Friends, and had long proteſted againſt ſuch a Reſignation; though They who knew him well, did not think him ſo much ſuperiour to ſuch a Condeſcenſion, but that if the Queen had had that Craft and Addreſs and Dexterity that ſome former Queens had, She might have prevailed as far by Degrees as They had done. But the Truth is, though She was of Years enough to have had more Experience of the World, and of as much Wit as could be wiſhed, and of a Humour very agreeable at ſome Seaſons; yet She had been bred, according to the Mode and Diſcipline of her Country, in a Monaſtery, where She had only ſeen the Women who attended her, and converſed with the Religious who reſided there, and without Doubt in her Inclinations was enough diſpoſed to have been one of that Number. And from this Reſtraint She was called out to be a great Queen, and to a free Converſation in a Court that was to be upon the Matter new formed, and reduced from the Manners of a licentious Age to the old Rules and Limits which had been obſerved in better Times; and to which regular and decent Conformity the preſent Diſpoſition of Men or Women was not enough inclined to ſubmit, nor the King enough diſpoſed to exact.

THERE was a numerous Family of Men and Women that were ſent from *Portugal*, the moſt improper to promote that Conformity in the Queen that was neceſſary for her Condition and future Happineſs, that could be choſen: The Women for the moſt Part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any Converſation with Perſons of Quality and a liberal Education. And They deſired, and indeed had conſpired ſo far to poſſeſs the Queen themſelves,

themſelves, that She ſhould neither learn the *Engliſh* Language, nor uſe their Habit, nor depart from the Manners and Faſhions of her own Country in any Particulars; "which Reſolution" They told her "would be for the "Dignity of *Portugal*, and would quickly induce the "*Engliſh* Ladies to conform to her Majeſty's Practice:" And this Imagination had made that Impreſſion, that the Taylor who had been ſent into *Portugal* to make her Cloaths, could never be admitted to ſee her or receive any Employment. Nor when She came to *Portſmouth*, and found there ſeveral Ladies of Honour and prime Quality to attend her in the Places to which They were aſſigned by the King, did She receive any of them, till the King himſelf came; nor then with any Grace, or the Liberty that belonged to their Places and Offices. She could not be perſuaded to be dreſſed out of the Wardrobe that the King had ſent to her, but would wear the Cloaths which She had brought, until She found that the King was diſpleaſed, and would be obeyed: Whereupon She conformed againſt the Advice of her Women, who continued their Opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own Mode, which expoſed them the more to Reproach.

When the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*, She brought with her a formed Reſolution, that She would never ſuffer the Lady who was ſo much ſpoken of to be in her Preſence: And afterwards to thoſe She would truſt She ſaid, "her Mother had enjoined her ſo to do." On the other Hand, the King thought that He had ſo well prepared her to give her a civil Reception, that within a Day or two after her Majeſty's being there, himſelf led her into her Chamber, and preſented her to the Queen, who received her with the ſame Grace as She had done the reſt; there being many Lords and other Ladies at the ſame (169) Time there. But whether her Majeſty in the Inſtant knew who She was, or upon Recollection found it afterwards, She was no ſooner ſate in her Chair, but her Colour changed, and Tears guſhed out of her Eyes, and her Noſe bled, and She fainted; ſo that She was forthwith removed into another Room, and all the Company retired out of that where She was before. And this falling out ſo notoriouſly when ſo many Perſons were preſent, the King looked upon it with wonderful Indignation, and as an Earneſt of Defiance for the Deciſion of the Supremacy

premacy and who ſhould govern, upon which Point He was the moſt jealous and the moſt reſolute of any Man; and the Anſwer He received from the Queen, which kept up the Obſtinacy, diſpleaſed him more. Now the Breach of the Conditions grew Matter of Reproach; the Payment of but Half the Portion was objected to the Ambaſſadour, who would have been very glad that the Quarrel had been upon no other Point. He knew not what to ſay or do; the King being offended with him for having ſaid ſo much in *Portugal* to provoke the Queen, and not inſtructed her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her Time, and in which She could not reaſonably be concerned; and the Queen with more Indignation reproaching him with the Character He had given of the King, of his Virtue and good Nature: Whilſt the poor Man, not able to endure the Tempeſt of ſo much Injuſtice from Both, thought it beſt to ſatisfy Both by dying; and from the extreme Affliction of Mind which He underwent, He ſuſtained ſuch a Fever as brought him to the Brink of his Grave, till ſome Grace from Both their Majeſties contributed much to the Recovery of his Spirits.

IN the mean Time the King forbore her Majeſty's Company, and ſought Eaſe and Refreſhment in that jolly Company, to which in the Evenings He grew every Day more indulgent, and in which there were ſome, who deſired rather to inflame than pacify his Diſcontent. And They found an Expedient to vindicate his Royal Juriſdiction, and to make it manifeſt to the World, that He would not be governed; which could never without much Artifice have got Entrance into his Princely Breaſt, which always entertained the moſt tender Affections; nor was ever any Man's Nature more remote from Thoughts of Roughneſs or Hardheartedneſs. They magnified the Temper and Conſtitution of his Grandfather, who indeed to all other Purpoſes was a glorious Example: "That when He was "enamoured, and found a Return anſwerable to his Me-"rit, He did not diſſemble his Paſſion, nor ſuffer it to be "Matter of Reproach to the Perſons whom He loved; "but made all others pay them that Reſpect which He "thought them worthy of; brought them to the Court, "and obliged his own Wife the Queen to treat them with "Grace and Favour; gave them the higheſt Titles of "Honour, to draw Reverence and Application to them

"from

"from all the Court and all the Kingdom; raiſed the "Children He had by them to the Reputation, State and "Degree of Princes of the Blood, and conferred Fortunes "and Offices upon them accordingly. That his Majeſty, "who inherited the ſame Paſſions, was without the Gra-"titude and noble Inclination to make Returns propor-"tionable to the Obligations He received. That He "had, by the Charms of his Perſon and of his Profeſſions, "prevailed upon the Affections and Heart of a young and "beautiful Lady of a noble Extraction, whoſe Father had "loſt his Life in the Service of the Crown. That She "had provoked the Jealouſy and Rage of her Huſband "to that Degree, that He had ſeparated himſelf from "her; And now the Queen's Indignation had made the "Matter ſo notorious to the World, that the diſconſolate (170)
"Lady had no Place of Retreat left, but muſt be made "an Object of Infamy and Contempt to all her Sex, and "to the whole World."

THOSE Diſcourſes, together with a little Book newly printed at *Paris*, according to the Licenſe of that Nation, of the Amours of *Henry* IV. which was by them preſented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that Impreſſion upon his Mind, that He reſolved to raiſe the Quality and Degree of that Lady, who was married to a private Gentleman of a competent Fortune, that had not the Ambition to be a better Man than He was born. And that He might do ſo, He made her Huſband an Earl of *Ireland*, who knew too well the Conſideration that He paid for it, and abhorred the Brand of ſuch a Nobility, and did not in a long Time aſſume the Title. The Lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher Preferment: And the King reſolved, for the Vindication of her Honour and Innocence, that She ſhould be admitted of the Bedchamber of the Queen, as the only Means to convince the World, that all Aſperſions upon her had been without Ground. The King uſed all the Ways He could, by treating the Queen with all Careſſes, to diſpoſe her to gratify him in this Particular, as a Matter in which his Honour was concerned and engaged; and proteſted unto her, which at that Time He did intend to obſerve, "that (171
"He had not had the leaſt Familiarity with her ſince her "Majeſty's Arrival, nor would ever after be guilty of it "again, but would live always with her Majeſty in all Fi-"delity for Conſcience Sake." The Queen who was na-

turally

turally more tranſported with Choler than her Countenance declared her to be, had not the Temper to entertain him with thoſe Diſcourſes, which the Vivacity of her Wit could very plentifully have ſuggeſted to her; but brake out into a Torrent of Rage, which increaſed the former Prejudice, confirmed the King in the Reſolution He had taken, gave ill People more Credit to mention her diſreſpectfully, and more increaſed his Averſion from her Company, and which was worſe, his Delight in thoſe, who meant that He ſhould neither love his Wife or his Buſineſs, or any Thing but their Converſation.

THESE domeſtick Indiſpoſitions and Diſtempers, and the Impreſſion They made of ſeveral Kinds upon the King's Spirit and his Humour, exceedingly diſcompoſed the Minds of the graveſt and moſt ſerious Men; gave the People generally Occaſion of ſpeaking loudly, and with a Licenſe that the Magiſtrates knew not how to puniſh, for the Publication of the Scandal: And the wiſeſt Men deſpaired of finding Remedies to apply to the Diſſoluteneſs and Debauchery of the Time, which viſibly increaſed. No Man appeared to ſuffer or likely to ſuffer more than the Chancellor, againſt whom though no particular Perſon owned a Malignity, the Congregation of the witty Men for the Evening Converſation were enough united againſt his Intereſt; and thought his Influence upon the King's Actions and Counſels would be too much augmented, if the Queen came to have any Power, who had a very good Opinion of him: And it is very probable, that even that Apprehenſion increaſed the Combination againſt her Majeſty.

THE Lady had Reaſon to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable Friendſhip between her Father and him to his Death, which had been notorious to all Men; and that He was an implacable Enemy to the Power and Intereſt She had with the King, and had uſed all the Endeavours He could to deſtroy it. Yet neither She nor any of the other adventured to ſpeak ill of him to the King, who at that Time would not have borne it; except for Wit's Sake They ſometimes reflected upon ſomewhat He had ſaid, or acted ſome of his Poſtures
(171) and Manner of ſpeaking (the Skill in Mimickry being the beſt Faculty in Wit many of them had); which Licenſe They practiſed often towards the King himſelf, and therefore his Majeſty thought it to be the more free from Malice.

lice. But by theſe Liberties, which at firſt only raiſed Laughter, They by Degrees got the Hardineſs to cenſure both the Perſons, Counſels and Actions, of thoſe who were neareſt his Majeſty's Truſt, with the higheſt Malice and Preſumption; and too often ſuſpended or totally diſappointed ſome Reſolutions, which had been taken upon very mature Deliberation, and which ought to have been purſued. But (as hath been ſaid before) this Preſumption had not yet come to this Length.

THE King imparted the Trouble and Unquietneſs of his Mind to Nobody with equal Freedom, as He did to the Chancellor: To him He complained of all the Queen's Perverſeneſs and ill Humours, and informed him of all that paſſed between them, and obliged him to confer and adviſe the Queen, who, He knew, looked upon him as a Man devoted to her Service, and that He would ſpeak very confidently to her whatſoever He thought; and therefore gave him Leave to take Notice to her of any Thing He had told him. It was too delicate a Province for ſo plain-dealing a Man as He was to undertake: And yet He knew not how to refuſe it, nor indeed did deſpair totally of being able to do ſome Good, ſince the Queen was not yet more acquainted with any Man than with him, nor ſpake ſo much with any Man as with him; and He believed, that He might hereby have Opportunity to ſpeak ſometimes to the King of ſome Particulars with more Freedom, than otherwiſe He could well do, at leaſt more effectually.

The Chancellor endeavours to reconcile their Majeſties.

HE had never heard before of the Honour the King had done that Lady, nor of the Purpoſe He had to make her of his Wife's Bedchamber. He ſpake with great Boldneſs to him upon Both; and did not believe that the firſt was proceeded in beyond Revocation, becauſe it had not come to the Great Seal, and gave him many Arguments againſt it, which He thought of Weight. But upon the other Point He took more Liberty, and ſpake "of the Hardheartedneſs and Cruelty in laying ſuch a "Command upon the Queen, which Fleſh and Blood "could not comply with." He put him in Mind of what He heard his Majeſty himſelf ſay, upon the like Exceſs which a neighbour King had lately uſed, in making his Miſtreſs to live in the Court, and in the Preſence of the Queen: That his Majeſty had then ſaid, "*that it was* "*ſuch a Piece of Illnature, that He could never be guilty of*; "*and if ever He ſhould be guilty of having a Miſtreſs after*

"*He*

"*He had a Wife, which He hoped He ſhould never be, She* "*ſhould never come where his Wife was: He would never* "*add that to the Vexation, of which She would have enough* "*without it.*" And yet He told him, "that ſuch Friend-"ſhips were not new in that other Court, nor ſcandalous "in that Kingdom; whereas in this it was ſo unheard of "and ſo odious, that a Woman who proſtituted herſelf to "the King was equally infamous to all Women of Ho-"nour, and muſt expect the ſame Contempt from them, "as if She were common to Mankind: And that no Ene-"my He had could adviſe him a more ſure Way to loſe "the Hearts and Affections of the People, of which He "was now ſo abundantly poſſeſſed, than the indulging to "himſelf that Liberty, now it had pleaſed God to give "him a Wife worthy of him. That the Exceſs He had "already uſed in that and other Ways had loſt him ſome "Ground; but that the Continuance in them would break "the Hearts of all his Friends, and be only grateful to "thoſe who wiſhed the Deſtruction of Monarchy:" And concluded with "aſking his Pardon for ſpeaking ſo plain-(172)"ly," and beſought his Majeſty to remember "the won-"derful Things which God had done for him, and for "which He expected other Returns than He had yet re-"ceived."

THE King heard him with Patience enough, yet with thoſe little Interruptions which were natural to him, eſpecially to that Part where He had levelled the Miſtreſſes of Kings and Princes with other lewd Women, at which He expreſſed ſome Indignation, being an Argument often debated before him by thoſe, who would have them looked upon above any other Men's Wives. He did not appear diſpleaſed with the Liberty He had taken, but ſaid, "He knew it proceeded from the Affection He had "for him;" and then proceeded upon the ſeveral Parts of what He had ſaid, more volubly than He uſed to do, as upon Points in which He was converſant, and had heard well debated.

To the firſt, He begun with the Story of an Accident that had fallen out the Day before; He ſaid, "the Lady "had then told him, *that She did hope that the Chancellor* "*was not ſo much her Enemy, as He was generally reported* "*to be, for She was ſure He was not guilty of one Diſcourteſy* "*of which He had been accuſed to her, and therefore might* "*be as innocent in others*; and then told his Majeſty, *that*

"*the Day before, the Earl of* Briſtol" (who was never without ſome Reaſon to engage himſelf in ſuch Intrigues, and had been a principal Promoter of all thoſe late Reſolutions) "*came to her, and aſked her whether the Patent* "*was not yet paſſed; She anſwered, No; He aſked if She* "*knew the Reaſon, which She ſeeming not to do, He told her* "*that He came in Confidence to tell her, and that if She did* "*not quickly curb and overrule ſuch Preſumption, She would* "*often meet it to her Prejudice; then told her a long Rela-* "*tion, how the Patent had been carried to the Chancellor* "*prepared for the Seal, and that He according to his Cuſtom* "*had ſuperciliouſly ſaid, that He would firſt ſpeak with the* "*King of it, and that in the mean Time it ſhould not paſs;* "*and that if She did not make the King very ſenſible of this* "*his Inſolence, his Majeſty ſhould never be judge of his own* "*Bounty.* And then the Lady laughed, and made ſharp "Reflections upon the Principles of the Earl of *Briſtol*" (who had throughout his Life the rare good Fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the ſame Perſons, in the Space of one Month; and now finding that there was a Stop of the Patent, made a very natural Gueſs where it muſt be, and gratified his own Appetite in the Concluſion), "and pulled the Warrant out "of her Pocket, *where* She ſaid *it had remained ever ſince* "*it was ſigned, and She believed the Chancellor had never* "*heard of it: She was ſure there was no Patent prepared,* "*and therefore He could not ſtop it at the Seal.*"

The Truth is: Though according to the Cuſtom She had aſſumed the Title as ſoon as She had the Warrant, that the other Pretence might be proſecuted, She made not Haſte to paſs the Patent, leſt her Huſband might ſtop it; and after long Deliberation was not ſo confident of the Chancellor, as to tranſmit it to the Seal that was in his Cuſtody, but, the Honour being *Iriſh*, ſent it into that Kingdom to paſs the Great Seal there, where She was ſure it could meet no Interruption.

When the King had made this Relation, and added ſome ſharp Remarks upon the Earl of *Briſtol*, as a Man very particularly known and underſtood by him; He ſaid, "that He had undone this Lady, and ruined her Repu- "tation, which had been fair and untainted till her Friend- "ſhip for him; and that He was obliged in Conſcience "and Honour to repair her to the utmoſt of his Power. "That He would always avow to have a great Friendſhip

"for

"for her, which He owed as well to the Memory of her
(173) "Father as to her own Perſon; and that He would look
"upon it as the higheſt Diſreſpect to him, in any Body
"who ſhould treat her otherwiſe than was due to her
"own Birth, and Dignity to which He had raiſed her.
"That He liked her Company and Converſation, from
"which He would not be reſtrained, becauſe He knew
"there was and ſhould be all Innocence in it: And that
"his Wife ſhould never have Cauſe to complain that He
"brake his Vows to her, if She would live towards him
"as a good Wife ought to do, in rendering herſelf grate-
"ful and acceptable to him, which it was in her Power
"to do; but if She would continue uneaſy to him, He
"could not anſwer for himſelf, that He ſhould not endea-
"vour to ſeek Content in other Company. That He had
"proceeded ſo far in the Buſineſs that concerned the La-
"dy, and was ſo deeply engaged in it, that She would
"not only be expoſed to all imaginable Contempt, if it
"ſucceeded not; but his own Honour would ſuffer ſo
"much, that He ſhould become ridiculous to the World,
"and be thought too in Pupilage under a Governour;
"and therefore He would expect and exact a Conformity
"from his Wife herein, which ſhould be the only hard
"Thing He would ever require from her, and which She
"herſelf might make very eaſy, for the Lady would be-
"have herſelf with all poſſible Duty and Humility unto
"her, which if She ſhould fail to do in the leaſt Degree,
"She ſhould never ſee the King's Face again: And that
"He would never be engaged to put any other Servant
"about her, without firſt conſulting with her, and receiv-
"ing her Conſent and Approbation. Upon the Whole,"
He ſaid, "He would never recede from any Part of the
"Reſolution He had taken and expreſſed to him: And
"therefore He required him to uſe all thoſe Arguments
"to the Queen, which were neceſſary to induce her to a
"full Compliance with what the King deſired."

THE Chancellor addreſſed himſelf to the Queen with as full Liberty and Plainneſs as He had preſumed to uſe to his Majeſty, but could not proceed ſo far at a Time, nor hold ſo long Conferences at once. When He firſt lamented the Miſintelligence He obſerved to be between their Majeſties, and She perceived the King had told him ſome Particulars, She proteſted her own Innocence, but with ſo much Paſſion and ſuch a Torrent of Tears,

that there was Nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, "that He would wait upon her in a fitter "Season, and when She ſhould be more capable of re- "ceiving humble Advice from her Servants, who wiſhed "her well;" and ſo departed.

THE next Day He waited upon her again at the Hour aſſigned by her, and found her much better compoſed than He had left her. She vouchſafed to excuſe the Paſſion She had been in, and confeſſed "She looked "upon him as one of the few Friends She had, and "from whom She would moſt willingly at all Times receive "Counſel: But that She hoped He would not wonder or "blame her, if having greater Misfortunes upon her, "and being to ſtruggle with more Difficulties, than any "Woman had ever been put to of her Condition, She "ſometimes gave Vent to that Paſſion that was ready to "break her Heart." He told her, "He was deſirous in- "deed to ſerve her, of which He would not make great "or many Proteſtations, ſince She could not but believe "it, except She thought him to be a Fool or mad, ſince "Nothing could contribute ſo much to his Happineſs, as "an eminent Sympathy between the King and her in all "Things: And He could not give her a greater Evi- "dence of his Devotion, than in always ſaying that to her "which was fit for her to hear, though it did not pleaſe (174) "her; and He would obſerve no other Rule towards her, "though it ſhould render him ungracious to her."

SHE ſeemed well ſatisfied with what He ſaid, and told him "He ſhould never be more welcome to her, than "when He told her of her Faults:" To which He replied, "that it was the Province He was accuſed of uſurping "with Reference to all his Friends." He told her, "that "He doubted She was little beholden to her Education, "that had given her no better Information of the Follies "and Iniquities of Mankind, of which He preſumed the "Climate from whence She came could have given more "Inſtances than this cold Region would afford;" though at that Time it was indeed very hot. He ſaid, "if her "Majeſty had been fairly dealt with in that Particular, "She could never have thought herſelf ſo miſerable, and "her Condition ſo inſupportable as She ſeemed to think "it to be; the Ground of which heavy Complaint He "could not comprehend." Whereupon with ſome bluſhing and Confuſion and ſome Tears She ſaid, "She did not think

"that

"that She ſhould have found the King engaged in his Af-
"fection to another Lady;" and then was able to ſay no more: Which gave the Chancellor Opportunity to ſay, "that He knew well, that She had been very little ac-
"quainted with or informed of the World; yet He could "not believe that She was ſo utterly ignorant, as to ex-
"pect that the King her Huſband, in the full Strength "and Vigour of his Youth, was of ſo innocent a Conſtitu-
"tion, as to be reſerved for her whom He had never ſeen, "and to have had no Acquaintance or Familiarity with "the Sex;" and aſked "whether She believed, when it "ſhould pleaſe God to ſend a Queen to *Portugal*, She "ſhould find that Court ſo full of chaſte Affection." Upon which her Majeſty ſmiled, and ſpake pleaſantly enough, but as if She thought it did not concern her Caſe, and as if the King's Affection had not wandered, but remained fixed.

UPON which the Chancellor replied with ſome Warmth, "that He came to her with a Meſſage from the King, "which if She received as She ought to do and as He "hoped She would, She would be the happieſt Queen in "the World. That whatever Correſpondencies the King "had entertained with any other Ladies, before He ſaw "her Majeſty, concerned not her; nor ought She to en-
"quire more into them or after them, than into what "other Exceſſes He had uſed in his Youth in *France*, "*Holland* or *Germany*. That He had Authority to aſſure "her, that all former Appetites were expired, and that "He dedicated himſelf entirely and without Reſerve to "her; and that if She met his Affection with that "Warmth and Spirit and good Humour, which She "well knew how to expreſs, She would live a Life of "the greateſt Delight imaginable. That her good For-
"tune, and all the Joy She could have in this World, "was in her own Power, and that She only ſtrove to drive "it from her." She heard all this with apparent Pleaſure, and infinite Expreſſions of her Acknowledgments of the King's Bounty; thanked the Chancellor more than e-nough, and deſired him "to help in returning her "Thanks to his Majeſty, and in obtaining his Pardon for "any Paſſion or Peeviſhneſs She might have been guilty "of, and in aſſuring him of all future Obedience and "Duty."

Upon this good Temper He approached to the other Part of his Meſſage, "how neceſſary it would be that "her Majeſty ſhould gratify this good Reſolution and "Juſtice and Tenderneſs in the King, by meeting it "with a proportionable Submiſſion and Reſignation on "her Part to whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould deſire of "her;" and then inſinuated what would be acceptable with Reference to the Lady. But this was no ſooner mentioned, than it raiſed all the Rage and Fury of Yeſter- (175)
day, with fewer Tears, the Fire appearing in her Eyes, where the Water was. She ſaid, "that the King's in- "ſiſting upon that Particular could proceed from no "other Ground but his Hatred of her Perſon, and to "expoſe her to the Contempt of the World, who would "think her worthy of ſuch an Affront, if She ſubmitted "to it; which before She would do, She would put "herſelf on Board any little Veſſel, and ſo be tranſported "to *Liſbon*:" With many other extravagant Expreſſions, which her Paſſion ſuggeſted in Spite of her Underſtanding; and which He interrupted with a very ill Countenance, and told her "that She had not the Diſpoſal of "her own Perſon, nor could go out of the Houſe where "She was without the King's Leave;" and therefore adviſed her "not to ſpeak any more of *Portugal*, where "there were enough who would wiſh her to be." He told her, "that He would find ſome fitter Time to ſpeak "with her, and till then only deſired that She would "make Shew of no ſuch Paſſion to the King; and that "whatever She thought fit to deny that the King pro- "poſed to her, She ſhould deny in ſuch a Manner, as "ſhould look rather like a Deferring than an utter Re- "fuſal, that his Majeſty might not be provoked to enter "into the ſame Paſſion, which would be ſuperiour to "hers."

The Chancellor made the more Haſte to inform the King of all that had paſſed, that He might prevail with him to ſuſpend for ſome little Time the proſecuting that Argument farther with the Queen. He gave him an Account of all the good and kind Things She had ſaid with Reference to his Majeſty, of the Profeſſions She had made of all Duty and Obedience to him throughout the whole Courſe of her Life; "that her Unwillingneſs "to obey him in this one Particular proceeded only from "the great Paſſion of Love which She had for him, that

"tranſ-

"transported her beyond the Limits of her Reaſon." He confeſſed, "He had not diſcourſed it ſo fully with her "Majeſty as He reſolved to have done, becauſe a ſudden "Paſſion had ſeized upon her, which She muſt have ſome "Time to overrule;" and therefore He entreated his Majeſty "for a Day or two to forbear preſſing the Queen "in that Matter, till He had once more waited upon her, "by which He hoped He might in ſome Degree diſpoſe "her Majeſty to give him Satisfaction." And though He was in no Degree pleaſed with the Account, yet the other did think, that He would for a little have reſpited the farther Diſcourſe of it.

BUT the King quickly found other Counſellors, who told him, "that the Thing He contended for was not of "ſo much Importance as the Manner of obtaining it; "that the Contention now was, who ſhould govern; and "if He ſuffered himſelf to be diſputed with, He muſt "reſolve hereafter to do all Things *precariò*." And as this Advice was more ſuitable to his preſent Paſſion and Purpoſe, ſo it was embraced greedily and reſolutely. The Fire flamed that Night higher than ever: The King reproached the Queen with Stubbornneſs and Want of Duty, and She him with Tyranny and Want of Affection; He uſed Threats and Menaces, which He never intended to put in Execution, and She talked loudly "how ill She was treated, and that She would return "again to *Portugal*." He replied, "that She ſhould do "well firſt to know whether her Mother would receive "her: And He would give her a fit Opportunity to "know that, by ſending to their Home all her *Portugueſe* "Servants; and that He would forthwith give Order for "the Diſcharge of them all, ſince They behaved themſelves ſo ill, for to them and their Counſels He imputed "all her Perverſeneſs."

(176) THE Paſſion and Noiſe of the Night reached too many Ears to be a Secret the next Day; and the whole Court was full of that, which ought to have been known to Nobody. And the mutual Carriage and Behaviour between their Majeſties confirmed all that They had heard or could imagine: They ſpake not, hardly looked on one another. Every Body was glad that They were ſo far from the Town (for They were ſtill at *Hampton-Court*), and that there were ſo few Witneſſes of all that paſſed. The Queen ſate melancholick in her Chamber in Tears,

except when She drove them away by a more violent Paſſion in cholerick Diſcourſe: And the King ſought his Divertiſements in that Company that ſaid and did all Things to pleaſe him; and there He ſpent all the Nights, and in the Morning came to the Queen's Chamber, for He never ſlept in any other Place. Nobody knew how to interpoſe, or indeed how to behave themſelves, the Court being far from one Mind; with this Difference, that the young and frolick People of either Sex talked loudly all that They thought the King would like and be pleaſed with, whilſt the other more grave and ſerious People did in their Souls pity the Queen, and thought that She was put to bear more than her Strength could ſuſtain.

The Chancellor came not to the Court in two or three Days; and when He did come thither, He forbore to ſee the Queen, till the King ſent him again to her. His Majeſty informed him at large, and with more than his natural Paſſion, of all that had paſſed; and "of the "fooliſh Extravagancy" (as He called it) "of returning "to *Portugal*; and of the poſitive Reſolution He had "taken, and the Orders He had given, for the preſent "ſending away all the *Portugueſes*, to whom He did im-"pute all his Wife's Frowardneſs." He renewed his former Declaration, "that He would gain his Point, and "never depart from that Reſolution;" yet was content to be blamed by the Chancellor, for having proceeded with ſo much Choler and Precipitation, and ſeemed to think that He had done better, if He had followed his former Advice. But then He added, "that beſides the "Uneaſineſs and Pain within himſelf, the Thing was more "ſpoken of in all Places, and more to his Diſadvantage, "whilſt it was in this Suſpence, than it would be when it "was once executed; which would put a final End to all "Debates, and all would be forgotten."

The Chancellor deſired his Majeſty to believe, "that "He would endeavour, by all the Ways He could de-"viſe, to perſuade the Queen to ſubmit to his Pleaſure, "becauſe it is his Pleaſure; and that He would urge "ſome Arguments to her, which He could not himſelf "anſwer; and therefore He was not without Hope that "they might prevail. But He deſired him likewiſe to "believe, that He had much rather ſpend his Pains in "endeavouring to convert his Majeſty from purſuing his

"Reſo-

"Reſolution, which He did in his Conſcience believe to "be unjuſt, than in perſuading her Majeſty to comply "with it, which yet He would very heartily do." He deſired him "to give him Leave to put him in Mind of "a Diſcourſe his Majeſty had held with him many Years "ago, upon an Occaſion that He had adminiſtered by "telling him what his Father, the late King, had ſaid to "him: *That He had great Reaſon to acknowledge it due to "God's immediate Bleſſing, and in Truth to his Inſpiration, "that He continued firm in his Religion: For though his "Father had always taken Pains himſelf to inform and in-"ſtruct him, yet He had been ſo much deceived by others "that He put about him when He was young, a Company "of the arranteſt Knaves and Puritans*" (they were his own Words) "*that could be found in the two Kingdoms*; "whereof He named two or three, who were Enemies (177) "to the Church, and uſed to deride all Religion. That "when He had related this Diſcourſe accidentally of his "late Majeſty, the King replied, *that if it ſhould pleaſe "God ever to give him a Wife and Children, He would "make Choice of ſuch People to be about Both in all "Places of near Truſt, who in their Natures and Manners, "and if it were poſſible in their very Humours, were ſuch "as He wiſhed his Wife and Children ſhould be; for He "did believe that moſt young People (and it may be elder) "were upon the Matter formed by thoſe, whom They ſaw "continually and could not but obſerve.*" The King anſwered with ſome Quickneſs, "that He remembered the "Diſcourſe very well, and ſhould think of it; but that "the Buſineſs which He had commended to him muſt be "done, and without Delay."

WHEN the Chancellor was admitted to the Queen, He preſumed with all Plainneſs to blame her "for the illi-"mited Paſſion with which She had treated the King, "and thereby provoked him to greater Indignation than "She could imagine or in Truth ſuſtain;" and begged, "that for her own Sake She would decline and ſuppreſs "ſuch Diſtempers, which could have no other Effect, "than in making the Wound incurable; which it would "do, in a very little Time more, inevitably, and reduce "all her faithful Servants to an Incapacity of ſerving "her." She acknowledged with Tears, "that She had "been in too much Paſſion, and ſaid ſomewhat She ought "not to have ſaid, and for which She would willingly aſk

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"the King's Pardon upon her Knees; though his Man-
"ner of treating her had wonderfully ſurpriſed her, and
"might be ſome Excuſe for more than ordinary Com-
"motion. That She prayed to God to give her Pa-
"tience, and hoped She ſhould be no more tranſported
"with the like Paſſion upon what Provocation ſoever."

THEN He entreated, "that He might find ſome
"Effect of that her good Reſolution, in permitting him
"to enlarge upon the Argument He was obliged to diſ-
"courſe to her; and that if He offered any humble Ad-
"vice, it ſhould be ſuch as He was moſt confident would
"prove for her Benefit, and ſuch as He would himſelf
"ſubmit to if He were in her Condition." He told her,
"He came not to juſtify and defend the Propoſition that
"had been made to her concerning the Lady, as a juſt
"or a reaſonable Propoſition; He had not diſſembled
"his own Opinion as to either, and when He ſhould now
"inſiſt upon it again, which He muſt do, He could not
"but confeſs that it was a very hard Injunction, not to
"be yielded to without ſome Reluctancy:" But He be-
ſought her to tell him, "whether She thought it in her
"Power to divert it; or that it was not in the King's
"Power to impoſe it upon her."

SHE anſwered, "She knew it was in her own Power to
"conſent or not to conſent to it; and that She could not
"deſpair, but that the King's Juſtice and Goodneſs might
"divert him from the Proſecution of a Command ſo un-
"reaſonable in him, and ſo diſhonourable to her. She
"would not diſpute the King's Power, what it might
"impoſe, being ſure that She could not reſcue herſelf
"from it: But," She ſaid, "Nobody knew better than
"He, whether the King was obliged to leave the Choice
"of her own Servants to herſelf; and if it were otherwiſe,
"She had been deceived."

HE told her, "that She had and would always enjoy
"that Privilege: But that it was always underſtood in
"Conditions of that Nature, that as the Huſband would
"not impoſe a Servant, againſt whom juſt Exceptions
"could be made; ſo it was preſumed, that no Wife
"would refuſe to receive a Servant, that was eſteemed
"and commended by her Huſband. That He did aſſure
"her, upon as much Knowledge as He was capable to
"have in Affairs of ſuch a Nature, that the King would (178)
"exact an entire Conformity to his Pleaſure in this Par-
"ticular;

"ticular; and then the Queſtion would only be, whe-
"ther it would be better that She conform herſelf with
"Alacrity to an Obedience, with thoſe Circumſtances
"which might be obliging and meritorious on her Part;
"or that it ſhould be done without her Conſent, and
"with all the Repugnancy She could expreſs, which
"could only be in angry Words and ungracious Circum-
"ſtances, which would have a more bitter Operation in
"her own Breaſt and Thoughts, than any where elſe:
"And therefore He did very importunately adviſe her
"to ſubmit to that cheerfully, that She could not reſiſt;
"which if She ſhould not do, and do out of Hand, She
"would too late repent."

To which She replied with great Calmneſs, "that it
"may be worſe could not fall out than She expected;
"but why She ſhould repent the not giving her Conſent,
"She could not apprehend, ſince her Conſcience would
"not give her Leave to conſent:" Which when She ſaw him receive with a Face of Trouble and Wonder, which it was his Misfortune and Weakneſs never to be able to conceal or diſſemble, She continued her Diſcourſe and ſaid, "She could not conceive how any Body could, with
"a good Conſcience, conſent to what She could not but
"ſuppoſe would be an Occaſion and Opportunity of Sin."
To which He ſuddenly replied, "that He now under-
"ſtood her; and that She ought to have no ſuch Appre-
"henſion, but to believe the Profeſſions the King made,
"of the Sincerity whereof She would hereby become a
"Witneſs; and if there ſhould be any Tergiverſation,
"the Opportunity, which She fancied, would be more
"frequent at a Diſtance than by ſuch a Relation, which
"Nothing but a reſolved Innocence could make deſirable
"by either Party." To which He added, "that He
"thought her Majeſty had too mean and low an Opi-
"nion of her Perſon and her Parts, if She thought it
"could be in the Power of any other Lady to deprive
"her of the Intereſt She had a Right to, if She did all
"that became her to retain it; and which in that Caſe
"She could not loſe but by the higheſt Fraud and Per-
"jury, which She could not juſtly entertain the Suſ-
"picion of."

THERE cannot be a greater Patience and Intentneſs of hearing, than the Queen manifeſted during the Time of his Diſcourſe, ſometimes ſeeming not diſpleaſed, but oftener

oftener by a Smile declaring that She did not believe what He ſaid: And in Concluſion, in few Words declared, "that the King might do what He pleaſed, but "that She would not conſent to it;" and pronounced it with a Countenance, as if She both hoped and believed, that her Obſtinacy would in the End prevail over the King's Importunity: And it is very probable, that She had Advice given her to that Purpoſe. The Chancellor concluded with telling her, "that He would give her no "more Trouble upon this Particular: That He was "ſorry He had not Credit enough to prevail with her "Majeſty in a Point that would have turned ſo much "to her Benefit; and that She would hereafter be ſorry "for her Refuſal." And when He had given the King a faithful Account of all that had paſſed; and "that He "believed them Both to be very much to blame, and "that that Party would be moſt excuſable who yielded "firſt;" He made it his humble Suit, "that He might "be no more conſulted with, nor employed in an Affair "in which He had been ſo unſucceſsful."

His Endeavours prove unſucceſsful.

THE King came ſeldom into the Queen's Company, and when He did He ſpake not to her; but ſpent his Time in other Divertiſements, and in the Company of thoſe who made it their Buſineſs to laugh at all the World, and who were as bold with God Almighty as (179) with any of his Creatures. He perſevered in all his Reſolutions without any Remorſe; directed a Day for all the *Portugueſes* to be embarked, without aſſigning any conſiderable Thing of Bounty to any of them, or vouchſafing to write any Letter to the King or Queen of *Portugal* of the Cauſe of the Diſmiſſion of them. And this Rigour prevailed upon the great Heart of the Queen, who had not received any Money to enable her to be liberal to any of thoſe, who had attended her out of their own Country, and promiſed themſelves Places of great Advantage in her Family: And She earneſtly deſired the King, "that She might retain ſome few of "thoſe who were known to her, and of moſt Uſe, that "She might not be wholly left in the Hands of Strang-"ers;" and employed others to make the ſame Suit to the King on her Behalf. Whereupon the Counteſs of *Penalva*, who had been bred with her from a Child, and who, by the Infirmity of her Eyes and other Indiſpoſition of Health, ſcarce ſtirred out of her Chamber, was

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permitted to remain in the Court: And ſome few inferiour Servants in her Kitchen and in the loweſt Offices, beſides thoſe who were neceſſary to her Devotions, were left here. All the reſt were tranſported to *Portugal*.

THE Officers of the Revenue were required to uſe all Strictneſs in the Receipt of that Part of the Portion that was brought over with the Fleet; and not to allow any of thoſe Demands which were made upon Computation of the Value of Money, and other Allowances, upon the Account: And *Diego de Silva*, who was deſigned in *Portugal* without any good Reaſon to be the Queen's Treaſurer, and upon that Expectation had undertaken that troubleſome Province to ſee the Money paid in *London* by what was aſſigned to that Purpoſe, was committed to Priſon for not making Haſte enough in the Payment and in finiſhing the Account; and his Commitment went very near the Queen, as an Affront done to herſelf. The *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, who was a very honeſt Man, and ſo deſirous to ſerve the King that He had upon the Matter loſt the Queen, was heartbroken; and after a long Sickneſs, which all Men believed would have killed him, as ſoon as He was able to endure the Air, left *Hampton-Court*, and retired to his own Houſe in the City.

IN all this Time the King purſued his Point; the Lady came to the Court, was lodged there, was every Day in the Queen's Preſence, and the King in continual Conference with her; whilſt the Queen ſate untaken Notice of: And if her Majeſty roſe at the Indignity and retired into her Chamber, it may be one or two attended her, but all the Company remained in the Room She left, and too often ſaid thoſe Things aloud which Nobody ought to have whiſpered. The King (who had in the Beginning of this Conflict appeared ſtill with a Countenance of Trouble and Sadneſs, which had been manifeſt to every Body, and no Doubt was really afflicted, and ſometimes wiſhed that He had not proceeded ſo far, until He was again new chafed with the Reproach of being governed, which He received with the moſt ſenſible Indignation, and was commonly provoked with it moſt by thoſe who intended moſt to govern him) had now vanquiſhed or ſuppreſſed all thoſe Tenderneſſes and Reluctancies, and appeared every Day more gay and pleaſant, without any Clouds in his Face, and full of good Humour; ſaving that the cloſe Obſervers thought it more feigned and affected than of a

natural

natural Growth. However to the Queen it appeared very real, and made her the more ſenſible, that She alone was left out in all Jollities, and not ſuffered to have any Part of thoſe pleaſant Applications and Careſſes, which She ſaw made almoſt to every Body elſe; an univerſal Mirth in all (180)
Company but in hers, and in all Places but in her Chamber; her own Servants ſhewing more Reſpect and more Diligence to the Perſon of the Lady, than towards their own Miſtreſs, who They found could do them leſs Good. The nightly Meeting continued with the ſame or more Licenſe; and the Diſcourſes which paſſed there, of what Argument ſoever, were the Diſcourſe of the whole Court and of the Town the Day following: Whilſt the Queen had the King's Company thoſe few Hours which remained of the preceding Night, and which were too little for Sleep.

All theſe Mortifications were too heavy to be borne: So that at laſt, when it was leaſt expected or ſuſpected, the Queen on a ſudden let herſelf fall firſt to Converſation and then to Familiarity, and even in the ſame Inſtant to a Confidence with the Lady; was merry with her in publick, talked kindly of her, and in private uſed Nobody more friendly. This Exceſs of Condeſcenſion, without any Provocation or Invitation, except by Multiplication of Injuries and Neglect, and after all Friendſhips were renewed, and Indulgence yielded to new Liberty, did the Queen leſs Good than her former Reſoluteneſs had done. Very many looked upon her with much Compaſſion, commended the Greatneſs of her Spirit, deteſted the Barbarity of the Affronts She underwent, and cenſured them as loudly as They durſt; not without aſſuming the Liberty ſometimes of inſinuating to the King himſelf, "how much "his own Honour ſuffered in the Neglect and Diſreſpect "of her own Servants, who ought at leaſt in publick to "manifeſt ſome Duty and Reverence towards her Ma"jeſty; and how much He loſt in the general Affections "of his Subjects: And that, beſides the Diſpleaſure of God "Almighty, He could not reaſonably hope for Children by "the Queen, which was the great if not the only Bleſſing "of which He ſtood in Need, whilſt her Heart was ſo full "of Grief, and whilſt She was continually exerciſed with "ſuch inſupportable Afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unconverſant with the King, nor Strangers to his Temper and Conſtitution, did believe that He grew weary

weary of the Struggle, and even ready to avoid the Scandal that was ſo notorious, by the Lady's withdrawing from the Verge of the Court and being no longer ſeen there, how firmly ſoever the Friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed. But this ſudden Downfal and total abandoning her own Greatneſs, this low Demeanour and even Application to a Perſon She had juſtly abhorred and worthily contemned, made all Men conclude, that it was a hard Matter to know her, and conſequently to ſerve her. And the King himſelf was ſo far from being reconciled by it, that the Eſteem, which He could not hitherto but retain in his Heart for her, grew now much leſs. He concluded that all her former Averſion expreſſed in thoſe lively Paſſions, which ſeemed not capable of Diſſimulation, was all Fiction, and purely acted to the Life by a Nature crafty, perverſe and inconſtant. He congratulated his own ill-natured Perſeverance, by which He had diſcovered how He was to behave himſelf hereafter, and what Remedies He was to apply to all future Indiſpoſitions: Nor had He ever after the ſame Value of her Wit, Judgment and Underſtanding, which He had formerly; and was well enough pleaſed to obſerve, that the Reverence others had for all three was ſomewhat diminiſhed.

THE Parliament aſſembled together at the ſame Time in *February* to which They had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the End of *July* following. They brought the ſame Affection and Duty with them towards the King, which They had formerly; but (181) were much troubled at what They had heard and what They had obſerved of the Diviſions in Court. They had the ſame Fidelity for the King's Service, but not the ſame Alacrity in it: The Diſpatch was much ſlower in all Matters depending, than it had uſed to be. The Truth is; the Houſe of Commons was upon the Matter not the ſame: Three Years ſitting, for it was very near ſo long ſince They had been firſt aſſembled, had conſumed very many of their Members; and in the Places of thoſe who died, great Pains were taken to have ſome of the King's menial Servants choſen; ſo that there was a very great Number of Men in all Stations in the Court, as well below Stairs as above, who were Members of the Houſe of Commons. And there were very few of them, who did not think themſelves qualified to reform whatſoever was amiſs

The Parliament meets.

amiſs in Church or State, and to procure whatſoever Supply the King would require.

They, who either out of their own Modeſty, or in Regard of their diſtant Relation to his Service, had ſeldom had Acceſs to his Preſence, never had preſumed to ſpeak to him, now by the Privilege of Parliament every Day reſorted to him, and had as much Conference with him as They deſired. They, according to the Comprehenſion They had of Affairs, repreſented their Advice to him for the conducting his Affairs; according to their ſeveral Opinions and Obſervations repreſented thoſe and thoſe Men as well affected to his Service, and others, much better than They, who did not pay them ſo much Reſpect, to be ill affected and to want Duty for his Majeſty. They brought thoſe, who appeared to them to be moſt zealous for his Service, becauſe They profeſſed to be ready to do any Thing He pleaſed to preſcribe, to receive his Majeſty's Thanks, and from himſelf his immediate Directions how to behave themſelves in the Houſe; when the Men were capable of no other Inſtruction, than to follow the Example of ſome diſcreet Man in whatſoever He ſhould vote, and behave themſelves accordingly.

To this Time, the King had been content to refer the Conduct of his Affairs in the Parliament to the Chancellor and the Treaſurer; who had every Day Conference with ſome ſelect Perſons of the Houſe of Commons, who had always ſerved the King, and upon that Account had great Intereſt in that Aſſembly, and in Regard of the Experience They had and their good Parts were hearkened to with Reverence. And with thoſe They conſulted in what Method to proceed in diſpoſing the Houſe, ſometimes to propoſe ſometimes to conſent to what ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the Publick; and by them to aſſign Parts to other Men, whom They found diſpoſed and willing to concur in what was to be deſired: And all this without any Noiſe, or bringing many together to deſign, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to Parliaments, and however it may ſucceed for a little Time, will in the End be attended with Prejudice.

Characters of two leading Men in the Houſe of Commons.

But there were two Perſons now introduced to act upon that Stage, who diſdained to receive Orders, or to have any Method preſcribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other Mens Defects, and thought their own Abilities beyond Exception.

THE one was Sir *Harry Bennet*, who had procured himſelf to be ſent Agent or Envoy into *Spain*, as ſoon as the King came from *Bruſſels*; being a Man very well known to the King, and for his pleaſant and agreeable Humour acceptable to him: And He remained there at much Eaſe till the King returned to *England*, having waited upon his Majeſty at *Fuentarabia* in the Cloſe of the Treaty between the two Crowns, and there appeared by his Dexterity to (182) have gained good Credit in the Court of *Spain*, and particularly with *Don Lewis de Haro*; and by that ſhort Negotiation He renewed and confirmed the former good Inclinations of his Maſter to him. He had been obliged always to correſpond with the Chancellor, by whom his Inſtructions had been drawn, and to receive the King's Pleaſure by his Signification; which He had always done, and profeſſed much Reſpect and Submiſſion to him: Though whatever Orders He received, and how poſitive ſoever, in Particulars which highly concerned the King's Honour and Dignity, He obſerved them ſo far and no farther than his own Humour diſpoſed him; and in ſome Caſes flatly diſobeyed what the King enjoined, and did directly contrary, as in the Caſe of the *Jeſuit Peter Talbot*; who having carried himſelf with notorious Inſolence towards the King in *Flanders*, had tranſported himſelf into *England*, offered his Service to *Cromwell*, and after his Death was employed by the ruling Powers into *Spain*, upon his undertaking to procure Orders, by which the King ſhould not be ſuffered longer to reſide in *Flanders*; of all which his Majeſty having received full Advertiſement, He made Haſte to ſend Orders into *Spain* to Sir *Harry Bennet*, "that He ſhould prepare *Don Lewis* for his "Reception by letting him know, that though that *Je-* "*ſuit* was his natural Subject, He had ſo miſbehaved "himſelf, that He looked upon him as a moſt inveterate "Enemy and a Traitor; and therefore his Majeſty de- "fired, that He might receive no Countenance there, "being as He well knew ſent by the greateſt Rebels to "do him Prejudice."

Of Sir Henry Bennet.

THIS was received by Sir *Harry Bennet* before the Arrival of the Man, who found no Inconvenience by it; and inſtead of making any Complaint concerning him, He writ Word, "that *Talbot* had more Credit than He "in that Court, that He profeſſed to have great Devo- "tion for the King; and therefore his Advice was, that

"the King would have a better Opinion of him, and em-
"ploy him in his Service:" And himſelf received him in-
to his full Confidence, and conſulted with no Man ſo
much as with him; which made all Men believe that He
was a *Roman Catholick*, who did believe that He had any
Religion. But He had made his full Excuſe and Defence
for all this at the Interview at *Fuentarabia*, from whence
the King returned with marvellous Satisfaction in his Diſ-
cretion as well as in his Affection. And until, contrary
to all his Expectation, He heard of the King's Return in-
to *England*, all his Thoughts were employed how to make
Benefit of the Duke of *York's* coming into *Spain* to be
Admiral of the Gallies; which He writ to haſten all that
might be.

THOUGH He continued his formal Correſpondence with
the Chancellor, which He could not decline; yet He held
a more ſecret Intelligence with *Daniel ONeile* of the Bed-
chamber, with whom He had a long Friendſhip. As ſoon
as the King arrived in *England*, He truſted *ONeile* to pro-
cure any Direction from the King immediately in thoſe
Particulars which himſelf adviſed. And ſo He obtained
the King's Conſent, for his conſenting to the old League
that had been made between *England* and *Spain* in the
Time of the late King, and which *Spain* had expreſsly re-
fuſed to renew after the Death of that King (which was
ſuddenly proclaimed in *Spain*, without ever being con-
ſulted in *England*); and preſently after Leave to return
into *England* without any Letter of Revocation: Both
which were procured or rather ſignified by *ONeile*, with-
out the Privity of the Chancellor or of either of the Se-
cretaries of State; nor did either of them know that He
was from *Madrid*, till They heard He was in *Paris*, from
whence He arrived in *London* in a very ſhort Time after.
So far the Chancellor was from that powerful Intereſt or
Influence, when his Credit was at higheſt.

BUT He was very well received by the King, in whoſe
Affections He had a very good Place: And ſhortly after
his Arrival, though not ſo ſoon as He thought his high
Merit deſerved, his Majeſty conferred the only Place then
void (and that had been long promiſed to a noble Per-
ſon, who had behaved himſelf very well towards his Ma-
jeſty and his bleſſed Father) upon him, which was the
Office of Privy Purſe; received him into great Fami-
liarity, and into the nightly Meeting, in which He filled

a prin-

a principal Place to all Intents and Purpoſes. The King very much deſired to have him elected a Member in the Houſe of Commons, and commanded the Chancellor to uſe his Credit to obtain it upon the firſt Opportunity: And in Obedience to that Command, He did procure him to be choſen about the Time We are now ſpeaking of, when the Parliament aſſembled in *February*.

of Mr. William Coventry.

THE other Perſon was Mr. *William Coventry*, the youngeſt Son to a very wiſe Father, the Lord *Coventry*, who had been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* for many Years with an univerſal Reputation. This Gentleman was young whilſt the War continued: Yet He had put himſelf before the End of it into the Army, and had the Command of a Foot Company, and ſhortly after travelled into *France*; where He remained whilſt there was any Hope of getting another Army for the King, or that either of the other Crowns would engage in his Quarrel. But when all Thoughts of that were deſperate, He returned into *England*: Where He remained for many Years without the leaſt Correſpondence with any of his Friends beyond the Seas, and with ſo little Reputation of caring much for the King's Reſtoration, that ſome of his own Family, who were moſt zealous for his Majeſty's Service, and had always ſome ſignal Part in any reaſonable Deſign, took Care of Nothing more, than that Nothing They did ſhould come to his Knowledge; and gave the ſame Advice to thoſe about the King, with whom They correſponded, to uſe the ſame Caution. Not that any Body ſuſpected his being inclined to the Rebels, or to do any Act of Treachery; but that the Pride and Cenſoriouſneſs of his Nature made him unconverſable, and his Deſpair that any Thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to conſult the Ways of doing it. Nor had He any Converſation with any of the King's Party, nor They with him, till the King was proclaimed in *London*; and then He came over with the reſt to offer his Service to his Majeſty at the *Hague*, and had the good Fortune to find the Duke of *York* without a Secretary. For though He had a *Walloon* that was, in Reſpect of the Languages of which He was Maſter, fit for that Function in the Army, and had diſcharged it very well for ſome Years; yet for the Province the Duke was now to govern, having the Office of High Admiral of *England*, He was without any fit Perſon to diſcharge the Office of Secre-

tary with any tolerable Sufficiency: So that Mr. *Coventry* no ſooner offered his Service to the Duke, but He was received into that Employment, very honourable under ſuch a Maſter, and in itſelf of the greateſt Profit next the Secretaries of State, if they in that Reſpect be to be preferred.

He had been well known to the King and Duke in *France*, and had a Brother whom the King loved well and had promiſed to take into his Bedchamber, as He ſhortly after did, *Harry Coventry*, who was beloved by every Body, which made them glad of the Preferment of the other; whilſt They who knew the worſt of him, yet knew him able to diſcharge that Office, and ſo contributed to the Duke's receiving him. He was a ſullen, illnatured, proud Man, whoſe Ambition had no Limits, nor could be contained within any. His Parts were very good, if He had not thought them better than any other Man's; and He had Diligence and Induſtry, which Men of good (184)
Parts are too often without, which made him quickly to have at leaſt Credit and Power enough with the Duke; and He was without thoſe Vices which were too much in Requeſt, and which make Men moſt unfit for Buſineſs and the Truſt that cannot be ſeparated from it.

He had ſate a Member in the Houſe of Commons, from the Beginning of the Parliament, with very much Reputation of an able Man. He ſpake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of thoſe with whom They, who were truſted by the King in conducting his Affairs in the lower Houſe, conſulted very frequently; but not ſo much, nor relied equally upon his Advice, as upon ſome few others who had much more Experience, which He thought was of Uſe only to ignorant and dull Men, and that Men of Sagacity could ſee and determine at a little Light, and ought rather to perſuade and engage Men to do that which They judged fit, than conſider what themſelves were inclined to do: And ſo did not think himſelf to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made Uſe of to the celebrating the Deſigns and Contrivance of other Men, without being ſignal in the Managery, which He aſpired to be. Nor did any Man envy him the Province, if He could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more uſeful Talents would have been ruled by him. However being a Man who naturally loved Faction and Contradiction,

Contradiction, He often made Experiments how far He could prevail in the Houſe, by declining the Method that was preſcribed, and propoſing ſomewhat to the Houſe that was either beſide or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppoſe, believing, in Regard of his Relation, that He had received newer Directions: And then if it ſucceeded well (as ſometimes it did), He had Argument enough to cenſure and inveigh againſt the Chancellor, for having taken ſo ill Meaſures of the Temper and Affections of the Houſe; for He did not diſſemble in his private Converſation (though his outward Carriage was very fair) that He had no Kindneſs for him, which in Gratitude He ought to have had; nor had He any Thing to complain of from him, but that He wiſhed well and did all He could to defend and ſupport a very worthy Perſon, who had deſerved very well from the King, againſt whom He manifeſted a great and cauſeleſs Animoſity, and deſired to oppreſs for his own Profit, of which He had an immoderate Appetite.

WHEN thoſe two Perſons, Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry*, (between whom there had been as great a League of Friendſhip, as can be between two very proud Men equally illnatured) came now to ſit together in the Houſe of Commons; though the former of them knew no more of the Conſtitution and Laws of *England* than He did of *China*, nor had in Truth a Care or Tenderneſs for Church or State, but believed *France* was the beſt Pattern in the World; They thought They ſhould have the greateſt Wrong imaginable, if They did not entirely govern it, and if the King took his Meaſures of what ſhould be done there from any Body but themſelves. They made Friendſhips with ſome young Men, who ſpake confidently and often, and upon ſome Occaſions ſeemed to have Credit in the Houſe. And upon a little Converſation with thoſe Men, who being Country Gentlemen of ordinary Condition and mean Fortunes were deſirous to have Intereſt in ſuch a Perſon as Sir *Harry Bennet*, who was believed to have great Credit with the King; He believed He underſtood the Houſe and what was to be done there, as well as any Man in *England*.

HE recommended thoſe Men to the King "as Perſons "of ſublime Parts, worthy of his Majeſty's careſſing:
(185) "That He would undertake to fix them to his Service;
"and when They were his own, He might carry what He

"would in the Houſe of Commons." The Men had Parts indeed and good Affections, and often had reſorted to the Chancellor, received Advice from him, and thought themſelves beholden to him; being at that Time entirely governed by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who was himſelf ſtill adviſed by the Chancellor (with whom He had a long and faſt Friendſhip) how He ſhould direct his Friends, having indeed a greater Party in the Houſe of Commons willing to be diſpoſed of by him, than any Man that ever ſate there in my Time. But now theſe Gentlemen had got a better Patron; the new Courtier had raiſed their Value, and talked in another Dialect to them, of Recompenſes and Rewards, than They had heard formerly. He carried them to the King, and told his Majeſty in their own Hearing, "what Men of Parts They were, what Services "They had done for him, and how much greater They "could do:" And his Majeſty received and conferred with them very graciouſly, and diſmiſſed them with Promiſes which made them rich already.

THE two Friends before mentioned agreed ſo well between themſelves, that whether They ſpake together or apart to the King, They ſaid always the ſame Things, gave the ſame Information, and took Care that Both their Maſters might have the ſame Opinions and Judgments. They magnified the Affections of the Houſe of Commons, "which were ſo great and united, that They would do "whatſoever his Majeſty would require. That there were "many worthy and able Men, of whoſe Wiſdom the "Houſe was ſo well perſuaded, that They commonly con- "ſented to whatſoever They propoſed: And theſe Men "complained, *that They had no Directions given to them* "*which Way They might beſt ſerve the King; They knew not* "*what He deſired, which when They ſhould do, it would* "*quickly appear how much They were at the King's Diſpoſal,* "*and all Things which now depended long would be hereafter* "*diſpatched in Half the Time.*"

THE King wondered very much, "that his Friends "in the Houſe were no better informed, of which He "had never heard any Complaint before, and wiſhed "them to ſpeak with the Chancellor:" For neither of theſe Men were yet arrived at the Confidence to inſinuate in the leaſt Degree any Ill-Will or Prejudice to him, though They were not united in any one Thing more than the Deſire of his Ruin, and the Reſolution to com-

paſs

paſs it by all the ill Arts and Devices They could uſe; but till it ſhould be more ſeaſonable, They diſſembled to Both their Maſters to have a high Eſteem of him, having not yet Credit enough with either to do him Harm. They ſaid, "They would very willingly repair to him, "and be directed by him: But They deſired that his Ma- "jeſty himſelf would firſt ſpeak to him (becauſe it would "not ſo well become them) to call thoſe Perſons, whom "They had recommended to him, to meet together with "the reſt with whom He uſed to adviſe; which the Per- "ſons They named They were ſure would be very glad "of, having all of them a great Eſtem of the Chancellor, "and being well known to him," as indeed They were, and moſt of them obliged by him.

THE King willingly undertook it: And being ſhortly after attended by the Chancellor, his Majeſty told him all that the other two had ſaid to him, and did not forget to let him know the great Good-Will They had Both profeſſed towards him. He aſked him "what He thought "of ſuch and ſuch Men," and particularly named Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Churchill*, and ſome other Men of better Quality and much more Intereſt, "who," He ſaid, "took "it ill that They were not particularly informed what the (186) "King deſired, and which Way They might beſt ſerve "him;" and bade him, "that at the next Meeting of the "reſt, theſe Men might likewiſe have Notice to be preſent, "together with Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *William Coven-* "*try*; for *Harry Coventry* (who was a much wiſer Man than his Brother, and had a much better Reputation with wiſe Men) was conſtantly in thoſe Councils.

THE Chancellor told him, "that great and notorious "Meetings and Cabals in Parliament had been always "odious in Parliament: And though they might produce "ſome Succeſs in one or two Particulars till they were "diſcovered, they had always ended unluckily; until "they were introduced in the late ill Times by ſo great "a Combination, that they could not receive any Diſ- "countenance. Yet that They, who compaſſed all their "wicked Deſigns by thoſe Cabals, were ſo jealous that "They might be overmatched by the like Practices, that "when They diſcovered any three or four of thoſe, who "were uſed to concur with them, to have any private "Meetings, They accuſed them to conſpire againſt the "Parliament. That when his Majeſty returned, and all

"the World was full of Joy and Delight to ſerve him, "and Perſons were willing and importunate to receive "Direction how They might do it in that Convention; "Care had been taken without any Noiſe, or bringing "any Prejudice upon thoſe who were willing to be Inſtru- "ments towards the procuring what was deſirable, and "to prevent what would be ingrateful, that little Notice "might be taken of them, which had good Succeſs."

"THAT ſince this Parliament the Lord Treaſurer and "He had, by his Majeſty's Direction, made Choice of "ſome Perſons eminent for their Affection to the Crown, "of great Experience and known Abilities, to confer with "for the better preparing and conducting what was to be "done in the Houſe of Commons: But the Number of "them was not ſo great as to give any Umbrage. Nor "did They meet oftner together with them, than upon "Accidents and Contingencies was abſolutely neceſſary; "but appointed thoſe few who had a mutual Confidence "in each other, and every one of which had an Influence "upon others and adviſed them what to do, to meet by "themſelves, either at the Lord *Bridgman's* or Mr. At- "torney's Chambers, who ſtill gave Notice to the other "two of what was neceſſary, and received Advice. That "there were very few of any notable Conſideration, who "did not frequently repair to Both of them, either to dine "with them or to perform ſome Office of Civility; with "every one of whom They conferred, and ſaid what was "neceſſary to inform them what was fit for them to do."

"THAT two of thoſe who were named by his Majeſty, "Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Churchill*, were honeſt Gentlemen, "and received the Advice They were to follow from Sir "*Hugh Pollard*, who had in Truth a very particular In- "fluence upon all the *Corniſh* and *Devonſhire* Men. And "that his Majeſty might know that He had not been well "informed, *that the others named by him took it unkindly "that They did not know his Pleaſure, who were leading "Men*, as indeed They were; He aſſured his Majeſty "that there was not one of thoſe who was not particularly "conſulted with, and advertiſed by ſome Perſon who was "choſen by every one of them for that Purpoſe; and that "They would by no Means reſort to any Meeting, fear- "ing to undergo the odious Name of *Undertakers*, which "in all Parliaments hath been a Brand: But as They had "never oppoſed any Thing that related to his Service, ſo

"upon

"upon any private Inſinuation They had been ready to
(187) "propoſe any Thing which would not have been ſo ac-
"ceptable from any, who had been known to have Re-
"lation to his Service, or to depend upon thoſe who
"had."

HE beſought his Majeſty to conſider, "whether any "Thing had hitherto, in near three Years, fallen out "amiſs or ſhort of what He had expected, in the wary "Adminiſtration that had been in that Affair;" and did not conceal his own Fears, "that putting it into a more "open and wider Channel, his Majeſty's own too publick "ſpeaking with the Members of Parliament, and be-"lieving what every Man who was preſent told him paſſed "in Debates, and who for Want of Comprehenſion as "well as Memory committed many Miſtakes in their Re-"lations, would be attended with ſome Inconveniences not "eaſy to be remedied." The King was not diſſatisfied with the Diſcourſe, but ſeemed to approve it: However He would have Sir *Harry Bennet*, Mr. *Clifford* and *Churchill*, called to the next Meeting; and becauſe They were to be introduced into Company They had not uſed to converſe with, that it ſhould be at the Chancellor's Chamber, who ſhould let the reſt know the good Opinion his Majeſty had of thoſe who were added to the Number.

An Alteration in the Management of the Houſe of Commons.

BY this Means and with theſe Circumſtances this Alteration was made in the Conduct of the King's Service in the Parliament; upon which many other Alterations followed by Degrees, though not at once. Yet preſently it appeared, that this Introduction of new Confidents was not acceptable to thoſe, who thought They had very well diſcharged their Truſt. Sir *Harry Bennet* was utterly unknown to them, a Man unverſed in any Buſineſs, who never had nor ever was like to ſpeak in the Houſe, except in his Ear who ſate next to him to the Diſadvantage of ſome who had ſpoken, and had not the Faculties to get himſelf beloved, and was thought by all Men to be a *Roman Catholick*, for which They had not any other Reaſon but from his Indifference in all Things which concerned the Church.

WHEN They met firſt at the Chancellor's Chamber, as the King had directed, They conferred freely together with little Difference of Opinion: Though it appeared that They, who had uſed to be together before, did not uſe the ſame Freedom as formerly in delivering their particular

ticular Judgments, not having Confidence enough in the new Comers, who in their private Meetings afterwards took more upon them, rather to direct than to advise; ſo that the other grew unſatisfied in their Converſation. And though the Meetings continued at one of the Places before mentioned, ſome always diſcontinued their Attendance; ſo that by Degrees there were leſs Reſolutions taken than had been formerly: Nor was there ſo cheerful a Concurrence, or ſo ſpeedy a Diſpatch of the Buſineſs depending in the Houſe, as had been.

However, there appeared Nothing of Diſunion in the Parliament, but the ſame Zeal and Concurrence in all Things which related to the King. The Murmurs and Diſcontents were moſt in the Country, where the People began to talk with more Licenſe and leſs Reverence of the Court and of the King himſelf, and to reproach the Parliament for their raiſing ſo much Money, and increaſing of the Impoſitions upon the Kingdom, without having done any Thing for the Redreſs of any Grievance that lay upon the People. The Licenſe with Reference to Religion grew every Day greater, the Conventicles more frequent and more inſolent, which diſturbed the Country exceedingly; but not ſo much as the Liberty the *Papiſts* aſſumed, who behaved themſelves with Indiſcretion, and bragged as if They had a Toleration and cared not what the Magiſtrates could do. The Parliament had a Deſire to have provided againſt thoſe Evils with the ſame Ri- (183)
gour: But though there would have been a general Conſent in any Proviſion that could be made againſt the *Fanaticks* and the Conventicles, yet there would not be the like Concurrence againſt the *Papiſts*; and it was not poſſible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the Court, that They might be ſure to prevent the laſt, interrupted all that was propoſed againſt the former, which They wiſhed provided againſt, and choſe to have neither out of Fear of Both; which increaſed the Diſorders in the Country, and cauſed more Reflections upon the Court: So that this Seſſion of Parliament produced leſs of Moment than any other.

And the King, after They had given him four Subſidies, which was all the Money They could be drawn to give, that He might part as kindly with them as He uſed to do, and upon Diſcovery of ſeveral ſeditious Meetings amonſt the Officers of the diſbanded Army, which

He

He could beſt ſuppreſs when He had moſt Leiſure, He reſolved to prorogue the Parliament. And ſo ſending for them upon the 27th of *July*, He thanked them for the Preſent which They had made to him of the four Subſidies, "which," He told them, "He would not have received "from them, if it were not abſolutely neceſſary for their "Peace and Quiet as well as his: And that it would yet "do him very little Good, if He did not improve it by "very good Huſbandry of his own; and by retrenching "thoſe very Expenſes, which in many Reſpects might be "thought neceſſary enough. But They ſhould feel that "He would much rather impoſe upon himſelf, than upon "his Subjects; and that if all Men would follow his Ex-"ample in retrenching their Expenſes (which poſſibly "They might do with much more Convenience than He "could do his) the Kingdom would in ſhort Time gain "what They had given him that Day." He told them, "He was very glad that They were going into their ſe-"veral Countries, where their Preſence would do much "Good: And He hoped their Vigilance and Authority "would prevent thoſe Diſturbances, which the reſtleſs "Spirits of ill and unquiet Men would be always contriv-"ing, and of which his Majeſty did aſſure them They "promiſed themſelves ſome Effects that Summer. And "that there had been more Pains and unuſual Ways taken "to kindle the old fatal Fears and Jealouſies, than He "thought He ſhould ever have lived to have ſeen, at leaſt "to have ſeen ſo countenanced."

The King's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament.

HE told them, "that He had expected to have had "ſome Bills preſented to him againſt the ſeveral Diſtem-"pers in Religion, againſt ſeditious Conventicles, and "againſt the Growth of Popery: But that it might be "They had been in ſome Fear of reconciling thoſe Con-"tradictions in Religion into ſome Conſpiracy againſt the "publick Peace, to which himſelf doubted Men of the "moſt contrary Motives in Conſcience were inclinable "enough. He did promiſe them that He would lay that "Buſineſs to Heart, and the Miſchiefs which might flow "from thoſe Licenſes; and if He lived to meet with them "again, as He hoped He ſhould, He would himſelf take "Care to preſent two Bills to them to that End. And "that, as He had already given it in Charge to the "Judges, in their ſeveral Circuits, to uſe their utmoſt "Endeavours to prevent and puniſh the ſcandalous and

"ſeditious

"seditious Meetings of *Sectaries*, and to convict the *Pa-*
"*pists*; so He would be as watchful, and take all the
"Pains He could, that neither the one or the other
"should disturb the Peace of the Kingdom." And add-
ing many gracious Expressions of his Esteem and Con-
fidence in their Affections, He caused them to be pro-
rogued towards the End of *March*, which would be the
Beginning of the Year 1664.

The King intends to prepare two Bills against the Papists and Sectaries.

(189) THE King had an Intention at that Time to have pre-
pared against the next Meeting two such Bills as He
mentioned to them, and was well enough content that
the Parliament had not presented such to him, which He
well foresaw would not have been such as He should have
been pleased with. He would have liked the most rigor-
ous Acts against all the other Factions in Religion, but
did not think the *Papists* had deserved the same Severi-
ties, which would have been provided against them with
the other, it being very apparent, that the Kingdom
generally had resumed their old Jealousies of them, pro-
voked by the very unwary Behaviour of that People,
who bragged of more Credit in the Court than They
could justify, though most Men thought They had too
much: And that was the Reason that He had com-
manded the Chancellor to require the Judges, who were
then beginning their Circuits, to cause the *Roman Catho-*
licks to be convicted, which He believed would allay
much of the Jealousies in the Country, as for the pre-
sent it did. And then He resolved to cause two such
Bills to be prepared for several Reasons, of which the
principal was, that He might divide them into two
Bills; presuming that when He had sent one against
either, They would not affect reducing Both into one,
which was that which the Catholick Party most appre-
hended.

Imprudent Behaviour of the Papists.

HIS Majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the
imprudent Carriage of the *Catholicks*, and thought They
did affect too much to appear as if They stood upon the
Level with all other Subjects; And He received very
particular and unquestionable Information, that some
Priests had made it an Argument to some whom They
endeavoured to make their Proselytes, "that the King
"was of their Religion in his Heart, and would shortly
"declare it to all the World;" with which his Majesty
was marvellously offended, and did heartily desire that
any

any of thoſe indiſcreet Perſons might be proceeded againſt with Severity. Yet He had no Mind that any Man ſhould be put to Death, which could hardly be avoided if any Man ſhould be brought to Trial in the Caſe aforeſaid, except He had granted his Pardon, which with theſe Circumſtances would have carried Scandal in it. Beſides He did think the wiſeſt of that Party had not carried themſelves with Modeſty enough, with what was good for themſelves and for his Majeſty's Honour. And therefore He had, without imparting it to any Friends of theirs, given that Direction to the Judges for convicting them, as the beſt Means to reclaim them to a better Temper: And He had a Purpoſe, that the Bill He meant ſhould be prepared ſhould more effectually perform that Part, without expoſing them to any notable Inconveniences in their Perſons or their Fortunes, if They behaved themſelves well and warily.

The King deſigns to have the Papiſts *convicted.*

He did believe, that it was neceſſary for his Service that They ſhould be all convicted, that it might be evident to himſelf what their Numbers conſiſted of and amounted to, which He believed would be found much inferiour to what they were generally computed, and then the Danger from their Power would not be thought ſo formidable: And it could be no Prejudice to them without a further Proceeding upon their Conviction, which He was reſolved to reſtrain, as He well might, and had done hitherto; reſolving within himſelf, that no Man ſhould ſuffer under thoſe penal Laws which had been made againſt them in the Age before, if They lived like good Subjects, and adminiſtered no Occaſion of Scandal. And as He was not reſerved in declaring that his gracious Purpoſe towards them (as hath been ſaid before); ſo hitherto it had not been attended by any Murmurs: And yet He was not without a Purpoſe of keeping ſuch a Power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

(190) His Majeſty did in his Judgment and Inclination put a great Difference between thoſe *Roman Catholicks*, who being of antient Extraction had continued of the ſame Religion from Father to Son, without having ever been *Proteſtant*, amongſt whom there were very few who had not behaved themſelves very worthily; and thoſe, who ſince the late Troubles had apoſtatized from the Church of *England* to that of the *Roman*, without any ſuch Evi-

dence

dence of Conſcience, as might not adminiſter juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect, that their Inducements had been wholly from worldly Temptations. And He did reſolve in his Bill to make a Diſtinction between thoſe Claſſes, and to prevent or at leaſt to diſcourage thoſe Lapſes which fell out too frequently in the Court; nor did Men believe that They need make any Apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all Places. He did reſolve likewiſe to contract and leſſen the Number of the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, who upon Miſſions reſorted hither as to an Infidel Nation (which was and is a Grievance that the *Catholicks* would be glad to be eaſed in), and to reduce them into ſuch an Order and Method by this Bill, that He might himſelf know the Names of all Prieſts remaining in the Kingdom, and their ſeveral Stations where They reſided; which muſt have produced ſuch a Security to thoſe who ſtayed, and to thoſe with whom They ſtayed, as would have ſet them free from any Apprehenſion of any Penalties impoſed by preceding Parliaments.

Meaſures taken to fruſtrate his Deſign.

But this Deſign (which comprehended many other Particulars) vaniſhed as ſoon as it was diſcovered. The King's own Diſcourſe of a Bill that He would cauſe to be drawn againſt the *Roman Catholicks* awakened great Jealouſies; nor did They want Inſtruments or Opportunities to diſcover what the Meaning of it could be. Nor was the King reſerved in the Argument, but communicated it with thoſe who He knew were well affected to that Party, and to one or two of themſelves who were reputed to be moderate Men, and to deſire Nothing but the Exerciſe of their Religion with the greateſt Secrecy and Caution, and who often informed him and complained "of "the Folly and Vanity of ſome of their Friends, and more "particularly of the Preſumption of the *Jeſuits*." And ſuch Kind of Factions and Diviſions there are amongſt them, which might be cultivated to very happy Productions: But ſuch Ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own Pretences, there is not amongſt them.

These moderate Men complained already, "that the "King was deceived by their Enemy the Chancellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe They knew He was irreconcilable to their Profeſſion; not that They thought He deſired that the Laws ſhould be put in Execution againſt them;

them; and ſome of the chief of them believed him to be much their Friend, and had Obligations to him. But They all lamented this Direction given to the Judges for their Conviction, "which," They informed the King, "was "the neceſſary Preamble to the higheſt Perſecution the "Law had prepared againſt them. That till They were "convicted They were in the ſame Predicament with "the reſt of his Subjects; but as ſoon as They were "convicted" (which the Judges now cauſed to be proſecuted throughout the Kingdom), "They were liable to "all the other Penalties, which his Majeſty was inclined "to protect them from." They preſented to him a ſhort Memorial of the Diſadvantages which were conſequent to a Conviction, in which They alleged ſome Particulars which were not clear in the Law, at leaſt had never been practiſed in the ſevereſt Times.

(191) THOUGH the King had well weighed all He had done before He did it, and well knew, after all their Inſinuations and Allegations, that none of thoſe Inconveniences could enſue to them, if He reſtrained any further Proſecution, which He always had intended to do; yet They wrought ſo far upon him, that He was even ſorry that He had proceeded ſo far: And though it was not fit to revoke any Part of it, yet He cared not how little it was advanced. And for the Bill He meant to preſent in the next Seſſion, They ſaid "all their Security and Quiet "They had enjoyed ſince his Majeſty's happy Return de-"pended wholly upon the general Opinion, that He had "Favour for them, and Satisfaction in their Duty and "Obedience as good Subjects, and their Readineſs to do "him any Service, which They would all make good with "their Lives and all that They had. But if He ſhould "now diſcover any Jealouſy of their Fidelities, and that "there was Need of a new Law againſt them, which his "Purpoſe of providing a Bill implied, what Mitigation "ſoever his Majeſty intended in it, it would not be in his "Majeſty's Power to reſtrain the Paſſion of other Men; "but all thoſe Animoſities which had been hitherto co-"vered and concealed, as grateful to him, would upon "this Occaſion break out to their Deſtruction: And there-"fore They hoped, that whatever Bitterneſs the Parlia-"ment might expreſs againſt them when They came to-"gether, They ſhould receive no Invitation or Encou-"ragement

"ragement by any Jealouſy or Diſpleaſure his Majeſty "ſhould manifeſt to have towards them."

The King gives over his Purpoſe.

THESE and the like Arguments, or the Credit of thoſe who urged them, made that Impreſſion, that He declined any further Thought of that Bill; nor was there ever after Mention of it. The *Catholicks* grew bolder in all Places, and converſant in thoſe Rooms of the Court into which the King's Chaplains never preſumed to enter; and to crown all their Hopes, the Lady declared herſelf of that Faith, and inveighed ſharply againſt the Church She had been bred in.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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